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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

IV

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DIO'S
ROMAN HISTORY

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
EARNEST CARY, Ph.D.

ON THE BASIS OF THE VERSION OF
HERBERT BALDWIN FOSTER, Ph.D.

IN NINE VOLUMES

IV

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DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

BOOK XLI

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ τετταρακοστῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Δίωνος Ῥωμαϊκῶν

α. Ὡς Καῖσαρ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἦλθε καὶ Πομπήιος ἐκλιπὼν αὐτὴν ἐς Μακεδονίαν διέπλευσεν.
β. Ὡς Καῖσαρ Ἰβηρίαν παρεστήσατο.
γ. Ὡς Καῖσαρ ἐς Μακεδονίαν ἐπὶ Πομπήιον διέπλευσεν.
δ. Ὡς Καῖσαρ καὶ Πομπήιος περὶ Δυρράχιον ἐπολέμησαν.
ε. Ὡς Καῖσαρ Πομπήιον περὶ Φάρσαλον ἐνίκησεν.

Χρόνου πλῆθος ἔτη δύο, ἐν οἷς ἄρχοντες οἱ ἀριθμούμενοι οἵδε ἐγένοντο

Λ. Κορνήλιος Π. υἱ. Λεντοῦλος
Γ. Κλαύδιος Μ.[1] υἱ. Μάρκελλος ὕπ.

Γ. Ἰούλιος[2] Γ. υἱ. Καῖσαρ τὸ β'
Π. Σερουίλιος Π. υἱ. Ἰσαυρικός ὕπ.

Τότε μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἔπραξε, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο γράμματα παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν λαβὼν ἦλθέ τε ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ νουμηνίᾳ ἐν ᾗ ὅ τε Λέντουλος ὁ Κορνήλιος καὶ ὁ Κλαύδιος ὁ Γάιος τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐνεστήσαντο, καὶ οὐ πρότερον τοῖς ὑπάτοις αὐτὰ ἀπέδωκε πρὶν ἐς τὸ συνέδριόν σφας ἀφικέσθαι, μὴ καὶ ἔξω που λαβόντες αὐτὰ ἀπο-
2 κρύψωνται. ἐπὶ πολὺ μὲν γὰρ καὶ ὣς ἀνέσχον, οὐκ ἐθέλοντές σφας ἀναλέξασθαι· τέλος δὲ ὑπό

[1] Κλαύδιος Μ. Bs., following R. Steph., καμ' L.
[2] Ἰούλιος R. Steph., ὄυλιος L.

DIO'S ROMAN HISTORY

BOOK XLI

The following is contained in the Forty-first of Dio's *Rome*:—

How Caesar came into Italy, and how Pompey, leaving it, sailed across to Macedonia (chaps. 1–14).
How Caesar subjugated Spain (chaps. 18–25).
How Caesar sailed across to Macedonia to encounter Pompey (chaps. 39, 44–46).
How Caesar and Pompey fought around Dyrrachium (chaps. 47–51).
How Caesar conquered Pompey at Pharsalus (chaps. 52–63).

Duration of time, two years, in which there were the magistrates (consuls) here enumerated:—

B.C.
49 L. Cornelius P. F. Lentulus, C. Claudius M. F. Marcellus.
48 C. Iulius C. F. Caesar (II), P. Servilius P. F. Isauricus.

After taking this course at that time, Curio later B.C. 49
came to Rome on the very first day of the month on which Cornelius Lentulus and Gaius Claudius entered upon office, bringing a letter from Caesar to the senate; and he did not give it to the consuls until they reached the senate-house, for fear that if they received it outside they might suppress it. Even as it was, they waited a long time, in their unwillingness to read it, but at last they were compelled

τε Κυΐντου Κασσίου Λογγίνου καὶ ὑπὸ Μάρκου
Ἀντωνίου δημαρχούντων ἠναγκάσθησαν αὐτὰ δη-
3 μοσιεῦσαι. Ἀντώνιος μὲν οὖν ἐν τούτῳ τότε τὸν
Καίσαρα εὐεργετήσας ἀντιλήψεσθαί τε πολλὰ
καὶ ἐπὶ μεγάλων καὶ αὐτὸς αἰωρηθήσεσθαι ἔμελλεν.
ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐπιστολῇ τά τε ἄλλα ὅσα ποτὲ καλῶς
τὸ κοινὸν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπεποιήκει ἐνεγέγραπτο, καὶ
4 ἀπολογισμὸς ὑπὲρ ὧν ᾐτιάζετο. καταλύσειν τε
τὰ στρατόπεδα καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκστήσεσθαι
ὑπισχνεῖτο, ἂν καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος τὰ αὐτά οἱ
ποιήσῃ· ἐκείνου γὰρ τὰ ὅπλα ἔχοντος οὐδὲ
ἑαυτὸν δίκαιον εἶναι ἀναγκασθῆναι αὐτὰ ἀφεῖ-
ναι ἔλεγεν, ἵνα μὴ καὶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐκδοθῇ.
2 διαψηφίσεως δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις οὐ κατ' ἄνδρα, μὴ
καὶ δι' αἰδῶ ἢ καὶ φόβον τινὰ παρὰ τὰ δοκοῦντά
σφισιν ἀποφήνωνται, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ ἐπὶ τάδε καὶ ἐπ'
ἐκεῖνα τοῦ βουλευτηρίου μεταστάσει γενομένης,
τὸν μὲν Πομπήιον οὐδεὶς ἀπαλλαγῆναι ἐκ τῶν
ὅπλων ἐψηφίσατο (ἐν γὰρ τῷ προαστείῳ τὰς
δυνάμεις εἶχε), τὸν δὲ δὴ Καίσαρα πάντες πλὴν
Μάρκου τέ τινος Καιλίου[1] καὶ τοῦ Κουρίωνος τοῦ
2 τὰ γράμματα αὐτοῦ κομίσαντος. περὶ γὰρ τῶν
δημάρχων οὐδὲν λέγω, ὅτι μηδὲ[2] ἐν ἀνάγκῃ τινὶ
μεταστῆναι ἐποιήσαντο, ἅτε καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντες
εἴτε ἐβούλοντό τινα γνώμην συμβαλέσθαι εἴτε καὶ
μή. ἔδοξε μὲν οὖν ταῦτα, οὐ μὴν καὶ κυρωθῆναί
τι αὐτῶν οὔτε ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ οὔτε ἐν τῇ
ὑστεραίᾳ ὅ τε Ἀντώνιος καὶ ὁ Λογγῖνος ἐπέ-
3 τρεψαν. ἀγανακτησάντων δὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῶν
ἄλλων καὶ ψηφισαμένων τὴν ἐσθῆτα ἀλλάξα-

[1] Καιλίου Fr. Fabricius (*cf.* Oros. 6, 15, 2), καικιλίου L (and so just below). [2] μηδὲ Bk., μήτε L.

by Quintus Cassius Longinus and Mark Antony, who were tribunes, to make it public. Now Antony for the service he then rendered Caesar in this matter was destined to be well repaid and to be raised himself to great honours. As to the letter, it contained a list of all the benefits which Caesar had ever conferred upon the state and a defence of the charges which were brought against him. He promised to disband his legions and give up his office if Pompey would also do the same; for while the latter bore arms it was not right, he claimed, that he should be compelled to give up his and so be exposed to his enemies. The vote on this proposition was not taken individually, lest the senators through some sense of shame or fear should vote contrary to their true opinions; but it was done by their taking their stand on this or on that side of the senate-chamber. No one voted that Pompey should give up his arms, since he had his troops in the suburbs; but all, except one Marcus Caelius and Curio, who had brought his letter, voted that Caesar must do so. Of the tribunes I make no mention, since they did not consider it at all necessary to take part in the division; for they had the privilege of offering an opinion or not, as they saw fit. This, then, was the decision reached; but Antony and Longinus did not allow any part of it to be ratified either on that day or the next. The rest, indignant at this, voted to change their apparel, but B.C. 49

σθαι, κῦρος μὲν οὐδὲ τοῦθ' ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν ἔλαβεν, ἡ μέντοι γνώμη συνεγράφη καὶ τὸ ἔργον τὸ ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἐγένετο· πάντες γὰρ παραχρῆμα ἐξελθόντες ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου καὶ τὴν στολὴν μεταβαλόντες ἐσῆλθον αὖθις καὶ περὶ τιμωρίας αὐτῶν ἐβου-
2 λεύοντο. ἰδόντες δὲ τοῦτ' ἐκεῖνοι τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἀντέπραττον, ἔπειτα δὲ φοβηθέντες, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὁ Λέντουλος ὑπεξελθεῖν σφισι πρὶν τὰς ψήφους διενεχθῆναι παρῄνεσεν, εἰπόν τε πολλὰ καὶ ἐμαρτύραντο, κἀκ τούτου μετὰ τοῦ Κουρίωνος καὶ μετὰ τοῦ Καιλίου ἀπῆραν πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα, βραχὺ φροντίσαντες ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ βουλευτικοῦ δι-
3 εγράφησαν. τότε μὲν οὖν τοῦτ' ἐγνώσθη, καὶ τοῖς ὑπάτοις ταῖς τε ἄλλαις ἀρχαῖς ἡ φυλακὴ τῆς πόλεως, ὥσπερ που εἰώθει γίγνεσθαι, ἐπετράπη· ὕστερον δὲ ἔξω τοῦ πωμηρίου πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν Πομπήιον ἐλθόντες ταραχήν τε εἶναι ἔγνωσαν,
4 καὶ ἐκείνῳ μὲν καὶ τὰ χρήματα καὶ στρατιώτας ἔδωκαν, τὸν δὲ δὴ Καίσαρα τήν τε ἀρχὴν τοῖς διαδόχοις παραδοῦναι καὶ τὰ στρατεύματα ἐντὸς ῥητῆς ἡμέρας ἀφεῖναι, ἢ πολέμιον ὡς καὶ τἀναντία τῇ πατρίδι ποιοῦντα εἶναι ἐψηφίσαντο.

4 Πυθόμενος οὖν ταῦτα ἐκεῖνος ἔς τε Ἀρίμινον ἦλθεν, ἔξω τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἀρχῆς τότε πρῶτον προχωρήσας, καὶ συναγαγὼν τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐκέλευσε τόν τε Κουρίωνα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐλθόντας σφίσι τὰ πραχθέντα διηγήσασθαι. γενομένου δὲ τούτου προσπαρώξυνεν
2 αὐτούς, ἐπειπὼν ὅσα ὁ καιρὸς ἀπῄτει. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἄρας ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἄντικρυς τὴν Ῥώμην ἤλασε, πάσας τὰς ἐν ποσὶ πόλεις ἀμαχεὶ προστιθέμενος, τῶν φρουρῶν τῶν μὲν ἐκλειπόντων αὐτὰς ἀσθε-

this measure, also, through the opposition of the same men, failed to be ratified. The senate's decision, however, was recorded and put into effect; for all straightway left the senate-house, and changed their dress, then came in again and proceeded to deliberate about punishing the tribunes. The latter, observing this, at first resisted, but later became afraid, especially when Lentulus advised them to get out of the way before the vote should be taken. They offered many remarks and protestations and then set out with Curio and with Caelius to go to Caesar, little concerned at being expelled from the senate. This, then, was the decision reached at that time; and the care of the city was committed to the consuls and to the other magistrates, as was the custom. Afterward the senators went outside the pomerium to Pompey himself, declared that there was a state of disorder, and delivered to him both the funds and the troops. And they voted that Caesar should surrender his office to his successors and dismiss his legions by a given day, or else be considered an enemy, because acting contrary to the interests of the country. B.C. 49

When Caesar was informed of this, he came to Ariminum, then for the first time overstepping the confines of his own province, and after assembling his soldiers he ordered Curio and the others who had come with him to relate to them what had been done. After this was over he further aroused them by adding such words as the occasion demanded. Next he set out and marched straight upon Rome itself, winning over all the cities on the way without any conflict, since the garrisons either abandoned

νείᾳ, τῶν δὲ τὰ ἐκείνου ἀνθαιρουμένων. αἰσθόμενος δὲ τοῦτο ὁ Πομπήιος, καὶ ἅμα καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν παρὰ τοῦ Λαβιήνου μαθών,
3 ἔδεισεν. οὗτος γὰρ ἐγκαταλιπὼν τὸν Καίσαρα ἐξηυτομόλησε καὶ πάντα οἱ τὰ ἀπόρρητα αὐτοῦ ἐξήγγειλε. θαυμάσειε μὲν οὖν ἄν τις ὅτι ἐς τὰ πρῶτα ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀεί ποτε τιμηθείς, ὥστε καὶ πάντων τῶν ὑπὲρ τὰς Ἄλπεις στρατοπέδων, ὁπότε ἐκεῖνος ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ εἴη, ἄρχειν, ἐποίησε
4 τοῦτο·[1] αἴτιον δὲ ὅτι αὐτός τε καὶ πλοῦτον καὶ δόξαν περιβαλόμενος[2] ὀγκηρότερον τῆς ἡγεμονίας διάγειν ἤρξατο, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ παρισούμενόν οἱ αὐτὸν ἰδὼν οὐκέθ' ὁμοίως ἠγάπα. τήν τε οὖν μεταβολὴν μὴ φέρων, καὶ φοβηθεὶς ἅμα μὴ πάθῃ τι, μετέστη.

5 Ὁ οὖν Πομπήιος ἔκ τε τῶν περὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος αὐτῷ λεχθέντων, καὶ ὅτι ἰσχὺν ἀξιόμαχον οὔπω[3] παρεσκεύαστο, καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει, τούς τε ἄλλους καὶ αὐτοὺς μάλιστα τοὺς στασιώτας, τόν τε πόλεμον ὀκνοῦντας μνήμῃ τῶν τε τοῦ Μαρίου καὶ τῶν τοῦ Σύλλου ἔργων καὶ ἀπαλλαγῆναι ἀσφαλῶς
2 αὐτοῦ βουλομένους εἶδε, μετεβάλετο,[4] καὶ πρέσβεις πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα Λούκιόν τε Καίσαρα συγγενῆ αὐτῷ ὄντα καὶ Λούκιον Ῥώσκιον στρατηγοῦντα αὐτεπαγγέλτους ἀπέστειλεν, εἴ πως τὴν ὁρμὴν αὐτοῦ ἐκφυγὼν ἔπειτ' ἐπὶ μετρίοις τισὶ συμβαίη.
3 ἀποκριναμένου δὲ ἐκείνου τά τε ἄλλα ἅπερ ἐπεστάλκει, καὶ ὅτι αὐτὸς τῷ Πομπηίῳ διαλεχθῆναι

[1] τοῦτο Wagner, τοῦτον L.
[2] περιβαλόμενος H. Steph., περιβαλλόμενος L.
[3] οὔπω Reim., αὐτῷ L.
[4] μετεβάλετο Bk., μετεβάλλετο L.

them, because they were powerless to resist, or preferred his cause. Pompey, perceiving this, became afraid, especially when he learned all his rival's intentions from Labienus; for this officer had abandoned Caesar and deserted to the other side, and he announced all Caesar's secrets to Pompey. One might feel surprise, now, that after having always been most highly honoured by Caesar to the extent even of commanding all the legions beyond the Alps whenever the proconsul was in Italy, he should have done this. The reason was that when he had acquired wealth and fame he began to conduct himself more haughtily than his rank warranted, and Caesar, seeing that he put himself on the same level with his superior, ceased to be so fond of him. And so, as Labienus, could not endure this change and was at the same time afraid of coming to some harm, he transferred his allegiance. B.C. 49

Pompey, because of what was told him about Caesar and because he had not yet prepared a force sufficient to cope with him, changed his plans; for he saw that the people in the city, in fact the very members of his party, even more than the rest, shrank from the war through remembrance of the deeds of Marius and Sulla and wished to be delivered from it. Therefore he sent to Caesar, as envoys, Lucius Caesar, a relative of his, and Lucius Roscius, a praetor, both of whom volunteered for the service, to see if he could avoid his attack in some way and then reach an agreement with him on reasonable terms. The other replied to the same effect as in the letter which he had sent, and said that he, too, wished to have a conference with Pompey; but the multitude

ἐθέλοι, τοῦτο μὲν οὐχ ἡδέως οἱ πολλοὶ ἤκουσαν,
4 δείσαντες μὴ καὶ κατὰ σφῶν τι σύνθωνται· ἐπεὶ
μέντοι οἱ πρέσβεις ἄλλα τε πολλὰ ἐπαινοῦντες τὸν
Καίσαρα ἔλεγον, καὶ τέλος οὔτε τι κακὸν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ
πείσεσθαί τινα καὶ τὰ στρατεύματα αὐτίκα ἀφεθή-
σεσθαι προσυπισχνοῦντο, ἥσθησαν, καὶ πρός τε
ἐκεῖνον τοὺς αὐτοὺς αὖθις πρέσβεις ἔπεμψαν, καὶ
ἠξίουν ἐπιβοῶντες ἀεὶ καὶ πανταχοῦ καὶ ἀμφοτέ-
ρους ἅμα αὐτοὺς τὰ ὅπλα καταθέσθαι.

6 Φοβηθεὶς οὖν διὰ ταῦθ' ὁ Πομπήιος (καὶ γὰρ εὖ
ἠπίστατο ὅτι πολὺ τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἄν γε ἐπὶ τῷ
δήμῳ γένωνται, ἐλαττωθήσεται) αὐτός τε ἐς Καμ-
2 πανίαν πρὶν τοὺς πρέσβεις ἐπανελθεῖν, ὡς καὶ
ῥᾷον ἐκεῖ πολεμήσων, προαπῆρε, καὶ τὴν βου-
λὴν ἅπασαν μετὰ τῶν τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐχόντων ἀκολου-
θῆσαί οἱ ἐκέλευσεν, ἄδειάν τέ σφισι δόγματι τῆς
ἐκδημίας δούς, καὶ προειπὼν ὅτι τὸν ὑπομείναντα
ἔν τε τῷ ἴσῳ καὶ ἐν τῷ ὁμοίῳ τοῖς τὰ ἐναντία
3 σφίσι πράττουσιν ἕξοι. πρὸς δ' ἔτι καὶ τὰ
χρήματα τὰ δημόσια τά τε ἀναθήματα τὰ ἐν τῇ
πόλει πάντα ἀναιρεθῆναι προσέταξεν αὐτοῖς ψη-
φίσασθαι, ἐλπίζων παμπληθεῖς ἀπ' αὐτῶν στρα-
τιώτας ἀθροίσειν. τοσαύτην γὰρ εὔνοιαν αὐτοῦ
πᾶσαι ὡς εἰπεῖν αἱ ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ πόλεις εἶχον
ὥστε, ἐπειδὴ ἤκουσαν αὐτὸν ὀλίγον ἔμπροσθεν
ἐπικινδύνως νοσοῦντα, σωτήρια αὐτοῦ δημοσίᾳ
4 θύσειν εὔξασθαι. καὶ ὅτι μὲν μέγα καὶ λαμπρὸν
τοῦτ' αὐτῷ ἔδοσαν, οὐδ' ἂν εἷς ἀντιλέξειεν· οὐ
γὰρ ἔστιν ὅτῳ[1] ποτὲ ἄλλῳ, ἔξω τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα
τὸ πᾶν κράτος λαβόντων, τοιοῦτόν τι ἐψηφίσθη·

[1] ὅτῳ R. Steph., ὅτι L.

was not pleased to hear this, fearing that some measures might be concerted against them. When, however, the envoys said many things in praise of Caesar, and ended up by promising that no one should suffer any harm at his hands and that the legions should immediately be disbanded, they were pleased and sent the same envoys to him again, and they kept shouting out everywhere and always their demand that both leaders should lay down their arms at the same time. B.C. 49

Pompey was frightened at this, knowing well that he would be far inferior to Caesar if they should both put themselves in the power of the people, and accordingly set out for Campania before the envoys returned, with the idea that he could more easily carry on war there. He also commanded the whole senate together with the magistrates to accompany him, granting them permission for their absence by a decree, and announcing to them that he would regard anyone who remained behind in exactly the same light as those who were working against him. Furthermore he ordered them to decree that the public moneys and the votive offerings in the city should all be seized, hoping that by using them he could get together a vast number of soldiers. For practically all the cities of Italy felt such friendliness for him that when, a short time before, they had heard he was dangerously ill, they had vowed to offer public sacrifices for his safety. That this was a great and brilliant honour which they bestowed upon him no one would deny, since there has been no one else in whose behalf such a vote was ever passed, except those who in after times received

οὐ μὴν καὶ ἀκριβῆ πίστιν τοῦ μὴ οὐκ ἐγκαταλεί-
ψειν αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸν ἐκ τοῦ κρείττονος φόβον παρ-
5 εῖχον.[1] ἐγνώσθη μὲν δὴ ταῦτα περί τε τῶν χρη-
μάτων καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀναθημάτων, οὐκ ἐκινήθη δὲ
οὐδέτερα·[2] πυθόμενοι γὰρ ἐν τούτῳ τόν τε Καίσαρα
μήτε τι εἰρηναῖον τοῖς πρέσβεσιν ἀποκεκρίσθαι
καὶ προσεγκαλεῖν σφισιν ὡς καὶ καταψευσαμένοις
6 τινὰ αὐτοῦ, καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας πολλούς τε καὶ
θρασεῖς εἶναι καὶ πᾶν ὁτιοῦν, οἷά που φιλεῖ[3] περὶ
τῶν τοιούτων ἐπὶ τὸ φοβερώτερον ἀγγέλλεσθαι,
κακουργήσειν, ἐφοβήθησαν, καὶ σπουδῇ τὴν ἔξο-
δον, πρὶν ἅψασθαί τινος αὐτῶν, ἐποιήσαντο.

7 Κἀκ τούτου καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα ὁμοίως πάντα
θορυβώδης σφῶν καὶ ταραχώδης ἡ ἀνάστασις
ἐγένετο. οἵ τε γὰρ ἐξιόντες (ἦσαν δὲ πάντες ὡς
εἰπεῖν οἱ πρῶτοι καὶ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τῆς ἱππάδος
2 καὶ προσέτι καὶ τοῦ[4] ὁμίλου) λόγῳ μὲν ἐπὶ
πολέμῳ ἀφωρμῶντο, ἔργῳ δὲ τὰ τῶν ἑαλωκότων
ἔπασχον· τήν τε γὰρ πατρίδα καὶ τὰς ἐν αὐτῇ
διατριβὰς ἐκλιπεῖν καὶ τὰ ἀλλότρια τείχη οἰκειό-
τερα τῶν σφετέρων νομίζειν ἀναγκαζόμενοι δεινῶς
3 ἐλυποῦντο. οἵ τε γὰρ πανοικησίᾳ ἀνιστάμενοι τὰ
ἱερὰ καὶ τοὺς οἴκους τό τε ἔδαφος τὸ πατρῷον ὡς
καὶ τῶν ἀντιστασιωτῶν εὐθὺς ἐσόμενα ἀπέλειπον,[5]
καὶ αὐτοὶ οὕτω τὴν γνώμην, ἄν γε καὶ περισωθῶ-
σιν, εἶχον ὡς κἀν[6] τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ τῇ τε Θρᾴκῃ
κατοικήσοντες· τὴν γὰρ τοῦ Πομπηίου διάνοιαν
4 οὐκ ἠγνόουν. καὶ οἱ κατὰ χώραν τούς τε παῖδας
καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας τά τε ἄλλα τὰ τιμιώτατα

[1] παρεῖχον Kübler, εἶχον L.
[2] οὐδέτερα Bk., οὐδὲ ἕτερα L.
[3] φιλεῖ R. Steph., φιλεῖν L.
[4] τοῦ Bk., τὸ τοῦ L.
[5] ἀπέλειπον H. Steph., ἀπέλιπον L.
[6] κἀν Reim., καὶ L.

absolute power; still they inspired him with no sure confidence that they would not abandon him through fear of one stronger. The recommendation about the moneys and the votive offerings was granted, but neither of them was touched; for, having ascertained meanwhile that Caesar's answer to the envoys had not been at all conciliatory and that he had furthermore reproached them with having made some false statements about him, also that his soldiers were many and bold and liable to do any kind of mischief,—just the sort of reports, exaggerating the danger, as are usually made about such matters,—the senators became frightened and hastily took their departure before they could lay hands on any of the treasures. B.C. 49

Accordingly their removal was equally tumultuous and confused in all other respects. For the departing citizens, practically all of whom were the foremost men of the senate and of the knights, to say nothing of the populace, while nominally setting out for war, were in reality undergoing the experiences of captives. For they were compelled to abandon their country and their pursuits there, and to consider foreign walls more friendly than their own, and consequently they were terribly distressed. Such as were removing with their entire households said farewell to the temples and to their homes and to the soil of their ancestors, with the feeling that these would straightway become the property of their opponents; and as for themselves, not being ignorant of Pompey's purpose, they had the intention, if they really survived, of establishing themselves in Macedonia and Thrace. Those who were leaving behind on the spot their children and wives and

καταλείποντες[1] ἔχειν μέν τινα ἐλπίδα τῆς
πατρίδος ἐδόκουν, πολὺ δὲ δὴ τῶν ἑτέρων, ἅτε
καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν φιλτάτων ἀπαρτώμενοι, διττῇ
τε τύχῃ καὶ ἐναντιωτάτῃ παραβαλλόμενοι,
5 χαλεπωτέρως ἀπήλλασσον· τὰ γὰρ οἰκειότατα
τῷ πολεμιωτάτῳ σφῶν ἐκδόντες ἔμελλον
ἐθελοκακοῦντες μὲν αὐτοὶ κινδυνεύσειν, προθυμούμενοι
δὲ ἐκείνων στερηθήσεσθαι, καὶ προσέτι
φίλον μὲν μηδέτερον ἐχθροὺς δὲ ἀμφοτέρους ἕξειν,
Καίσαρα μὲν ὅτι μὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ κατέμειναν,
Πομπήιον δὲ ὅτι μὴ καὶ ἐκεῖνα συνεπηγάγοντο.
6 ὥστε καὶ ἐς ἀμφίβολον καὶ ταῖς γνώμαις καὶ ταῖς
εὐχαῖς ταῖς τε ἐλπίσι καθιστάμενοι τοῖς τε
σώμασιν ἅμα ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκειοτάτων σφίσιν
ἀπεσπῶντο καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς δίχα διῃροῦντο.

8 Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οἱ ἐξορμώμενοι ἔπασχον, οἱ δ'
ὑπολειπόμενοι διαφόροις μὲν ἀντιπάλοις δέ τισι
καὶ αὐτοὶ παθήμασι συνεφέροντο. οἵ τε γὰρ ἀπὸ
τῶν προσηκόντων σφίσιν ἀποζευγνύμενοι, οἷα
τῶν τε προστατῶν στερισκόμενοι καὶ ἐπαμῦναι
2 αὐτοῖς[2] ἥκιστα δυνάμενοι, τῷ τε πολέμῳ
ἐκδιδόμενοι καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ τοῦ τῆς πόλεως
κρατήσοντος ἐσόμενοι, αὐτοί τε ὑπὸ τοῦ φόβου
καὶ τῶν ὕβρεων καὶ τῶν σφαγῶν ὡς καὶ
γιγνομένων ἤδη ἐταλαιπώρουν, καὶ περὶ ἐκείνων
οἵ τε ὀργήν σφισιν ὅτι ἐγκατελείφθησαν ἔχοντες
τὰ αὐτὰ ἐπηρῶντο καὶ οἱ συγγνώμην τῆς ἀνάγκης
3 ποιούμενοι τὰ αὐτὰ ἐδέδισαν.[3] καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν
πλῆθος σύμπαν, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα μηδεμία
αὐτοῖς συγγένεια πρὸς τοὺς ἀφορμωμένους ἦν,

[1] καταλείποντες Bk., καταλιπόντες L.
[2] αὐτοῖς Xyl., αὐτοῖς L. [3] ἐδέδισαν Bs., ἐδεδείεσαν L.

all their other dearest treasures gave the impression, indeed, of having some little hope of their country, but in reality were in a much worse plight than the others, since they were being separated from all that was dearest to them and were exposing themselves to a double and most contradictory fate. For in delivering their nearest interests to the power of their bitterest foes they were destined, in case they played the coward, to be in danger themselves, and in case they showed zeal, to be deprived of those left behind; moreover, they would find a friend in neither rival, but an enemy in both—in Caesar because they themselves had not remained behind, and in Pompey because they had not taken everything with them. Hence they were divided in their minds, in their prayers, and in their hopes; in body they were being sundered from those nearest to them, and their souls were cleft in twain. B.C. 49

These were the feelings of the departing throng. The ones left behind were experiencing different, but equally painful emotions. Those who were being sundered from their relatives, being thus deprived of their guardians and quite unable to defend themselves, exposed to the war and about to be in the power of him who should make himself master of the city, not only were distressed themselves by the fear of outrages and of murders, as if these were already taking place, but they also either invoked the same fate against those departing, through anger at being deserted, or, condoning their action because of their necessity, feared that the same fate would befall them. All the rest of the populace, even if they did not have the least kinship with those departing,

ὅμως ἐλυποῦντο μὲν καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνοις, οἱ μὲν
γείτονας οἱ δὲ ἑταίρους πολύ τε ἀπὸ σφῶν
ἀφήξειν καὶ πολλὰ καὶ ἄτοπα καὶ δράσειν καὶ
πείσεσθαι ἐλπίζοντες, πολλῷ δὲ δὴ μάλιστα
4 ἑαυτοὺς ὠλοφύροντο· τάς τε γὰρ ἀρχὰς καὶ τὴν
βουλὴν τούς τε ἄλλους τούς τι δυναμένους
πάντας (οὐ γάρ που εἴ γέ τις αὐτῶν ὑπολειφθήσε-
ται ᾔδεσαν) τῆς τε πατρίδος ἅμα καὶ σφῶν
ἐξισταμένους ὁρῶντες, καὶ μήτ' ἂν ἐκείνους, εἰ μὴ
πάνυ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ αὐτῇ ἐπήρτητο, φυγεῖν
5 ποτε ἐθελῆσαι λογιζόμενοι, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔρημοι μὲν
ἀρχόντων ἔρημοι δὲ συμμάχων γιγνόμενοι, πρός
τε τὰ ἄλλα πάντα παισί τέ τισιν ὀρφανοῖς καὶ
γυναιξὶ χήραις ἐῴκεσαν, καὶ τὰς ὀργὰς τάς τε
ἐπιθυμίας τῶν ἐπιόντων καὶ πρῶτοι[1] . . . τῆς τῶν
προτέρων παθημάτων μνήμης, οἱ μὲν αὐτοὶ
πειραθέντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐκείνων ἀκούοντες ὅσα καὶ
οἷα ὅ τε Μάριος καὶ ὁ Σύλλας ἐξειργάσαντο,
6 μέτριον οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα ὑπώπτευον,
ἀλλὰ καὶ πολὺ πλείω καὶ δεινότερα, ἅτε καὶ
βαρβαρικοῦ τὸ πλεῖστον τοῦ στρατοῦ αὐτοῦ
ὄντος, πείσεσθαι προσεδόκων.

9 Οὕτως οὖν δὴ πάντων αὐτῶν διακειμένων, καὶ
μηδενός, ἔξω τῶν προσφιλῶν πῃ τῷ Καίσαρι
δοκούντων εἶναι, ἐν ἐλαφρῷ τὸ πρᾶγμα ποιου-
μένου,[2] καὶ ἐκείνων δὲ πρὸς τὰς μεταβολὰς τῶν
τρόπων, ἃς οἱ πλείους πρὸς τὰ παρόντα σφίσι[3]
λαμβάνουσιν, οὐ φερεγγύῳ πίστει θαρσούντων,
οὐδ'[4] ἐπινοῆσαι ῥᾴδιον ὅση μὲν ταραχὴ ὅσον δὲ

[1] Lacuna recognised by Xyl.
[2] ποιουμένου Xyl., ποιουμένων L.
[3] σφίσι Rk., σφῶν L. [4] οὐδ' Pflugk, οὔτ' L.

were nevertheless grieved at their fate, some expecting that their neighbours, and others that their comrades, would go far away from them and do and suffer many dreadful things. But most of all they bewailed their own lot as they beheld the magistrates and the senate and all the others who had any power—they were not sure, indeed, whether any of them would be left behind—quitting their country and them. They reflected how those men would never have wished to flee, had not many altogether dreadful calamities fastened themselves upon the state; and as for themselves, being now bereft of rulers and bereft of allies, they seemed in all respects like orphaned children and widowed wives. [Expecting] to be the first [to experience] the wrath and the lust of the approaching foes, and remembering their former sufferings, some by experience and others by hearing from the victims all the outrages that Marius and Sulla had committed, they did not look for any moderate treatment from Caesar, either. On the contrary, inasmuch as the larger part of his army consisted of barbarians, they expected that their misfortunes would be far greater in number and more terrible than the former ones. B.C. 49

Since, then, all of them were in this state, and no one except those who thought they were good friends of Caesar made light of the situation, and even they, in view of the change of character which most men undergo according to their circumstances, had not the courage of confident assurance, it is not easy to conceive what confusion and what grief prevailed at

καὶ πένθος ἐν τῇ τῶν τε ὑπάτων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
2 τῶν συνεξορμωμένων σφίσιν ἐξόδῳ ἐγένετο. τήν τε γὰρ νύκτα πᾶσαν ἀνασκευαζόμενοι[1] καὶ περιφοιτῶντες ἐθορύβουν, καὶ ὑπὸ[2] τὴν ἕω πολὺς μὲν πρὸς τοῖς ἱεροῖς[3] οἶκτος (καὶ γὰρ ἑκασταχόθι περιιόντες εὐχὰς ἐποιοῦντο) πάντας αὐτοὺς ἐλάμβανε· τούς τε γὰρ θεοὺς ἀνεκάλουν καὶ τὰ δάπεδα κατεφίλουν, ὁσάκις τε[4] ἐξ οἵων περιεγένοντο ἀνηριθμοῦντο, καὶ ὅτι τὴν πατρίδα, ὃ μηπώποτε ἐτετόλμητό σφισιν, ἐξέλειπον,[5] ὠδύροντο· πολὺς δὲ καὶ περὶ τὰς πύλας θρῆνος ἦν·
3 οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀλλήλους τε ἅμα καὶ ἐκείνην ὡς καὶ τελευταῖον ὁρῶντες ἠσπάζοντο, οἱ δὲ ἑαυτούς τε ἐθρήνουν καὶ τοῖς ἐξιοῦσι συνηύχοντο, καὶ οἵ γε πλείους ὡς καὶ προδιδόμενοι κατηρῶντο· πάντες γὰρ καὶ οἱ ὑπομένοντες παμπαιδὶ καὶ παγγυναικὶ
4 παρῆσαν. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο οἱ μὲν ἐξωρμῶντο, οἱ δὲ προέπεμπόν σφας· ἄλλοι τε ἐνεχρόνιζον καὶ πρὸς τῶν γνωρίμων κατείχοντο, καί τινες περιβάλλοντες ἀλλήλους ἐπὶ πλεῖστον συνηρτῶντο. ἀκολουθοῦντές τε τοῖς ἐξορμωμένοις οἱ ὑπομένοντες ἐπὶ μακρότατον ἐπεβοῶντό τε ἅμα αὐτοὺς καὶ κατῴκτιζον, ἄγειν τέ σφας ἢ καὶ
5 ἐκείνους οἴκοι μένειν ἀξιοῦντες ἐπεθείαζον. κἂν τούτῳ ὀλολυγὴ ἐφ' ἑκάστῳ αὐτῶν πολλὴ καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ δάκρυα ἄπλετα ἐγίγνετο· τὴν μὲν γὰρ τοῦ κρείττονος ἐλπίδα ἥκιστα, ἅτε ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις ὄντες, τὰ δὲ δὴ πάθη πρότερον μὲν

[1] ἀνασκευαζόμενοι Naber, ἀναγκαζόμενοι L.
[2] ὑπὸ Reim., ἐπὶ L.
[3] πρὸς τοῖς ἱεροῖς placed here by Bk., after καὶ γὰρ in L.
[4] τε R. Steph., τε καὶ L.
[5] ἐξέλειπον H. Steph., ἐξέλιπον L.

the departure of the consuls and those who set out B.C. 49
with them. All night they made an uproar with their packing and running to and fro, and toward dawn great sadness came upon them all at the various temples, as they went about offering prayer on every side. They invoked the gods, kissed the ground, and lamented as often as they enumerated the perils which they had survived, and recalled that they were leaving their country, a thing they had never brought themselves to do before. Around the gates, too, there was much lamenting. Some took fond leave at once of each other and of the city, as if they were beholding them for the last time; others bewailed their own lot and joined their prayers to those of the departing, while the majority uttered curses, on the ground that they were being betrayed. For all who were to remain behind were there, too, with all the women and children. Then the one group set out on their way and the other group escorted them. Some interposed delays and were detained by their acquaintances; others embraced and clung to each other for a long time. Those who were to remain accompanied those who set out, calling after them and expressing their sympathy, while with appeals to Heaven they besought them to take them, too, or to remain at home themselves. Meanwhile there was much wailing over each one of the exiles, even from outsiders, and tears without restraint. For they were anything but hopeful, in such circumstances, of a change for the better; it was rather

οἱ καταλειπόμενοι ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ οἱ ἀφορμώμενοι
6 προσεδέχοντο. εἴκασε δ' ἄν τις αὐτοὺς ἰδὼν δύο
τε δήμους καὶ δύο πόλεις ἐκ μιᾶς γίγνεσθαι, καὶ
τὴν μὲν ἀνίστασθαί τε καὶ φεύγειν, τὴν δὲ ἐγκατα-
λείπεσθαί τε καὶ ἁλίσκεσθαι.

7 Πομπήιος μὲν οὖν οὕτω τὸ ἄστυ ἐξέλιπεν,
συχνοὺς τῶν βουλευτῶν ἐπαγόμενος (ὑπελείφθη-
σαν γάρ τινες, οἱ μὲν τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος φρονοῦν-
τες, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐκ μέσου ἀμφοῖν ἱστάμενοι), καὶ
καταλόγους τε ἐκ τῶν πόλεων σπουδῇ ἐποιεῖτο
καὶ χρήματα ἐξέλεγε, φρουράς τε ὡς ἑκασταχόσε
10 ἔπεμπε· Καῖσαρ δὲ ἐπειδὴ ταῦτα ἔμαθε, πρὸς
μὲν τὴν Ῥώμην οὐκ ἠπείχθη (ἆθλόν τε γὰρ
αὐτὴν ᾔδει τοῖς κρατήσουσι προκειμένην, καὶ
οὐκ ἐπ' ἐκείνην ὡς καὶ πολεμίαν οἱ οὖσαν,
ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀντιστασιώτας ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς δῆθεν
2 ἐπιστρατεύειν ἔλεγε), γράμματα δὲ ἐς πᾶσαν
τὴν Ἰταλίαν πέμψας, δι' ὧν τόν τε Πομπήιον
ἐς δίκην τινὰ προεκαλεῖτο καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις
θαρσεῖν παρῄνει, κατὰ χώραν τε αὐτοῖς μένειν
ἐκέλευε,[1] καὶ ὑπισχνεῖτο πολλὰ αὐτοῖς. καὶ
ἐπὶ Κορφίνιον, ἐπειδή οἱ ὑπὸ Λουκίου Δομιτίου
κατεχόμενον οὐ προσεχώρει, ὥρμησε, καί τινας
ἀπαντήσαντας μάχῃ κρατήσας ἐς πολιορκίαν
3 τοὺς λοιποὺς κατέκλεισεν. ὁ οὖν Πομπήιος,
ἐπειδὴ οὗτοί τε ἐπολιορκοῦντο καὶ τῶν ἄλλων
πολλοὶ πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ἀπέκλινον, τῆς μὲν
Ἰταλίας οὐδεμίαν ἔτ' ἐλπίδα ἔσχεν, ἐς δὲ δὴ
τὴν Μακεδονίαν τήν τε Ἑλλάδα καὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν
περαιωθῆναι ἔγνω· τῇ τε γὰρ μνήμῃ ὧν ἐκεῖ
ἐπεπράχει, καὶ τῇ τῶν δήμων τῇ τε τῶν βασιλέων

[1] ἐκέλευε H. Steph., ἐκέλευσε L.

suffering that was expected, first by those who were left, and later by those who were departing. Any one who saw them would have supposed that two peoples and two cities were being made from one and that the one group was being driven out and was going into exile, while the other was being left to its fate and taken captive. B.C. 49

Pompey thus left the city, taking many of the senators with him, although some remained behind, either being attached to Caesar's cause or maintaining a neutral attitude toward the two. He hastily raised levies from the cities, collected money, and sent garrisons to each point. Caesar, when he learned of these moves, did not hurry to Rome; for the capital, he knew, lay as a prize before the victors, and he claimed to be marching, not against that place as hostile to him, but rather against his political opponents and in its defence. And he sent letters throughout all Italy in which he challenged Pompey to some kind of trial, and encouraged the others to be of good cheer, bade them remain in their places, and made them many promises. He set out next against Corfinium, because this place, being occupied by Lucius Domitius, would not join his cause, and after conquering in battle a few who met him he shut up the rest and besieged them. Now Pompey, inasmuch as these followers were being besieged and many of the others were falling away to Caesar, had no further hope of Italy, and resolved to cross over into Macedonia, Greece, and Asia. For he derived much encouragement from the remembrance of what he had achieved there and from the friendship

4 φιλίᾳ πολὺ ἐθάρσει. ἦν μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἡ Ἰβηρία
αὐτῷ πᾶσα οἰκεία, οὐκ ἐδύνατο[1] δὲ ἐς αὐτὴν
ἀσφαλῶς, ἅτε καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος τὰς Γαλατίας
ἔχοντος, κομισθῆναι. πρὸς δ' ἔτι καὶ ἐλογίζετο
ὅτι, ἂν ἀποπλεύσῃ, οὔτε ἐπιδιώξει τις αὐτὸν
διά τε τὴν τῶν πλοίων ἀπορίαν καὶ διὰ τὸν
χειμῶνα (ἤδη γὰρ ἐκ μετοπώρου ἦν), κἀν τούτῳ
κατὰ σχολὴν πολλὰ μὲν ἐκ τοῦ ὑπηκόου πολλὰ
δὲ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ συμμαχικοῦ καὶ χρήματα καὶ
11 στρατεύματα ἀθροίσει. αὐτός τε οὖν ἐπὶ τού-
τοις ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἀφωρμήθη, καὶ τὸν Δομίτιον
ἐκλιπόντα τὸ Κορφίνιον ἀκολουθεῖν οἱ ἐκέλευσε.
καὶ ὅς, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἰσχύν τέ τινα εἶχε
καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῇ ἐπήλπιζε (καὶ γὰρ τοὺς στρατιώ-
τας τά τε ἄλλα ἐτεθεραπεύκει καὶ χώρας ὑποσχέ-
2 σει ὑπῆκτο· τῶν τε γὰρ Συλλείων ἐγεγόνει καὶ
πολλὴν ἐκ τῆς δυναστείας ἐκείνης ἐκέκτητο),
ὅμως ἐπειθάρχησε. καὶ ὁ μὲν παρεσκευάζετο
ὅπως δι' ἀσφαλείας τινὸς ἐκχωρήσῃ· μαθόντες
δὲ τοῦθ' οἱ συνόντες οἱ, καὶ κατοκνήσαντες τὴν[2]
ἄφοδον ὡς καὶ φυγὴν οὖσαν, προσέθεντο τῷ
3 Καίσαρι. καὶ οἱ μὲν συνεστρατεύοντο αὐτῷ,
Δομίτιος δὲ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι βουλευταὶ ᾐτιάθησαν
μὲν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀντιτάξει, ἀπελύθησαν δὲ
καὶ πρὸς τὸν Πομπήιον ἀπῆλθον.

12 Ὁ δ' οὖν Καῖσαρ σπουδὴν μὲν εἶχε συμμῖξαί
τε αὐτῷ πρὶν ἐκπλεῦσαι, κἀν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ διαπο-
λεμῆσαι, καταλαβεῖν τε αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ Βρεντεσίῳ
ἔτ' ὄντα· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τὰ πλοῖα οὐκ ἐξήρκεσέ
σφισι, προέπεμψεν ἄλλους τε καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους,
μὴ καὶ νεοχμώσωσί τι κατὰ χώραν ὑπομείναν-

[1] ἐδύνατο St., ἠδύνατο L. [2] τὴν Reim., ἐς τὴν L.

of the peoples and the kings. Spain, to be sure, was likewise wholly devoted to him, but he could not reach it safely, since Caesar held both the Gauls. Moreover he calculated that if he should sail away, no one would pursue him on account of the lack of ships and on account of the winter, as the autumn was now far advanced; and meanwhile he would be amassing at leisure both money and troops, partly from the Roman subjects and partly from their allies. With this purpose, therefore, he himself set out for Brundisium and bade Domitius abandon Corfinium and accompany him. And Domitius, in spite of the large force that he had and the hopes he reposed in it, inasmuch as he had courted the favour of the soldiers in every way and had won them over by promises of land (as one of Sulla's veterans he had acquired a large amount under that *régime*), nevertheless obeyed orders. He, accordingly, was making preparations to evacuate the town with some degree of safety; but his associates, when they learned of it, shrank from the journey abroad, because it seemed to them a flight, and they attached themselves to Caesar. So these joined the invader's army, but Domitius and the other senators, after being censured by Caesar for arraying themselves against him, were allowed to go and came to Pompey. B.C. 49

Caesar, accordingly, was anxious to join issue with Pompey before he could sail away and to fight out the war in Italy, if he could but overtake his adversary while he was still at Brundisium; for since there were not sufficient ships for all, Pompey had sent ahead the consuls and others, fearing that they might begin some rebellion if they remained there.

2 τες· ἰδὼν δὲ τὸ δυσάλωτον τοῦ χωρίου προσκαλέ-
σατο[1] αὐτὸν ἐς συνθήκας ὡς καὶ τὴν εἰρήνη
τήν τε φιλίαν ἀποληψόμενον. ἀποκριναμένου
τε αὐτοῦ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ ὅτι τοῖς ὑπάτοις ἃ
λέγει κοινώσεται, ἐπειδὴ ἐδέδοκτό σφισι μηδένα
τῶν πολιτῶν τῶν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ὄντων ἐς λόγους
3 δέχεσθαι, προσέβαλε τῇ πόλει. καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ
Πομπήιος ἡμέρας μέν τινας ἠμύνατο, μέχρις οὗ
τὰ πλοῖα ἐπανῆλθε· διοικοδομήσας δὲ ἐν τούτῳ
καὶ ἀποφράξας τὰς ἐς τὸν λιμένα ὁδούς, μὴ
καὶ ἐπίθηταί τις αὐτῷ ἐκπλέοντι, ἔπειτα νυκτὸς
ἐξανήχθη. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀσφαλῶς ἐς τὴν Μακεδονίαν
ἐπεραιώθη, τὸ δὲ δὴ Βρεντέσιον δύο τε ἐν αὐτῷ
πλοῖα μεστὰ ἀνδρῶν ἑάλω.

13 Πομπήιος μὲν οὖν τήν τε πατρίδα καὶ τὴν
ἄλλην Ἰταλίαν οὕτως ἐξέλιπε πάντα τὰ ἐναντιώ-
τατα τοῖς πρόσθεν, ὅτε ἐς αὐτὴν ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας
κατέπλευσε, καὶ ἑλόμενος καὶ πράξας· ἀφ
ὧνπερ καὶ τὴν τύχην καὶ τὴν δόξαν ἀντίπαλον
2 ἐκτήσατο. τά τε γὰρ στρατόπεδα πρότερον
εὐθὺς ἐν τῷ Βρεντεσίῳ, ἵνα μή τι τοὺς πολίτας
λυπήσῃ, ἀφείς, ἕτερα δι' αὐτοῦ τότε ἐκ τῆς
Ἰταλίας ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐξήγαγε· καὶ τοὺς πλούτους
τῶν βαρβάρων ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἀγαγών, πάνθ'
3 ὅσα ἠδυνήθη τότε ἐξ αὐτῆς ἑτέρωσε[2] ἐκόμισε· καὶ
τῶν μὲν οἴκοι πάντων ἀπέγνω, τοῖς δ' ἀλλοτρίοις
καὶ τοῖς γε ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ ποτε δουλωθεῖσι συμ-
μάχοις κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος χρήσασθαι ἐνόει, καὶ
ἐν αὐτοῖς πολὺ πλείω ἐλπίδα καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας
καὶ τῆς δυναστείας ἢ ἐν[3] τοῖς εὐεργετηθεῖσι

[1] προεκαλέσατο Reim., προσεκαλέσατο L.
[2] ἑτέρωσε R. Steph., ἑτέρως L. [3] ἐν added by Bk.

Caesar, seeing the difficulty of capturing the place, urged his opponent to come to some agreement, assuring him that he should obtain both peace and friendship again. When Pompey replied merely that he would communicate to the consuls what Caesar said, the latter, inasmuch as those officials had decided to receive no citizen in arms for a conference, assaulted the city. Pompey repelled him for some days until the ships returned; and having meanwhile barricaded and obstructed the streets leading to the harbour, so that no one should attack him as he was sailing forth, he then put out by night. Thus he crossed over to Macedonia in safety, and Brundisium was captured along with two ships full of men. B.C. 49

So Pompey in this way deserted his country and the rest of Italy, choosing and carrying out quite the opposite of his former course, when he had sailed back to it from Asia; hence he gained the opposite fortune and reputation. For, whereas formerly he had at once dismissed his legions at Brundisium, so as not to cause the citizens any anxiety, he was now leading away through that town other forces gathered from Italy to fight against them; and whereas he had brought the wealth of the barbarians to Rome, he now carried away from it all that he could to other places. Of all the citizens at home he despaired, but purposed to use against his country foreigners and the allies once enslaved by him; and he placed in them far more hope both of safety and of power than in those whom he had

4 ἐποιεῖτο. καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ἀντὶ μὲν τῆς λαμπρό-
τητος ἣν ἐκ τῶν πολέμων ἐκείνων κτησάμενος
ἀφίκετο, ταπεινότητα πρὸς τὸν παρὰ τοῦ Καί-
σαρος φόβον ἀντιλαβὼν ἀπῆρεν, ἀντὶ δὲ τῆς
εὐκλείας ἣν ἐκ τοῦ τὴν πατρίδα αὐξῆσαι ἔσχεν,
δυσκλεέστατος ἐπὶ τῇ τότε ἐκλείψει αὐτῆς
ἐγένετο.

14 Καὶ εὐθύς γε καταίρων ἐς τὸ Δυρράχιον ἔμαθεν
ὅτι οὐ καλῶς ἀπαλλάξει·[1] στρατιώτας τε γὰρ
κεραυνοὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ πρόσπλῳ ἔφθειραν, καὶ
τὰ σημεῖα τὰ στρατιωτικὰ ἀράχναι κατέσχον,
ἐκβάντος τε ἐκ τῆς νεὼς αὐτοῦ ὄφεις τὸν στίβον
2 ἐπισπόμενοι συνέχεον. ἐκείνῳ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα
τὰ τέρατα ἐγένετο, συνεβεβήκει δὲ καὶ πάσῃ
τῇ πόλει τούτῳ τε τῷ ἔτει καὶ ὀλίγον ἔμπροσθεν
ἕτερα. ὄντως γάρ που ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἐν ταῖς
στάσεσι τὸ κοινὸν βλάπτεται· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο
λύκοι τε καὶ βύαι πολλοὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ ἄστει
3 ὤφθησαν, καὶ σεισμοὶ συνεχεῖς μετὰ μυκηθμῶν
ἐγένοντο, πῦρ τε ἀπὸ δυσμῶν πρὸς ἀνατολὰς
διῇξε, καὶ ἕτερον ἄλλα τε καὶ τὸν τοῦ Κυρίνου[2]
ναὸν κατέφλεξεν. ὅ τε ἥλιος σύμπας ἐξέλιπε,
καὶ κεραυνοὶ σκῆπτρόν τε Διὸς καὶ ἀσπίδα
κράνος τε Ἄρεως, ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ ἀνακεί-
μενα, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὰς στήλας τὰς τοὺς
4 νόμους ἐχούσας ἐλυμήναντο. ζῷά τε πολλὰ
ἔξω τῆς ἑαυτῶν φύσεως ἐγέννησέ τινα, καὶ
λόγιά τινα ὡς καὶ τῆς Σιβύλλης ὄντα ᾔδετο,
κάτοχοί τέ τινες γιγνόμενοι συχνὰ ἐθείαζον.
καὶ πολίαρχος οὐδεὶς ἐς τὰς ἀνοχάς, ὥσπερ

[1] ἀπαλλάξει Rk , ἀπαλλάξειεν L.
[2] Κυρίνου Bk., κυιρίνου L.

benefited. Instead of the brilliance, therefore, acquired in those wars, which had marked his arrival, he departed with humiliation as his portion because of his fear of Caesar; and instead of the fame which he had gained for exalting his country, he became most infamous for his desertion of her. B.C. 49

Now at the very moment of coming to land at Dyrrachium he learned that he should not obtain a prosperous outcome. For thunderbolts destroyed some soldiers even as the ships were approaching; spiders occupied the army standards; and after he had left the vessel serpents followed and obliterated his footprints. These were the portents which came to him personally, but for the whole capital others had occurred both that year and a short time previously; for there is no doubt that in civil wars the state is injured by both parties. Hence many wolves and owls were seen in the city itself and continual earthquakes with bellowings took place, fire darted across from the west to the east, and another fire consumed the temple of Quirinus as well as other buildings. The sun, too, suffered a total eclipse, and thunderbolts damaged a sceptre of Jupiter and a shield and a helmet of Mars that were votive offerings on the Capitol, and likewise the tables which contained the laws. Many animals brought forth creatures outside of their own species, some oracles purporting to be those of the Sibyl were made known, and some men became inspired and uttered numerous divinations. No prefect of the city was chosen for the Feriae, as had been the

εἴθιστο, ᾑρέθη, ἀλλ' οἱ στρατηγοὶ πάντα τὰ ἐπιβάλλοντα αὐτῷ, ὥς γέ τισι δοκεῖ, διῴκησαν· ἕτεροι γὰρ ἐν τῷ ὑστέρῳ ἔτει φασὶν αὐτοὺς
5 τοῦτο ποιῆσαι. καὶ ἐκεῖνο μὲν καὶ αὖθις ἐγένετο, τότε[1] δὲ καὶ ὁ Περπέρνας ὁ μετὰ τοῦ Φιλίππου ποτὲ τιμητεύσας ἀπέθανεν, ὥς ἔφην, τελευταῖος πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ τιμητείᾳ αὐτοῦ βουλευσάν-
6 των, καὶ ἐδόκει καὶ τοῦτό τι νεοχμώσειν. ἐταράττοντο μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τοῖς τέρασιν ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἦν, οἰόμενοι δὲ δὴ καὶ ἐλπίζοντες ἑκάτεροι ἐς τοὺς ἀντιστασιώτας σφῶν πάντα αὐτὰ ἀποσκήψειν οὐδὲν ἐξεθύσαντο.

15 Ὁ οὖν Καῖσαρ ἐς μὲν τὴν Μακεδονίαν οὐδὲ ἐπείρασε τότε πλεῦσαι (πλοίων τε γὰρ ἠπόρει ἅμα καὶ περὶ τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ[2] ἐδεδίει, μὴ αὐτὴν ἐκ τῆς Ἰβηρίας οἱ τοῦ Πομπηίου ὑποστράτηγοι ἐπελθόντες κατάσχωσι), τὸ δὲ δὴ Βρεντέσιον διὰ φυλακῆς, τοῦ μή τινα τῶν ἀπηρκότων
2 ἀναπλεῦσαι, ποιησάμενος πρός τε τὴν Ῥώμην ἦλθε, καὶ τῆς γερουσίας οἱ ἔξω τοῦ πωμηρίου ὑπό τε τοῦ Ἀντωνίου καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Λογγίνου παρασκευασθείσης (ἐκπεσόντες γὰρ ἐξ αὐτῆς τότε αὐτὴν ἤθροισαν) ἐδημηγόρησε πολλὰ καὶ ἐπιεικῆ, ὅπως πρός τε τὸ παρὸν εὔνοιαν αὐτοῦ καὶ πρὸς
3 τὸ μέλλον ἐλπίδα χρηστὴν λάβωσιν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τοῖς τε γιγνομένοις ἀχθομένους καὶ ἐς τὸ στρατιω-

[1] τότε Bs., τοῦτο
[2] τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ Reim., τὴν ἰταλίαν L.

custom, but the praetors, at least according to some accounts, performed all his duties; others, however, say they did this in the following year. That, to be sure, was an occurrence that happened again; but at this time Perperna, who had once been censor with Philippus, died, being the last, as I have stated,[1] of all the senators who had been alive in his censorship.[2] This event, too, seemed to portend some political change. Now the people were naturally disturbed at the portents, but as both sides thought and hoped that the calamities would all light on their opponents, they offered no expiatory sacrifices. B.C. 49

Caesar did not even attempt to sail to Macedonia at this time, because he was short of ships and was anxious about Italy, fearing that the lieutenants of Pompey might assail it from Spain and occupy it; but putting Brundisium under guard, so that no one of those who had departed should sail back again, he then proceeded to Rome. There the senate had been assembled for him outside the pomerium by Antony and Longinus; for though they had once been expelled from that body they now convened it. He accordingly delivered a speech of some length and of a temperate character, so that they might feel good-will toward him for the time being and also excellent hope for the future. For as soon as he saw that they were displeased at what was going on

[1] In a book now lost.

[2] Valerius Maximus (viii. 13, 4) and Pliny (*N.H.* vii. 48) are probably more accurate when they state that he outlived all those who were senators in the year of his consulship (B.C. 92) and all but seven of those whom he appointed to that body during his censorship (B.C. 86). He died at the age of 98.

τικὸν πλῆθος ὑποπτεύοντας αὐτοὺς ἑώρα, παραμυθήσασθαι καὶ τιθασεῦσαί σφας τρόπον τινὰ ἠθέλησεν, ἵνα τά γε ἐκείνων, ἕως ἂν διαπολεμήσῃ,
4 ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ μείνῃ. καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' οὔτ' ᾐτιάσατό τινα οὔτ' ἠπείλησέ τινι οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ καὶ καταδρομὴν κατὰ τῶν πολεμεῖν πολίταις ἐθελόντων οὐκ ἄνευ ἀρῶν ἐποιήσατο, καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον πρέσβεις ὑπέρ τε τῆς εἰρήνης καὶ ὑπὲρ[1] τῆς ὁμονοίας σφῶν παραχρῆμα πρός τε τοὺς ὑπάτους καὶ πρὸς τὸν Πομπήιον πεμφθῆναι ἐσηγήσατο.
16 τὰ δ' αὐτὰ ταῦτα καὶ πρὸς τὸν δῆμον, καὶ αὐτὸν ἔξω τοῦ πωμηρίου συνελθόντα, εἰπών, σῖτόν τε ἐκ τῶν νήσων μετεπέμψατο καὶ πέντε καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα δραχμὰς ἑκάστῳ δώσειν ὑπέσχετο. καὶ ὁ μὲν τούτοις αὐτοὺς δελεάσειν ἤλπιζεν, οἱ δ' ἄνθρωποι λογιζόμενοι ὅτι οὔτε φρονοῦσιν οὔτε πράττουσι τὰ αὐτὰ οἵ τε ἐφιέμενοί τινων καὶ οἱ
2 τυχόντες, ἀλλ' ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς τῶν ἔργων πάντα τὰ ἥδιστα προβάλλουσι τοῖς ἀντιπρᾶξαί τι δυναμένοις, ἐπειδὰν δὲ κατορθώσωσιν ὅσα βούλονται, οὔτε τινὸς αὐτῶν μνημονεύουσι καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους ταῖς δυνάμεσιν ἃς παρ' αὐτῶν ἔλαβον χρῶνται, μεμνημένοι δὲ καὶ τὸν
3 Μάριον τόν τε Σύλλαν, ὡς πολλὰ καὶ φιλάνθρωπα πολλάκις σφίσιν εἰπόντες οἷα ἀνθ' οἵων ἔδρασαν, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος χρείαν αἰσθόμενοι, τά τε ὅπλα αὐτοῦ πολλὰ καὶ πανταχοῦ τῆς πόλεως ὁρῶντες ὄντα, οὔτε πιστεύειν τοῖς λεγομένοις οὔτε θαρρεῖν ἐδύναντο,

[1] ὑπὲρ Bk., περὶ L.

and suspicious of the multitude of soldiers, he wished to encourage and tame them, so to speak, in order that quiet might prevail at least in their quarter until he should bring the war to an end. He therefore censured no one and made no threat against anyone, but delivered an attack, not without imprecations, upon those who chose to war upon citizens, and at last proposed that envoys be sent immediately to the consuls and to Pompey to treat for peace and harmony. He made these same statements also to the populace, when that body had likewise assembled outside the pomerium; and he sent for grain from the islands, and promised to give each citizen three hundred sesterces.[1] He hoped to tempt them with this bait; but the men reflected that those who are pursuing certain ends and those who have attained them do not think or act alike, but at the beginning of their undertakings they offer every conceivable gratification to such as are in a position to work against them in any way, whereas, when they succeed in what they wish, they remember none of their promises and use against those very persons the power which they have received from them. Recalling also the behaviour of Marius and Sulla,—how many benevolent phrases they had often addressed to them and then what treatment they had accorded them in return for their services,—and furthermore perceiving Caesar's need and seeing that his armed forces were many and were everywhere in the city, they were unable either to trust his words or to be cheered by them. B.C. 49

[1] Literally, seventy-five drachmae or denarii. Dio expresses all sums in this unit, but in the translation the Roman practice will be followed.

4 ἀλλ' ἔναυλον τὸν ἐκ τοῦ πρὶν φόβον ἔχοντες καὶ ἐκεῖνον ὑπετόπουν, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι οἱ πρέσβεις οἱ τὰς καταλλαγὰς δῆθεν πρυτανεύσοντες[1] ᾑρέθησαν μέν, οὐκ ἐξῆλθον δέ, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ ἐμνήσθη ποτὲ περὶ αὐτῶν ὁ Πίσων ὁ πενθερὸς αὐτοῦ αἰτίαν ἔσχε.
17 τοσούτου τε ἐδέησαν τὰ χρήματα ἃ ὑπέσχετό σφισι τότε γε λαβεῖν, ὥστε καὶ τἆλλά οἱ πάνθ' ὅσα ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ ἦν πρὸς τὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν, οὓς ἐφοβοῦντο, τροφὴν ἔδοσαν. καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν τούτοις ὡς καὶ ἀγαθοῖς οὖσι τὴν ἐσθῆτα τὴν εἰρηνικὴν μετημπίσχοντο· οὐδέπω γὰρ αὐτὴν
2 μετειλήφεσαν. ἀντεῖπε μὲν οὖν πρὸς τὴν περὶ τῶν χρημάτων ἐσήγησιν Λούκιός[2] τις Μέτελλος δήμαρχος, καὶ ἐπειδὴ μηδὲν ἐπέρανε, πρός τε τοὺς θησαυροὺς ἦλθε καὶ τὰς θύρας αὐτῶν ἐν τηρήσει ἐποιήσατο· σμικρὸν δὲ δὴ καὶ τῆς φυλακῆς αὐτοῦ, ὥσπερ που καὶ τῆς παρρησίας, οἱ στρατιῶται φροντίσαντες τήν τε βαλανάγραν διέκοψαν (τὴν γὰρ κλεῖν οἱ ὕπατοι εἶχον, ὥσπερ οὐκ ἐξόν τισι πελέκεσιν ἀντ' αὐτῆς χρήσασθαι)
3 καὶ πάντα τὰ χρήματα ἐξεφόρησαν. καὶ μέντοι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, ὥς μοι πολλαχόθι εἴρηται, ὀνόματι μὲν ἰσονομίας (καὶ γὰρ διὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου τὰ πλείω αὐτῶν ἐσεφέρετο) ἔργῳ δὲ δυναστείας καὶ ἐψηφίζετο καὶ ἐπράττετο. τούς τε γὰρ ἀντιστασιάζοντάς σφισι πολεμίους ἑκάτεροι τῆς πατρίδος ὀνομάζοντες, καὶ ἑαυτοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν πολεμεῖν λέγοντες, τά τε ἴδια μόνα ηὖξον, κἀκεῖνα ὁμοίως ἀμφότεροι ἔφθειρον.
18 Ὁ δ' οὖν Καῖσαρ ταῦτά τε οὕτως ἐποίησε, καὶ

[1] πρυτανεύσοντες Reim., πρυτανεύοντες L.
[2] Λούκιός Bs., λεύκιός L (here only).

On the contrary, as they had fresh in their memory the fear caused by former events, they suspected him also, particularly since the envoys who were to effect the "reconciliation," as he termed it, did not set out after being chosen; indeed, Piso, his father-in-law, was once called to account for so much as referring to them. And far from receiving at that time the money which he had promised them, the people had to give him all the rest that remained in the treasury for the support of his soldiers, whom they feared. In honour of all these things, as if they were propitious events, the citizens changed back to the garb of peace, which up to this time they had not resumed. Now Lucius Metellus, a tribune, opposed the proposition about the money, and when his efforts proved unavailing, he went to the treasury and kept guard at the doors. But the soldiers, paying little heed to the guard he kept or, I imagine, to his outspokenness either, cut the bolt in two (for the consuls had the key, just as if it were not possible for persons to use axes in place of it!) and carried off all the money. In the case of Caesar's other projects also, as I have often stated, he both brought them to vote and carried them out in the same fashion, under the name of democracy, inasmuch as the majority of them were introduced by Antony, but with the substance of despotism. Both Caesar and Pompey called their opponents enemies of their country and declared that they themselves were fighting for the public interests, whereas each alike was really ruining those interests and advancing merely his own private ends. B.C. 49

After taking these steps Caesar occupied Sardinia

τὴν Σαρδὼ τήν τε Σικελίαν ἀμαχεὶ κατέσχεν,
ἐκχωρησάντων τῶν τότε ἐν αὐταῖς ἀρχόντων.
τόν τε Ἀριστόβουλον οἴκαδε ἐς τὴν Παλαιστίνην,
2 ὅπως τῷ Πομπηίῳ τι ἀντιπράξῃ, ἔστειλε· καὶ
τοῖς παισὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Σύλλου ἐπικηρυχθέντων
ἀρχὰς αἰτεῖν ἐφῆκε, τά τε ἄλλα πάντα, καὶ τὰ
ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ λοιπῇ Ἰταλίᾳ, πρὸς
τὸ ἐπιτηδειότατον ἑαυτῷ ὡς ἐκ τῶν παρόντων
3 κατέστησε. καὶ ἐκεῖνα μὲν τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ ἐπ-
έτρεψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν,[1] τά τε τοῦ
Πομπηίου ἰσχυρῶς αἱρουμένην καὶ ἐς δέος αὐτόν,
μὴ καὶ τὰς Γαλατίας προσαποστήσῃ, καθιστάν-
4 τας, ὥρμησε. κἀν τούτῳ ἄλλοι τε βουλευταὶ
καὶ ὁ Κικέρων, μηδὲ ἐς ὄψιν τῷ Καίσαρι ἐλθών,
πρὸς τὸν Πομπήιον ὥς γε τά τε δικαιότερα
πράττοντα καὶ τῷ πολέμῳ κρατήσοντα ἀπεχώ-
5 ρησεν. οἵ τε γὰρ ὕπατοι, πρὶν ἐκπλεῖν, καὶ
ἐκεῖνος, ἅτε ἀντὶ ὑπάτου ἄρχων, πάντας αὐτοὺς
ἐκέλευσαν ἐς Θεσσαλονίκην ἀκολουθῆσαι, ὡς τοῦ
μὲν ἄστεως πρὸς πολεμίων τινῶν ἐχομένου, αὐτοὶ
δὲ ἅτε[2] γερουσία ὄντες καὶ τὸ τῆς πολιτείας
6 πρόσχημα, ὅπου ποτ᾽ ἂν ὦσιν, ἕξοντες. καί
σφισι διὰ ταῦτα τῶν τε βουλευτῶν καὶ τῶν
ἱππέων οἱ πλείους, οἱ μὲν εὐθὺς τότε οἱ δὲ καὶ
ὕστερον, καὶ αἱ πόλεις πᾶσαι, ὅσαι μὴ ὑπὸ τῶν
τοῦ Καίσαρος ὅπλων κατείργοντο, προσεχώ-
ρησαν.

19 Οἱ μέντοι Μασσαλιῶται μόνοι τῶν ἐν τῇ
Γαλατίᾳ οἰκούντων οὔτε συνήραντο τῷ Καίσαρι
οὔτε ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσεδέξαντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπόκρισιν
2 αὐτῷ ἀξιομνημόνευτον ἔδοσαν· τῷ τε γὰρ δήμῳ

[1] Ἰβηρίαν Xyl., ἰταλίαν L. [2] ἅτε Oddey, ᾗ τε L.

and Sicily without a contest, as the governors who were there at the time withdrew. Aristobulus he sent home to Palestine to accomplish something against Pompey. He also allowed the sons of those who had been proscribed by Sulla to canvass for office, and arranged everything else both in the city and in the rest of Italy to his own best advantage, so far as circumstances permitted. Affairs at home he now committed to Antony's care, while he himself set out for Spain, which was strongly favouring the side of Pompey and causing Caesar some fear that it might induce the Gauls also to revolt. Meanwhile Cicero and other senators, without even appearing before Caesar, retired to join Pompey, since they believed he had more justice on his side and would conquer in the war. For not only the consuls, before they had set sail, but Pompey also, under the authority he had as proconsul, had ordered them all to accompany him to Thessalonica, on the ground that the capital was held by enemies and that they themselves were the senate and would maintain the form of the government wherever they should be. For this reason most of the senators and the knights joined them, some of them at once, and others later, and likewise all the cities that were not coërced by Caesar's armed forces. B.C. 49

Now the Massaliots, alone of the peoples living in Gaul, did not coöperate with Caesar, and did not receive him into their city, but gave him a noteworthy answer. They said that they were allies of the

τῶν Ῥωμαίων συμμαχεῖν καὶ ἐκείνοις ἐπιτηδείως
ἀμφοτέροις ἔχειν, καὶ μήτε πολυπραγμονεῖν τι
μήθ' ἱκανοὶ διακρῖναι πότερος αὐτῶν ἀδικεῖ εἶναι
ἔφασαν, ὥστε εἰ μέν τις ὡς φίλος ἐθέλοι πρὸς
σφᾶς ἐλθεῖν, κἂν[1] ἀμφοτέρους αὐτοὺς ἄνευ τῶν
ὅπλων δέξασθαι ἔλεγον, ἐπὶ πολέμῳ δὲ οὐδέτερον.
3 καταστάντες τε[2] ἐς πολιορκίαν αὐτόν τε ἐκεῖνον
ἀπεκρούσαντο, καὶ τῷ Τρεβωνίῳ τῷ τε Βρούτῳ
τῷ Δεκίμῳ[3] μετὰ τοῦτο προσεδρεύσασί σφισιν
ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀντέσχον. ὁ γὰρ Καῖσαρ χρόνον
μέν τινα, ὡς καὶ ῥᾳδίως αὐτοὺς αἱρήσων,
προσεκαρτέρησε (καὶ γὰρ αὐτῷ δεινὸν ἐδόκει
εἶναι ὅτι καὶ τῆς Ῥώμης ἀμαχεὶ κρατήσας ὑπὸ
4 Μασσαλιωτῶν οὐκ ἐδέχετο), ἔπειτ' ἐπειδὴ ἀντήρ-
κουν, ἐκείνους μὲν ἑτέροις προσέταξεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς
τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ἠπείχθη.

20 Ἐπεπόμφει μὲν γὰρ ἐς αὐτὴν Γάιον Φάβιον,
δείσας δὲ μὴ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀγωνισάμενος πταίσῃ,
καὶ αὐτὸς ἐστράτευσεν. εἶχον δὲ τότε τὰ
πράγματα τὰ περὶ τὸν Ἴβηρα ὅ τε Ἀφράνιος καὶ
ὁ Πετρέιος, καὶ φυλακὴν μὲν καὶ τῆς ὑπερβολῆς
τῶν ὀρῶν ἐπεποίηντο, τὸ δ' ὅλον ἐς Ἰλέρδαν[4] τὰς
δυνάμεις ἀθροίσαντες ἐνταῦθα τοὺς ἐπιόντας
2 ὑπέμενον. καὶ τῷ μὲν Φαβίῳ τήν τε ἐπὶ τοῦ
Πυρηναίου φρουρὰν βιασαμένῳ[5] καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν
τὸν Σίκοριν διαβαίνοντι προσπεσόντες ἐξαίφνης
πολλοὺς ἀπέκτειναν ἀποληφθέντας· ἡ γὰρ
γέφυρα πρὶν διελθεῖν αὐτοὺς καταρραγεῖσα

[1] κἂν Kübler, καὶ L. [2] καταστάντες τε Bk., καταστάντε L.
[3] Δεκίμῳ R. Steph., δεκίωι L (and so frequently).
[4] Ἰλέρδαν Gros, λέρδαν L.
[5] βιασαμένῳ Pflugk, ποιησαμένῳ L.

Roman people and felt friendly towards both sides, and that they were neither intermeddling at all nor in a position to decide which of the two was in the wrong; consequently, in case they were approached in a friendly manner, they would receive them both, they said, without their arms, but if it were a question of making war, neither of them. On being subjected to a siege they not only repulsed Caesar himself but held out for a very long time against Trebonius and Decimus Brutus, who besieged them later. For Caesar had persisted in his attempt for some time, thinking to capture them easily, and regarding it as absurd that after vanquishing Rome without a battle he was not received by the Massaliots; but when they continued to hold out, he left them to the care of others and himself hastened into Spain. B.C. 49

He had sent Gaius Fabius thither, but fearing the other would fail while contending by himself, he, too, made a campaign. Afranius and Petreius at this time had charge of affairs in the vicinity of the Iberus and had even posted a guard over the pass in the mountains, but in the main they had gathered their forces at Ilerda and there awaited the invaders. Fabius overcame the garrison upon the Pyrenees, but as he was crossing the river Sicoris the enemy fell upon him suddenly and killed many of his men who were cut off; for the bridge collapsed before all had crossed and thus proved of the greatest

3 πλεῖστόν σφισι συνήρατο· τῷ δὲ δὴ Καίσαρι
ἐπελθόντι τε οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν
καθ' ἑτέραν[1] γέφυραν διαβάντι, προκαλουμένῳ
τε αὐτοὺς ἐς μάχην οὐκ ἐτόλμησαν ἐπὶ πάνυ
πολλὰς ἡμέρας συμβαλεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀντιστρατο-
4 πεδευσάμενοι αὐτῷ ἡσύχαζον. θαρσήσας οὖν ἐκ
τούτου καταλαβεῖν τὸ χωρίον τὸ[2] μεταξὺ τοῦ
τε ταφρεύματός σφων καὶ τῆς πόλεως καρτερὸν
ὂν ἐπεχείρησεν, ὡς καὶ τῶν τειχῶν αὐτοὺς
ἀποκλείσων. αἰσθόμενοι δὲ τοῦτο οἱ περὶ τὸν
5 Ἀφράνιον προκατέσχον αὐτό, καὶ τούς τε προσ-
βάλλοντάς σφισιν ἀπεώσαντο, καὶ φεύγουσιν
αὐτοῖς ἐπισπόμενοι τοὺς ἀντεπεξελθόντας ἐκ τοῦ
ἐρύματος ὑπέστησαν, ἐνδόντες τε ἐξεπίτηδες
ὑπήγαγόν σφας ἐς χωρία ἑαυτοῖς ἐπιτήδεια,
κἀνταῦθα πολλῷ πλείους ἐφόνευσαν. κἀκ τούτων
ἐπιθαρσήσαντες τοῖς τε προνομεύουσιν αὐτῶν
ἐπετίθεντο καὶ τοὺς ἀποσκεδαννυμένους ἐλύπουν·
6 καί ποτε διαβάντων τινῶν ἐς τὰ ἐπέκεινα τοῦ
ποταμοῦ, κἀν τούτῳ χειμῶνός τε πολλοῦ
γενομένου καὶ τῆς γεφύρας ᾗ ἐκέχρηντο
διαφθαρείσης, ἐπιδιέβησαν κατὰ τὴν ἑτέραν
γέφυραν τὴν πρὸς τῇ πόλει οὖσαν καὶ πάντας
αὐτοὺς ἀνάλωσαν, μηδενός σφισιν ἐπαμῦναι
δυνηθέντος.

21 Ὁ οὖν Καῖσαρ, ὡς ταῦτ' ἐγίγνετο καὶ οὔτε
τῶν συμμάχων τις ἐπεκούρει οἱ (ἐκδεχόμενοι
γὰρ αὐτοὺς οἱ ἐναντίοι, ὡς ἑκάστους αἴσθοιντο
προσιόντας, . . .[3]) τά τ'[4] ἐπιτήδεια, ἅτε[5] ἔν τε

[1] ἑτέραν R. Steph., ἑκατέραν L.
[2] τὸ R. Steph., τοῦ L.
[3] Lacuna recognized by Xyl.
[4] τ' added by Xyl.
[5] ἅτε Rk., τε L.

assistance to the foe. When Caesar came up, not long afterward, he crossed the river by another bridge and challenged them to battle; but for a great many days they did not dare to try conclusions with him, but remained quietly encamped opposite him. Encouraged thereby, he undertook to seize the ground between their entrenchments and the city, as it was a strong position, with the intention of shutting them off from the walls. Afranius and his followers, on perceiving this, occupied the place first, repulsed their assailants, and pursued them when they fled. Then, when others came out against them from the camp, they at first withstood them, then yielded purposely, and so lured them into positions which were favourable to themselves, where they slew many more of them. In consequence of this they took courage, attacked their opponents' foraging parties and harassed those who were scattered. And on one occasion when some soldiers had crossed to the other side of the river and meanwhile a great storm had come up and destroyed the bridge which they had used, they crossed over after them by the other bridge, which was near the city, and destroyed them all, since no one was able to come to their assistance. B.C. 49

Caesar, when things were taking this course, fell into desperate straits; for none of his allies rendered him assistance, since his opponents met [and annihilated] the separate forces as often as they heard that any were approaching, and it was with difficulty that he managed to obtain provisions, inasmuch as he was

ἀλλοτρίᾳ ὢν καὶ πταίων, χαλεπῶς ἐπορίζετο,
2 ἐν παντὶ ἐγένετο. πυνθανόμενοι δὲ ταῦθ' οἱ
ἐν οἴκῳ Ῥωμαῖοι ἐκείνου τε ὡς οὐκέτι πλείω
χρόνον περιοίσοντος[1] ἀπέγνωσαν καὶ πρὸς τὸν
Πομπήιον ἀπέκλινον· καί τινες καὶ τότε πρὸς
3 αὐτὸν ἄλλοι τε καὶ βουλευταὶ ἀπῆραν. καὶ εἴγε
μὴ οἱ Μασσαλιῶται ἐν τούτῳ ναυμαχίᾳ πρὸς
τοῦ Βρούτου τῷ τε μεγέθει τῶν νεῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῇ
ῥώμῃ τῶν ἐπιβατῶν, καίπερ καὶ τῷ Δομιτίῳ
συμμάχῳ χρώμενοι καὶ τῇ ἐμπειρίᾳ τῶν ναυτι-
κῶν προέχοντες, ἡττήθησαν κἀκ τούτου παντε-
λῶς ἀπεκλείσθησαν, οὐδὲν ἂν ἐκώλυσε πάντα
4 τὰ πράγματα αὐτοῦ φθαρῆναι. νῦν δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ
μεῖζον ἐκ παρασκευῆς τοῖς Ἴβηρσιν ἀγγελθέντα
ταῦτα οὕτως ἠλλοίωσέ τινας αὐτῶν ὥστε καὶ
τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος φρονῆσαι. καὶ αὐτοὺς παρα-
λαβὼν τῆς τε τροφῆς ηὐπόρησε καὶ γεφύρας
κατεσκεύασε, τούς τε ἐναντίους ἐλύπει, καί ποτε
συχνοὺς αὐτῶν αἰφνίδιον ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ πλανω-
μένους ἀπολαβὼν ἀπώλεσεν.

22 Ὁ οὖν Ἀφράνιος ἀθυμήσας ἐπὶ τούτοις, καὶ
τὰ ἐν[2] Ἰλέρδᾳ οὔτε ἀσφαλῆ οὔτε ἐπιτήδεια
πρὸς χρόνιον διατριβὴν ἰδὼν ὄντα, ἀναχωρῆσαι
πρός τε τὸν Ἴβηρα καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐκεῖ πόλεις
ἔγνω, καὶ νυκτός, ὡς λήσων ἢ φθάσων τοὺς
2 ἐναντίους, ἄρας ἐπορεύετο. καὶ οὐκ ἔλαθε μὲν
ἀνιστάμενος, οὐ μέντοι καὶ εὐθὺς ἐπεδιώχθη·
ὁ γὰρ Καῖσαρ οὐχ ἡγήσατο ἀσφαλὲς εἶναι ἐν[3]
σκότῳ πολεμίοις ἐμπείροις τῆς χώρας μετὰ
ἀπείρων ἐπακολουθῆσαι. ὡς μέντοι ἡ ἡμέρα

[1] περιοίσοντος R. Steph., περιοίσοντο L.
[2] ἐν added by R. Steph. [3] ἐν added by St.

in a hostile territory and unsuccessful in his operations. The Romans at home, when they learned of this, renounced all hope of him, believing that he could hold out but a short time longer, and began to fall away to Pompey; and some few senators and others set out to join the latter even then. But just at this time the Massaliots were defeated in a naval battle by Brutus owing to the size of his ships and the strength of his marines, although they had Domitius as an ally and surpassed in their experience of naval affairs; and after this they were shut off completely. But for this nothing would have prevented Caesar's projects from being ruined. As it was, however, the victory was announced to the Spaniards with so much intentional exaggeration that it led some of them to change and take the side of Caesar. When he had obtained these adherents, he secured plenty of food, constructed bridges, harassed his opponents, and on one occasion intercepted suddenly a large number of them who were wandering about the country and destroyed them. B.C. 49

Afranius was disheartened at these reverses, and seeing that affairs in Ilerda were not safe or satisfactory for a prolonged stay, he determined to retire to the Iberus and to the cities there. He set out on the journey by night, intending to elude the enemy's notice or at least get the start of them. And though his departure did not remain undiscovered, yet he was not immediately pursued, for Caesar did not think it safe in the darkness and with men ignorant of the country to follow up an enemy that was well acquainted with it. When day

διέλαμψεν, ἠπείχθη, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐν μέσῃ τῇ ὁδῷ καταλαβὼν πανταχόθεν ἐξαπίνης πόρρωθεν περιεστοιχίσατο· τῷ τε γὰρ πλήθει πολὺ περιῆν, καὶ τὸ χωρίον κοῖλον ὃν συμμαχοῦν ἔσχεν.
3 ὁμόσε γὰρ οὐκ ἠθέλησέ σφισι χωρῆσαι, τὸ μέν τι φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ ἐς ἀπόνοιαν καταστάντες ἐξεργάσωνταί τι δεινόν, τὸ δὲ καὶ ἄλλως ἀκονιτί σφας παραστήσεσθαι[1] ἐλπίσας. ὃ καὶ ἐγένετο· ὡς γὰρ πολλαχῇ πειράσαντες οὐδαμῇ διαπεσεῖν ἠδυνήθησαν, καὶ ἔκ τε τούτου καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἀγρυπνίας τῆς τε πορείας ἐκεκμήκεσαν, καὶ προσέτι
4 οὔτε τροφὴν εἶχον (αὐθημερὸν γὰρ τὸν σταθμὸν διατελέσειν προσδοκήσαντες οὐδὲν ἐπηνέγκαντο) οὔθ' ὕδατος εὐπόρουν (τὰ γὰρ χωρία ἐκεῖνα δεινῶς ἐστιν ἄνυδρα), παρέδοσάν σφας, ἐφ' ᾧ μήτε τι δεινὸν πάθωσι μήτε ἐπὶ τὸν Πομπήιον
23 ἀναγκασθῶσίν οἱ συστρατεῦσαι. καὶ αὐτοῖς ἀκριβῶς ἑκάτερον ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐφύλαξεν· οὔτε γὰρ ἀπέκτεινε τὸ παράπαν τῶν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πολέμῳ ἁλόντων οὐδένα, καίτοι ἐκείνων ποτὲ ἐν ἀνοχῇ τινι ἀφυλάκτως τινὰς τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἔχοντας φθειράντων, οὔτε τῷ Πομπηίῳ ἀντιπολεμῆσαι ἐξεβιάσατο, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν λογιμωτάτους ἠφίει, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις ἐθελονταῖς συμμάχοις διά τε τὰ κέρδη
2 καὶ διὰ τὰς τιμὰς ἐχρῆτο. καὶ οὐκ ἐλάχιστά γε ἐκ τούτων οὔτε ἐς τὴν δόξαν οὔτε ἐς τὰ πράγματα ἀπώνητο·[2] τάς τε γὰρ πόλεις τὰς ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ πάσας καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας τοὺς ἐκεῖ πάντας (ἦσαν δὲ ἄλλοι τε ἐν τῇ Βαιτικῇ

[1] παραστήσεσθαι Reim., παραστήσασθαι L.
[2] ἀπώνητο Naber, ἀπώνατο L.

dawned, however, he hastened forward, and, overtaking them in the middle of their journey, he suddenly surrounded them on all sides at a distance; for he was much superior in numbers and found the bowl-shaped character of the region a help. For he did not wish to come to close quarters with the enemy, partly because he was afraid that they might become desperate and carry out some rash undertaking, and partly because he hoped to win them over anyway without a conflict. This actually happened. They first tried to break through at many points, but were unable to do so anywhere, and became exhausted from this attempt as well as from loss of sleep and from their march; furthermore, they had no food, since, expecting to finish their journey the same day, they had brought none along, and they were also without sufficient water, inasmuch as that region is terribly dry. They accordingly surrendered, on condition that they should not be harshly treated nor compelled to join his expedition against Pompey. Caesar kept each of his promises to them scrupulously. He did not put to death a single man captured in this war, in spite of the fact that his foes had once, during a truce, destroyed some of his own men who were caught off their guard; and he did not force them to fight against Pompey, but released the most prominent and employed the rest as allies who were willing to serve for the gains and honours in prospect. By this course both his reputation and his cause profited not a little; for he won over all the cities in Spain and all the soldiers there, a considerable B.C. 49

καὶ μετὰ Μάρκου Τερεντίου Οὐάρρωνος[1] ὑποστρα-
τήγου συχνοί) προσεποιήσατο.
24 Παραλαμβάνων τε οὖν ἅμα αὐτοὺς καὶ καθιστά-
μενος διέδραμε μέχρι Γαδείρων. καὶ ἐλύπησε
μὲν οὐδένα οὐδὲν πλὴν χρημάτων ἐκλογῆς (ταῦτα[2]
γὰρ παμπληθῆ ἐσέπραξεν), ἐτίμησε δὲ[3] καὶ ἰδίᾳ
καὶ κοινῇ πολλούς· καὶ τοῖς γε Γαδειρεῦσι
πολιτείαν ἅπασιν ἔδωκεν, ἣν καὶ ὁ δῆμός σφισιν
2 ὕστερον ἐπεκύρωσε. τοῦτο δὲ ἐποίησεν ἀμειβό-
μενός σφας τῆς τοῦ ὀνείρου ὄψεως, δι' ἧς ἐνταῦθα,
ὅτε ἐταμίευσε, συγγεγονέναι τῇ μητρὶ ἔδοξε, καὶ
ἀπ'[4] αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς μοναρχίας, ὥσπερ
εἶπον, ἔλαβεν. πράξας δὲ ταῦτα τὸ μὲν ἔθνος ἐκεῖνο
τῷ Λογγίνῳ τῷ Κασσίῳ προσέταξεν, ἐπειδὴ
συνήθης αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς ταμιείας ἦν ὑπὸ τῷ
3 Πομπηίῳ ἐτεταμιεύκει ἦν·[5] αὐτὸς δὲ μέχρι Ταρ-
ράκωνος[6] πλοίοις ἐκομίσθη. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ διὰ
τοῦ Πυρηναίου προχωρῶν τρόπαιον μὲν οὐδὲν
ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ἔστησεν, ὅτι μηδὲ[7] τὸν Πομπήιον
καλῶς ἀκούσαντα ἐπὶ τούτῳ ᾔσθετο, βωμὸν δὲ δὴ
ἐκ[8] λίθων ξεστῶν συνῳκοδομημένον μέγαν οὐ
πόρρω τῶν ἐκείνου τροπαίων ἱδρύσατο.
25 Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐγίγνετο, οἱ Μασσαλιῶται νεῶν
σφισι παρὰ τοῦ Πομπηίου αὖθις πεμφθεισῶν
ἀνεκινδύνευσαν. καὶ ἡττήθησαν μὲν καὶ τότε,
διεκαρτέρουν δέ, καίτοι καὶ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν ἤδη
2 τὸν Καίσαρα ἔχοντα πυνθανόμενοι, καὶ τάς τε

[1] Οὐάρρωνος R. Steph., ἄρωνος L.
[2] ταῦτα Reim., πάντα L.
[3] δὲ Pflugk, τε L.
[4] ἀπ' H. Steph., ἐπ' L.
[5] ἦν supplied by Reim. and Dind.
[6] Ταρράκωνος Bs., Ταρρακώνης L.
[7] μηδὲ Rk., μήτε L.
[8] ἐκ added by Reim.

number of whom were with Marcus Terentius Varro, the lieutenant, besides others in Baetica. B.C. 49

So, taking charge of these and arranging their affairs, he advanced as far as Gades, injuring no one at all except in so far as the exacting of money was concerned; for of this he levied very large sums. Many of the natives he honoured both privately and publicly, and to all the people of Gades he granted citizenship, which the people of Rome later confirmed to them. This kindness he did them in return for the dream he had seen at the time he was quaestor there, wherein he had seemed to have intercourse with his mother; it was this dream that had given him the hope of sole rulership, as I have stated.[1] Having done this, he assigned that nation to Cassius Longinus, because the latter was familiar with the inhabitants from his quaestorship which he had served under Pompey; and he himself proceeded by ship to Tarraco. Thence he advanced across the Pyrenees, but did not set up any trophy on their summits, because he understood that Pompey had gained no good name for so doing; but he erected a great altar constructed of polished stones not far from his rival's trophies.

While this was going on, the Massaliots hazarded another conflict after ships had again been sent them by Pompey. They were defeated on this occasion also, and yet held out, even though they learned that Caesar was already master of Spain. They not only vigorously repulsed all attacks but

[1] See xxxvii, 52, 2.

προσβολὰς ἰσχυρῶς ἀπεκρούοντο, καὶ διοκωχήν[1]
τινα ὡς καὶ τῷ Καίσαρι, ἐπειδὰν ἔλθῃ, προσχωρή-
σοντες ποιησάμενοι,[2] τόν τε Δομίτιον ὑπεξέ-
πεμψαν, καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐπιθεμένους σφίσιν
ἐν ταῖς σπονδαῖς νυκτὸς οὕτω διέθεσαν ὥστε
3 μηδὲν ἔτι τολμῆσαι. τῷ μέντοι Καίσαρι αὐτῷ
ἐλθόντι[3] ὡμολόγησαν· καὶ ὃς ἐκείνων τότε μὲν
τά τε ὅπλα καὶ τὰς ναῦς τά τε χρήματα
ἀφείλετο, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντα πλὴν
τοῦ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ὀνόματος. ἀνθ' ὧν ἡ Φώκαια[4]
ἡ[5] μητρόπολίς σφων ἐλευθέρα ὑπὸ τοῦ Πομπηίου
ἀφείθη.

26 Καὶ στρατιωτῶν τινων ἐν Πλακεντίᾳ στασια-
σάντων καὶ μηκέτ' ἀκολουθῆσαί οἱ ἐθελόντων,
πρόφασιν μὲν ὡς τεταλαιπωρημένων, τὸ δ'
ἀληθὲς ὅτι μήτε τὴν χώραν διαρπάζειν μήτε
τἆλλα ὅσα ἐπεθύμουν ποιεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐπέτρεπε
(καὶ γὰρ ἤλπιζον οὐδενὸς ὅτου[6] οὐ τεύξεσθαι
παρ' αὐτοῦ ἅτε καὶ ἐν χρείᾳ τοσαύτῃ σφῶν
2 ὄντος), οὐχ ὑπεῖξεν, ἀλλὰ συγκαλέσας καὶ ἐκεί-
νους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, τῆς τε παρ' αὐτῶν
ἀσφαλείας ἕνεκα, καὶ ἵνα τῶν τε λεγομένων
ἀκούσαντες καὶ τοὺς κολαζομένους ἰδόντες μηδὲν
ἔξω τῶν καθηκόντων ἐθελήσωσι[7] πρᾶξαι, ἔλεξε
τάδε.

27 "Ἐγώ, ὦ ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, βούλομαι μὲν
φιλεῖσθαι ὑφ' ὑμῶν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ συνεξαμαρ-

1 διοκωχήν Dind., διακωχήν L.
2 ποιησάμενοι H. Steph., ποιησόμενοι L.
3 ἐλθόντι Bk., ἐθελοντὶ L.
4 Φώκαια R. Steph., φωκέα L.
5 ἡ added by Bk.
6 ὅτου Bk., ὅτου οὖν L.
7 ἐθελήσωσι R. Steph., ἐθελήσουσι L.

also, after arranging a kind of armistice, on the plea that they were going over to Caesar, when he should come, sent Domitius out of the harbour secretly and caused such injuries to the soldiers who had attacked them by night in the midst of the truce, that these ventured to make no further attempts.[1] With Caesar himself, however, they made terms upon his arrival; and he at that time deprived them of their arms, ships and money, and later of everything else except the name of freedom. To offset this misfortune Phocaea, their mother city, was made free by Pompey. B.C. 49

At Placentia some soldiers mutinied and refused to accompany Caesar longer, on the pretext that they were exhausted, but really because he did not allow them to plunder the country nor to do all the other things on which their minds were set; for their hope was to obtain from him anything and everything, inasmuch as he stood in so great need of them. Yet he did not yield, but, with a view to being safe from them and in order that after listening to his words and seeing the guilty punished they should feel no desire to transgress the established rules, he called together both the mutinous men and the others, and spoke as follows:

"Soldiers, I desire to have your affection, and still I should not choose on that account to share in your

[1] Caesar (*B.C.* ii. 14) attributes the breaking of the truce to the Massaliots.

τάνειν ἂν ὑμῖν διὰ τοῦθ' ἑλοίμην· ἀγαπῶ τε γὰρ ὑμᾶς, καὶ ἐθέλοιμ' ἄν, ὡς πατὴρ παῖδας,
2 καὶ σώζεσθαι καὶ εὐθενεῖν[1] καὶ εὐδοξεῖν. μὴ γάρ τοι νομίσητε φιλοῦντος ἔργον εἶναι τὸ συγχωρεῖν τισιν ἃ μὴ προσήκει πράττειν, ἐξ ὧν καὶ κινδύνους καὶ ἀδοξίας ἀνάγκη πᾶσα αὐτοῖς συμβαίνειν, ἀλλὰ τό τε τὰ ἀμείνω αὐτοὺς διδάσκειν καὶ τὸ τῶν χειρόνων ἀπείργειν καὶ νου-
3 θετοῦντα καὶ σωφρονίζοντα. γνώσεσθε δὲ ὅτι τἀληθῆ λέγω, ἂν μήτε πρὸς τὸ αὐτίκα ἡδὺ τὸ συμφέρον κρίνητε μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς τὸ ἀεὶ ὠφέλιμον, μήτε τὸ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας ἐκπιμπλάναι γενναῖον μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ κρατεῖν αὐτῶν νομίσητε εἶναι. αἰσχρὸν μὲν γὰρ παραχρῆμά τι ἡσθέντας ὕστερον μεταγνῶναι, δεινὸν δὲ τὸ τῶν πολεμίων κρατοῦντας ἡδονῶν τινων ἡττᾶσθαι.

28 "Πρὸς οὖν τί ταῦτα λέγω; ὅτι τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἀφθόνως ἔχοντες (λέξω γὰρ μετὰ παρρησίας, μηδὲν ὑποστειλάμενος· τήν τε γὰρ μισθοφορὰν ἐντελῆ καὶ κατὰ καιρὸν λαμβάνετε, καὶ τῆς τροφῆς ἀεὶ καὶ πανταχοῦ πολλῆς ἐμπίμπλασθε) καὶ μήτε πόνον τινὰ ἄδοξον μήτε κίνδυνον ἀνωφελῆ ὑπομένοντες, καὶ προσέτι τῆς μὲν ἀνδραγαθίας πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα γέρα καρπούμενοι, τῶν δ' ἁμαρτημάτων σμικρὸν ἢ οὐδὲν[2] ἐπιτιμώμενοι,
2 οὐκ ἀξιοῦτε τούτοις ἀρκεῖσθαι. λέγω δὲ ταῦτα οὐ πρὸς πάντας ὑμᾶς (οὐδὲ γὰρ τοιοῦτοί ἐστε), ἀλλὰ πρὸς ἐκείνους μόνους οἵτινες τῇ ἑαυτῶν πλεονεξίᾳ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους διαβάλλουσιν. ὑμεῖς μὲν γὰρ οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ πάνυ ἀκριβῶς καὶ καλῶς

[1] εὐθενεῖν Dind., εὐθηνεῖν Rk., εὐθύνειν L.
[2] ἢ οὐδὲν Rk., οὐδὲ L.

errors. I am fond of you and could wish, as a father might for his children, that you may be safe, be prosperous, and have a good reputation. For do not suppose it is the duty of one who loves to acquiesce in things which ought not to be done and for which it is quite inevitable that dangers and ill-repute should fall to the lot of those who do them, but rather to teach them the better way and keep them from the worse, both by admonishing and by correcting them. You will recognize that I speak the truth, if you will not estimate advantage with reference to the pleasure of the moment but rather with reference to what is permanently beneficial, and if you will avoid thinking that gratifying your desires is more noble than restraining them. For it is disgraceful to take a momentary gratification of which you must later repent, and it is absurd after conquering the enemy to be overcome yourselves by pleasures. B.C. 49

"Why now do I say this? Because although you have provisions in abundance,—I am going to speak frankly and without disguise: you get your pay in full and in season and you are always and everywhere supplied with food in plenty,—and although you endure no inglorious toil nor useless danger, and furthermore reap many great rewards for your bravery and are rebuked little, if at all, for your errors, yet you do not see fit to be satisfied with these things. I say this, now, not to all of you, for you are not all like this, but only to those who by their own greed are casting reproach on the rest. Most of you obey my orders very scrupulously

τοῖς τε παραγγέλμασι τοῖς ἐμοῖς πείθεσθε καὶ τοῖς ἤθεσι τοῖς πατρίοις[1] ἐμμένετε, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ χώραν τοσαύτην καὶ πλοῦτον καὶ δόξαν ἐκτήσασθε· ὀλίγοι δὲ δή τινες πολλὴν αἰσχύνην
3 καὶ ἀδοξίαν ἅπασιν ἡμῖν προστρίβονται. καίτοι ἔγωγε πρότερον σαφῶς ἐπιστάμενος τοιούτους αὐτοὺς ὄντας (οὐδὲν γάρ μοι τῶν ὑμετέρων ἀμελές ἐστιν) οὐ προσεποιούμην εἰδέναι, νομίζων ἀμείνους σφᾶς ἐκ τοῦ λαθεῖν ἂν δοκεῖν[2] ἁμαρτόντας τινὰ γενήσεσθαι, τοῦ μὴ πλεονάσαντάς ποτε καὶ
4 ἐφ' οἷς συνεγνώσθησαν κολασθῆναι· ἐπεὶ μέντοι αὐτοί τε ὡς καὶ[3] ἐξόν σφισι πάνθ' ὅσα βούλονται πράττειν, ὅτι μὴ κατὰ πρώτας εὐθὺς ἐδικαιώθησαν, ὑπερθρασύνονται, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς μηδὲν πλημμελοῦντας προσστασιάζειν ἐπιχειροῦσιν, ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστί μοι θεραπείαν τέ τινα καὶ
29 ἐπιστροφὴν αὐτῶν ποιήσασθαι. οὔτε γὰρ ἄλλο τι σύστημα ἀνθρώπων συμμεῖναι καὶ σωθῆναι δύναται, ἂν μὴ τὸ κακουργοῦν σωφρονίζηται· τὸ γάρ τοι νοσῆσαν ἂν μὴ τὴν προσήκουσαν ἴασιν λάβῃ, συγκάμνειν[4] καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν πᾶν ὥσπερ ἐν
2 τοῖς σώμασι ποιεῖ· ἐν δὲ δὴ ταῖς στρατιαῖς ἥκιστα, διότι αὐτοί τε ἰσχὺν ἔχοντες τολμηρότεροι γίγνονται, καὶ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς προσδιαφθείρουσιν, ἀθυμοτέρους ποιοῦντες ὡς οὐδὲν ὄφελος ἐκ τοῦ δικαιοπραγεῖν ἕξοντας. παρ' οἷς γὰρ ἂν τὸ θρασυνόμενον πλεονεκτῇ, παρὰ τούτοις ἀνάγκη τὸ ἐπιεικὲς ἐλαττοῦσθαι· καὶ ἐν οἷς ἂν[5] ἀδικία ἀτιμώρητος ᾖ, καὶ τὸ σωφρονοῦν ἀγέραστον γίγνεται.

[1] πατρίοις Bs., πατρώιοις L. [2] δοκεῖν Rk., δοκεῖ L.
[3] ὡς καὶ Rk., καὶ ὡς L. [4] συγκάμνειν Reim., συγκάμνει L.
[5] ἂν added by St.

and satisfactorily and abide by your ancestral customs, B.C. 49 and in that way have acquired so much land as well as wealth and glory; but some few are bringing much disgrace and dishonour upon all of us. And yet, though I understood clearly before this that they were that sort of persons,—for there is none of your concerns that I fail to notice,—still I pretended not to know it, thinking that they would reform if they believed they would not be observed in some of their evil deeds, through the fear that if ever they presumed too far they might be punished also for the deeds which had been pardoned them. Since, however, they themselves, assuming that they may do whatever they wish because they were not brought to book at the very outset, wax overbold, and are trying to make the rest of you, who are guilty of no irregularity, mutinous likewise, it becomes necessary for me to devote some care to them and to give them my attention. For no society of men whatever can preserve its unity and continue to exist, if the criminal element is not punished, since, if the diseased member does not receive proper treatment, it causes all the rest, even as in our physical bodies, to share in its affliction. And least of all in armies can discipline be relaxed, because when the wrong-doers have power they become more daring, and corrupt the excellent also by causing them to grow dejected and to believe that they will obtain no benefit from right behaviour. For wherever the insolent element has the advantage, there inevitably the decent element has the worst of it; and wherever wrong-doing is unpunished, there self-restraint also goes unrewarded.

3 τί μὲν γὰρ ἂν ὑμεῖς ἀγαθὸν ποιεῖν φήσαιτε,[1] εἰ
μηδὲν οὗτοι κακὸν δρῶσιν; πῶς δ' ἂν εἰκότως
τιμᾶσθαι ἐθελήσαιτε,[2] ἂν μὴ τὴν δικαίαν οὗτοι
τιμωρίαν ὑπόσχωσιν; ἢ ἀγνοεῖτε τοῦθ', ὅτι ἂν τὸ
μὲν τῶν φόβων τῆς δίκης ἐλευθερωθῇ, τὸ δὲ τῆς
ἐλπίδος τῶν ἄθλων στερηθῇ, ἀγαθὸν μὲν οὐδὲν
4 κακὰ δὲ μυρία ἀπεργάζεται; ὥστ' εἴπερ ἀρετὴν
ὄντως ἀσκεῖτε, μισήσατε μὲν τούτους ὡς πολεμίους
(οὐ γάρ που[3] φύσει τινὶ τὸ φίλιον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐχθροῦ
διακέκριται, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τε τρόποις καὶ ταῖς
πράξεσι διορίζεται, ὧν ἀγαθῶν μὲν ὄντων πᾶν καὶ
τὸ ἀλλότριον οἰκειοῦται, πονηρῶν δὲ πᾶν καὶ τὸ
30 συγγενὲς ἀλλοτριοῦται), ἀπολογήσασθε[4] δὲ ὑπὲρ
ὑμῶν αὐτῶν. ἀνάγκη γὰρ καὶ ἡμᾶς δι' αὐτοὺς
πάντας κακῶς ἀκούειν, καὶ εἰ μηδὲν ἀδικοῦμεν·[5]
πᾶς γάρ τις πυνθανόμενος τό τε πλῆθος ἡμῶν καὶ
τὴν ὁρμήν, ἐς πάντας ἡμᾶς καὶ τὰ τοῖς ὀλίγοις
πλημμελούμενα ἀναφέρει, καὶ οὕτω τῶν πλεονεξιῶν
οὐ συμμετέχοντες αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐγκλημάτων τὸ ἴσον
2 φερόμεθα. τίς γὰρ ἂν οὐκ ἀγανακτήσειεν ἀκούων
ὄνομα μὲν ἡμᾶς Ῥωμαίων ἔχοντας, ἔργα δὲ Κελ-
τῶν δρῶντας; τίς δ' οὐκ ἂν ὁρῶν ὀδύραιτο[6] τὴν
Ἰταλίαν ὁμοίως τῇ Βρεττανίᾳ πορθουμένην; πῶς
δ' οὐ δεινὸν τὰ μὲν τῶν Γαλατῶν τῶν καταπολε-
μηθέντων μηκέθ' ἡμᾶς λυπεῖν, τὰ δὲ ἐντὸς τῶν
Ἄλπεων ὥς τινας Ἠπειρώτας ἢ Καρχηδονίους ἢ
3 Κίμβρους πορθεῖν; πῶς δ' οὐκ αἰσχρὸν σεμνύνε-
σθαι μὲν ἡμᾶς καὶ λέγειν ὅτι ἡμεῖς πρῶτοι Ῥω-

[1] φήσαιτε Pflugk, φήσετε L.
[2] ἐθελήσαιτε Bk., ἐθελήσητε L. [3] που Pflugk, πω L.
[4] ἀπολογήσασθε R. Steph., ἀπολογήσασθαι L.
[5] ἀδικοῦμεν Pflugk, ἀδικῶμεν L.
[6] ὀδύραιτο H. Steph., ὠδύρετο L.

What merit, indeed, could you claim, if these men are doing no wrong? And how could you reasonably desire to be honoured, if these men do not meet with their just punishment? Or are you not aware that if the one class is freed from the fear of retribution and the other is deprived of the hope of reward, no good is accomplished, but only countless ills? Hence, if you really are cultivating excellence, you should detest these men as enemies. For it is not by any characteristic of birth that what is friendly is distinguished from what is hostile, but it is determined by men's habits and actions, which, if they are good, can make that which is alien like unto itself, but if bad, can alienate everything, even that which is akin. And you should speak in your own defence, because by the behaviour of these few we must all gain a bad name, even if we have done no wrong. For every one who learns of our numbers and impetuosity refers the errors of the few to us all; and thus, though we do not share in their gains, we bear an equal share of the reproach. Who would not be indignant at hearing that while we have the name of Romans we do the deeds of Germans?[1] Who would not lament the sight of Italy ravaged like Britain? Is it not outrageous that we are no longer harrying the possessions of the Gauls whom we have subdued, but are devastating the lands south of the Alps, as if we were hordes of Epirots or Carthaginians or Cimbri? Is it not disgraceful for us to give ourselves airs and say that we were the first B.C. 49

[1] See note on xxxviii. 34.

μαίων καὶ τὸν Ῥῆνον διέβημεν καὶ τὸν ὠκεανὸν ἐπλεύσαμεν, τὴν δὲ οἰκείαν ἀπαθῆ κακῶν ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων οὖσαν διαρπάσαι, καὶ ἀντὶ μὲν ἐπαίνου μέμψιν, ἀντὶ δὲ τιμῆς ἀτιμίαν, ἀντὶ δὲ κερδῶν ζημίας, ἀντὶ δὲ ἄθλων τιμωρίας λαβεῖν;

31 "Μὴ γάρ τοι νομίσητε μήθ', ὅτι στρατεύεσθε, κρείττους παρὰ τοῦτο τῶν οἴκοι πολιτῶν εἶναι· Ῥωμαῖοι γάρ ἐστε ἀμφότεροι, καὶ ὁμοίως ὑμῖν καὶ ἐκεῖνοι καὶ ἐστρατεύσαντο καὶ στρατεύσονται· μήθ', ὅτι ὅπλα ἔχετε, ἐξεῖναι ὑμῖν κακουργεῖν· οἵ τε γὰρ νόμοι κυριώτεροι ὑμῶν εἰσιν, καὶ πάντως
2 ποτὲ καὶ ταῦτα καταθήσεσθε. μὴ μέντοι μηδὲ τῷ πλήθει θαρσεῖτε· πολὺ γὰρ πλείους ὑμῶν οἱ ἀδικούμενοι, ἄν γε καὶ συστραφῶσιν, εἰσί. συστραφήσονται δέ, ἂν[1] τοιαῦτα ποιῆτε.[2] μηδ' ὅτι τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐνικήσατε, καὶ τούτων καταφρονεῖτε ὧν οὐδὲν οὔτε κατὰ γένος οὔτε[3] κατὰ παιδείαν, οὐκ ἐκ τῆς τροφῆς, οὐκ ἐκ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων,
3 διαφέρετε· ἀλλ' ὥσπερ που καὶ προσῆκον καὶ συμφέρον ἐστὶν ὑμῖν, μήτε βιάζεσθέ τινα αὐτῶν μήτ' ἀδικεῖτε,[4] ἀλλὰ τά τε[5] ἐπιτήδεια παρ' ἑκουσίων σφῶν λαμβάνετε καὶ τὰ γέρα παρ' ἑκόντων προσδέχεσθε.

32 "Πρὸς γὰρ δὴ τοῖς εἰρημένοις, τοῖς τε ἄλλοις ὅσα ἄν τις μηκύνων περὶ τῶν τοιούτων διεξέλθοι, καὶ ἐκεῖνο δεῖ ὑμᾶς προσλογίζεσθαι,[6] ὅτι νῦν ἡμεῖς ἐνταῦθ' ἥκομεν ἵνα τῇ τε πατρίδι ἀδικουμένῃ βοηθήσωμεν καὶ τοὺς κακουργοῦντας

[1] ἂν R. Steph., ἐὰν L. [2] ποιῆτε R. Steph., ποιεῖτε L.
[3] οὔτε κατὰ γένος οὔτε Bs., κατὰ γένος οὔτε L.
[4] ἀδικεῖτε R. Steph., ἀδικῆτε L. [5] τε Bk., μὲν L.
[6] προσλογίζεσθαι R. Steph., προλογίζεσθαι L.

of the Romans to cross the Rhine and to sail the ocean, and then to plunder our native land, which is safe from harm at the hands of our foes, and to receive blame instead of praise, dishonour in place of honour, loss instead of gain, punishment instead of prizes? B.C. 49

"Do not think, now, that, because you are soldiers, that makes you better than the citizens at home; for you and they alike are Romans, and they, as well as you, both have been and will be soldiers. Nor think, again, that because you have arms, it is permitted you to injure others; for the laws have more authority than you, and some day you will certainly lay down these weapons. Do not rely on your numbers, either; for the injured are, if they but unite, far more numerous than you. And they will unite, if you go on doing such deeds. Do not, because you have conquered the barbarians, despise the citizens also, over whom you have not the slightest superiority either in birth or in education, in training or in customs. Instead, as is proper and advantageous for you, do no violence or wrong to any of them, but receive your provisions from them of their own free will and accept your rewards from their willing hands.

"In addition to what I have just said and other considerations that might be mentioned if one chose to enlarge upon such matters, you must also bear in mind the fact that we have now come here to assist our outraged country and to defend her

αὐτὴν ἀμυνώμεθα, ἐπεὶ εἴγε ἐν μηδενὶ δεινῷ ἦν,
2 οὔτ' ἂν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἤλθομεν (οὐ γὰρ ἔξεστιν[1]) οὔτ' ἂν τά τε τῶν Κελτῶν καὶ τὰ τῶν Βρεττανῶν ἀτέλεστα κατελίπομεν, δυνηθέντες ἂν καὶ ἐκεῖνα προσκατεργάσασθαι.[2]
3 οὐκοῦν πῶς μὲν οὐκ ἄτοπον ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ἀδικούντων τιμωρίᾳ παρόντας ἡμᾶς μηδὲν ἧττον ἐκείνων πλεονεκτοῦντας φανῆναι; πῶς δ' οὐ σχέτλιον πρὸς ἐπικουρίαν τῆς πατρίδος ἀφιγμένους συμμάχων αὐτὴν ἑτέρων ἀναγκάσαι καθ'
4 ἡμῶν δεηθῆναι; καίτοι ἔγωγε τοσοῦτον περιεῖναι τοῖς δικαιώμασι τοῦ Πομπηίου νομίζω ὥστε καὶ ἐς δίκην πολλάκις αὐτὸν προκαλέσασθαι, καὶ ἐπειδή γε μὴ ἠθέλησεν εἰρηνικῶς ὑπὸ τοῦ συνειδότος διακριθῆναι, πάντα μὲν τὸν δῆμον πάντας δὲ τοὺς συμμάχους ἐλπίσαι διὰ τοῦτο προσθήσεσθαι.
5 ἀλλὰ νῦν, ἄν γε καὶ τοιαῦτα ποιῶμεν, οὔτ' αὐτὸς ἐπιτήδειόν τι ἔξω προΐσχεσθαι οὔτε ἐκείνοις ἀνεπιεικὲς[3] ἐγκαλέσαι. δεῖ δὲ δὴ καὶ τοῦ δικαίου πᾶσαν ἡμᾶς πρόνοιαν ποιεῖσθαι· μετὰ μὲν γὰρ τούτου καὶ ἡ παρὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἰσχὺς εὔελπίς ἐστιν, ἄνευ δ' ἐκείνου βέβαιον οὐδέν, κἂν παραυτίκα τις κατορθώσῃ τι, ἔχει.

33 "Καὶ ὅτι ταῦθ' οὕτω πέφυκε, καὶ ὑμῶν οἱ πλείους ἐπίστανται· πάντα γοῦν τὰ προσήκοντα ἀπαράκλητοι[4] πράττετε. ὅθεν που καὶ ἐγὼ συνεκάλεσα ὑμᾶς, ἵνα καὶ μάρτυρας καὶ ἐπόπτας τῶν τε λεγομένων καὶ τῶν[5] πραττομένων ποιήσω-

[1] ἔξεστιν Xyl., ἔτ' ἔστιν L.
[2] προσκατεργάσασθαι R. Steph., προσκατεργάσεσθαι L.
[3] ἀνεπιεικὲς Rk., ἂν ἐπιεικὲς L.
[4] ἀπαράκλητοι R. Steph., ἀπαράβλητοι L.
[5] τῶν supplied by Bk.

against her oppressors. For, of course, if she were in no danger, we should neither have come into Italy under arms, since this is unlawful, nor should we have left unfinished our business with the Germans and the Britons, when we might have subjugated those regions also. Would it not be absurd, then, if we who are here for vengeance upon the wrong-doers should show ourselves no less greedy of gain than they? Would it not be outrageous if we who have arrived to aid our country should force her to require other allies against us? And yet I think my claims so much better justified than Pompey's that I have often challenged him to a judicial trial; and since he by reason of his guilty conscience has refused to have the matter decided peaceably, I hope by this act of his to attach the whole people and all the allies to my cause. But now, if we are going to act in this manner, I shall not have any decent excuse to offer nor be able to charge my opponents with any unbecoming conduct. We must also pay all heed to the justice of our cause; for with this the strength afforded by arms is full of hope, but without it that strength, even though for the moment it wins a success, has nothing enduring about it. B.C. 49

"That this is true in the nature of things most of you understand; at any rate you fulfil all your duties without urging. That is precisely why I have called you together, to make you witnesses as well as

2 μαι. ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς μὲν[1] οὐ τοιοῦτοί ἐστε, καὶ διὰ
ταῦτα καὶ ἐπαινεῖσθε· ὀλίγοι δὲ δή τινες ὁρᾶτε
ὅπως, πρὸς τῷ πολλὰ κεκακουργηκέναι καὶ μηδε-
μίαν αὐτῶν δίκην δεδωκέναι, καὶ προσεπαπει-
λοῦσιν ἡμῖν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐγὼ οὔτ' ἄλλως
καλὸν εἶναι νομίζω ἄρχοντά τινα τῶν ἀρχομένων
3 ἡττᾶσθαι, οὔτ' ἂν σωτήριόν τι γενέσθαι ποτέ,
εἰ τὸ ταχθὲν ὑπηρετεῖν τινι κρατεῖν αὐτοῦ
ἐπιχειρήσειεν. σκέψασθε δέ, ποῖος μὲν ἂν[2] κόσμος
οἰκίας γένοιτο, ἂν οἱ ἐν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ ὄντες τῶν πρε-
σβυτέρων καταφρονήσωσι, ποῖος δὲ διδασκαλείων,
ἂν οἱ φοιτῶντες τῶν παιδευτῶν ἀμελήσωσι;
τίς ὑγίεια νοσοῦσιν, ἂν μὴ πάντα τοῖς ἰατροῖς
οἱ κάμνοντες πειθαρχῶσι, τίς δὲ ἀσφάλεια ναυτιλ-
λομένοις, ἂν οἱ ναῦται τῶν κυβερνητῶν ἀνηκου-
4 στῶσι; φύσει τε γὰρ ἀναγκαίᾳ τινὶ καὶ σωτηρίᾳ[3]
τὸ μὲν ἄρχειν ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὸ δὲ ἄρχεσθαι
τέτακται, καὶ ἀδύνατόν ἐστιν ἄνευ αὐτῶν καὶ
ὁτιοῦν καὶ ἐφ' ὁποσονοῦν διαγενέσθαι. προσήκει
τε τῷ μὲν ἐπιστατοῦντί τινος ἐκφροντίζειν τε
τὰ δέοντα καὶ ἐπιτάττειν, τῷ δὲ ὑποτεταγμένῳ
πειθαρχεῖν τε ἀπροφασίστως καὶ ἐκπονεῖν τὸ
5 κελευόμενον· ἐξ οὗ καὶ μάλιστα τό τε ἔμφρον τοῦ
ἄφρονος καὶ τὸ ἐπιστῆμον τοῦ ἀνεπιστήμονος ἐν
παντὶ προτετίμηται.

34 "Οὕτω δὴ οὖν τούτων ἐχόντων οὐκ ἄν ποτε
οὔτε συγχωρήσαιμί τι τούτοις τοῖς θορυβήσασιν
2 ἀναγκασθεὶς οὔτ' ἂν ἐπιτρέψαιμι βιασθείς. ἢ
τί μὲν ἀπό τε τοῦ Αἰνείου καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰούλου

[1] μὲν supplied by Bk.
[2] ἂν supplied by Bk.
[3] ἀναγκαίᾳ τινὶ καὶ σωτηρίᾳ Rk., ἀναγκαῖά τινα καὶ σωτήρια L.

spectators of my words and deeds. But you are not B.C. 49
the sort of men I have been mentioning, and it is for this very reason that you receive praise; yet you observe how some few of you, in addition to having worked many injuries without suffering any penalty at all for them, are also threatening us. Now I do not believe it a good thing in any case for a ruler to be overridden by his subjects, nor do I believe there could ever be any safety if those appointed to obey a person attempted to get the better of him. Consider what sort of order would exist in a household if the young should despise their elders, or what order in schools if the scholars should pay no heed to their instructors! What health would there be for the sick if the afflicted should not obey their physicians in all points, or what safety for voyagers if the sailors should turn a deaf ear to their captains? Indeed, it is in accordance with a natural law, both necessary and salutary, that the principles of ruling and of being ruled have been placed among men, and without them it is impossible for anything at all to continue to exist for even the shortest time. Now it is the duty of the one stationed over another both to discover and to command what is requisite, and it is the duty of the one subject to authority to obey without questioning and to carry out his orders. It is for this reason in particular that prudence is everywhere honoured above folly and understanding above ignorance.

"Since these things are so, I will never yield aught to these brawlers under compulsion nor give them a free rein perforce. Why am I sprung from Aeneas and Iulus, why have I been praetor, why

γέγονα, τί δὲ ἐστρατήγησα, τί ὑπάτευσα, ἐπὶ τί
δὲ ὑμᾶς τοὺς μὲν οἴκοθεν ἐξήγαγον τοὺς δ' ὕστερον
προσκατέλεξα, ἐπὶ τί τοσοῦτον ἤδη χρόνον τὴν
3 ἐξουσίαν τὴν ἀνθύπατον ἔχω λαβών, ἄν γε
δουλεύσω τινὶ ὑμῶν καὶ νικηθῶ τινος ὑμῶν
ἐνταῦθα ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ, πρὸς τὴν Ῥώμην, δι'
οὗ[1] καὶ Γαλάτας ἐχειρώσασθε καὶ Βρεττανῶν
4 ἐκρατήσατε; τί δείσας καὶ τί φοβηθείς; μή μέ
τις ὑμῶν ἀποκτείνῃ; ἀλλ' εἰ μέν πάντες ταῦτ'
ἐφρονεῖτε, ἑκὼν ἂν ἀποθανεῖν εἱλόμην ἢ τό τε
ἀξίωμα τῆς ἡγεμονίας καταλῦσαι καὶ τὸ φρόνημα
5 τὸ τῇ προστατείᾳ προσῆκον ἀπολέσαι· πολὺ γάρ
που πλείω πόλει κινδυνεύεται τοῦ ἕνα ἄνδρα ἀδίκως
ἀποθανεῖν, ἂν ἐθισθῶσιν οἱ στρατιῶται τοῖς τε
στρατηγοῖς σφων προστάττειν τινὰ καὶ τὰ δίκαια
35 τὰ τῶν νόμων ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ ποιεῖσθαι. ἀλλὰ
τοῦτο μὲν οὐδὲ ἐπηπείληκέ τις αὐτῶν (καὶ γὰρ
ἂν καὶ παραχρῆμα εὖ οἶδ' ὅτι πρὸς ὑμῶν τῶν
ἄλλων ἀπέσφακτο), τὴν δὲ δὴ στρατείαν ὡς
κεκμηκότες ἐξίστανται καὶ τὰ ὅπλα ὡς καὶ
πεπονημένοι κατατίθενται, καὶ πάντως, ἄν γε
μὴ παρ' ἑκόντος μου τούτου τύχωσι, καὶ τὴν
τάξιν ἐκλείψουσι[2] καὶ πρὸς τὸν Πομπήιον
μεταστήσονται· ἅπερ που καὶ[3] παραδηλοῦσί
2 τινες. καὶ τίς μὲν οὐκ ἂν ἐθελήσειε τοιούτων
ἀνθρώπων στερηθῆναι, τίς δ' οὐκ ἂν εὔξαιτο
τοιούτους ἐκείνῳ στρατιώτας ὑπάρξαι, οἵτινες
μήτε τοῖς διδομένοις ἀρκοῦνται μήτε τοῖς προσ-
ταττομένοις πείθονται, ἀλλ' ἐν ἡλικίᾳ γῆρας

[1] οὗ "N" in Reimar's ed., ὧν L.
[2] ἐκλείψουσι R. Steph., ἐκλείψωσι L.
[3] καὶ added by R. Steph.

consul, for what end have I brought some of you out from home and levied others of you later, for what end have I received and held the proconsular power now for so long a time, if I am to be a slave to some one of you and to be worsted by some one of you here in Italy, close to Rome, I, to whom you owe your subjugation of the Gauls and your conquest of Britain? In fear or dread of what should I do so? That some one of you will kill me? Nay, but if you all were of this mind, I would voluntarily choose to die rather than destroy the dignity of my position as commander or lose the self-respect befitting my leadership. For a far greater danger than the unjust death of one man confronts the city, if the soldiers are to become accustomed to issue orders to their generals and to take the prerogatives of the law into their own hands. No one of them, however, has so much as made this threat; if any had, I am sure he would have been slain forthwith by the rest of you. But they are for withdrawing from the campaign on the pretence of being wearied, and are for laying down their arms on the pretence of being worn out; and certainly, if they do not obtain my consent to this wish of theirs, they will leave the ranks and go over to Pompey, a fact which some of them make perfectly evident. And yet who would not be glad to be rid of such men, and who would not pray that such soldiers might belong to Pompey, seeing that they are not content with what is given them and are not obedient to orders, but simulating old age in the midst of youth and in strength B.C. 49

καὶ ἐν ἰσχύι ἀσθένειαν προβαλλόμενοι δεσπόζειν
τε τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ τυραννεῖν τῶν ἡγουμένων
3 σφῶν ἀξιοῦσιν; ἐγὼ γὰρ μυριάκις ἂν καὶ πρὸς
τὸν Πομπήιον ὁπωσδήποτε καταλλαγῆναι καὶ
ἄλλο ὁτιοῦν παθεῖν ἑλοίμην ἤ τι ἀνάξιον τοῦ
τε πατρίου φρονήματος καὶ τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ προαιρέ-
4 σεως πρᾶξαι. ἢ[1] ἀγνοεῖτε ὅτι οὔτε δυναστείας
οὔτε πλεονεξίας ἐπιθυμῶ, οὐδέ μοι πρόκειται
πάντως τι καὶ ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου καταπρᾶξαι,
ὥστε τι ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ ψεύσασθαι καὶ θωπεῦσαι
καὶ κολακεῦσαί τινας; παύσασθε μὲν δὴ διὰ
ταῦτα τῆς στρατείας, ὦ τί ἂν ὑμᾶς ὀνομάσαιμι;
οὐ μέντοι ὡς καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ βούλεσθε καὶ φατέ,
ἀλλ' ὡς τῷ κοινῷ καὶ ἐμοὶ συμφέρει."
5 Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐκλήρωσεν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ θανάτῳ,
καὶ τοὺς μὲν θρασυτάτους (οὗτοι γὰρ ἐκ παρα-
σκευῆς ἔλαχον) ἐδικαίωσε,[2] τοὺς δ' ἄλλους ὡς οὐδέν
σφων δεόμενος διῆκε.

Καὶ ἐκεῖνοι μὲν μετανοήσαντες ἐφ' οἷς ἔπραξαν
36 ἀναστρατεύεσθαι ἔμελλον· ἐν ὁδῷ δὲ ἔτ' ὄντος
αὐτοῦ Μᾶρκος Αἰμίλιος Λέπιδος, οὗτος ὁ καὶ
ἐν τῇ τριαρχίᾳ[3] ὕστερον γενόμενος, τῷ τε δήμῳ
συνεβούλευσε στρατηγῶν δικτατορα τὸν Καίσαρα
προχειρίσασθαι καὶ εὐθὺς εἶπεν αὐτὸν παρὰ τὰ
2 πάτρια. καὶ ὃς ὑπέστη μὲν τὴν ἀρχήν, ἐπειδὴ
πρῶτον ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσῆλθεν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ
φοβερὸν οὐδὲν ἐν αὐτῇ ἔπραξεν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τε
ἐκπεπτωκόσι κάθοδον πᾶσι πλὴν τοῦ Μίλωνος
ἔδωκε, καὶ τὰς[4] ἐς νέωτα ἀρχὰς ἀπέδειξεν (ἐς
γὰρ τὸ παρὸν τότε οὐδένα ἀντὶ τῶν ἀπόντων

[1] ἢ added by Oddey. [2] ἐδικαίωσε Reim., ἐδίωξε L.
[3] τριαρχίᾳ Xiph., τριηραρχίαι L. [4] τὰς Leuncl., τὰ L.

simulating weakness, they claim the right to lord it over their rulers and to tyrannize over their leaders? Why, I had a thousand times rather be reconciled with Pompey on any terms whatever or suffer any other conceivable fate than do anything unworthy of the proud traditions of my fathers, or of my own principles. Or are you not aware that it is not sovereignty or gain that I desire, and that I am not so bent upon accomplishing any thing by every means at whatever cost and that I would lie and flatter and fawn upon people to this end? Give up your service, therefore, you—O what can I call you? Yet still it shall be, not as you yourselves desire and say, but as is profitable for the republic and for myself." B.C. 49

After this speech he distributed lots among them for the infliction of the death penalty, and executed the most audacious; for these, as he had arranged should be the case, drew the lots. The rest he dismissed, saying he had no further need of them.

So they repented of what they had done and were ready to renew the campaign. While he was still on the way Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, the man who later became a member of the triumvirate, advised the people in his capacity of praetor to elect Caesar dictator, and immediately named him, contrary to ancestral custom. The latter accepted the office as soon as he entered the city, but committed no act of terror while holding it. On the contrary, he granted a return to all the exiles except Milo, and filled the offices for the ensuing year; for up to that time they had chosen no one temporarily in place of

3 ἀνθείλοντο· καίτοι μηδενὸς ἀγορανόμου ἐπιδημοῦντος οἱ δήμαρχοι πάντα τὰ ἐπιβάλλοντα αὐτοῖς διήγαγον), ἱερέας τε ἀντὶ τῶν ἀπολωλότων ἀντικατέστησεν, οὐ πάντα τὰ κατ' αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ νενομισμένα τηρήσας, καὶ τοῖς Γαλάταις τοῖς ἐντὸς τῶν Ἄλπεων ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἠριδανὸν οἰκοῦσι τὴν πολιτείαν, ἅτε καὶ ἄρξας αὐτῶν,
4 ἀπέδωκε. ποιήσας δὲ ταῦτα καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τῆς δικτατορίας ἀπεῖπε· τὴν γὰρ δὴ δύναμιν τό τε ἔργον αὐτῆς καὶ πάνυ ἀεὶ διὰ χειρὸς ἔσχε. τῇ τε γὰρ παρὰ τῶν ὅπλων ἰσχύι ἐχρῆτο, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἔννομον δή τινα παρὰ τῆς ἐκεῖ βουλῆς προσέλαβε· πάντα γὰρ μετὰ ἀδείας ὅσα ἂν βουληθῇ πράττειν οἱ ἐπετράπη.

37 Τυχὼν δὲ τούτου μέγα εὐθὺς καὶ ἀναγκαῖον πρᾶγμα διώρθωσεν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οἵ τε δεδανεικότες τισὶ πικροτάτας τὰς ἐσπράξεις, ἅτε καὶ πολλῶν χρημάτων διά τε τὰς στάσεις καὶ διὰ τοὺς πολέμους προσδεόμενοι, ἐποιοῦντο, καὶ τῶν ὀφειλόντων συχνοὶ οὐδέ ἐθέλοντες ἀποδοῦναί
2 τι ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐδύναντο (οὔτε γὰρ ἀποδόσθαι τι οὔτε ἐπιδανείσασθαι ῥᾴδιον αὐτοῖς ἐγίγνετο), κἀκ τούτου πολλὰ μὲν ἄπιστα πολλὰ δὲ καὶ δολερὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔπραττον, καὶ δέος ἦν μὴ καὶ ἐς ἀνήκεστόν τι κακὸν προχωρήσωσιν, ἐμετριάσθη μὲν καὶ πρὸ τούτου πρὸς
3 δημάρχων τινῶν τὰ κατὰ τοὺς τόκους, ἐπεὶ δ' οὐδ' ὣς ἀπεδίδοντο, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν τῶν ἐνεχύρων ἐξίσταντο οἱ δὲ καὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐν ἀργυρίῳ ἀπῄτουν, ἀμφοτέροις τότε ὁ Καῖσαρ ὡς οἷόν τε ἦν ἐπεκούρησε· τά τε γὰρ ἐνέχυρα πρὸς τὴν ἀξίαν

the absentees, and since there was no aedile in the city, the tribunes were performing all the duties devolving upon those officials. Moreover he appointed priests in place of those who had perished, though he did not observe all the ceremonies that were customary in their case at such a juncture; and to the Gauls living south of the Alps and beyond the Po he gave citizenship because he had once governed them. After accomplishing these things he resigned the title of dictator, since he had quite all the authority and functions of the position constantly in his grasp. For he exercised the power afforded by arms, and also received in addition a quasi-legal authority from the senate that was on the spot, in that he was granted permission to do with impunity whatever he might wish. B.C. 49

Having obtained this, he at once instituted an important and necessary reform. Those who had lent money, it seems, being now in need of large sums because of the civil strife and the wars, were collecting their loans most relentlessly, and many of the debtors for the same reasons were unable to pay back anything, even if they wished to do so, since they did not find it easy to sell anything or to borrow more. Hence their dealings with each other were marked by much deceit and fraud, and there was fear that they might go to the point of accomplishing some fatal mischief. To be sure, the rate of interest had been lowered even before this time by some of the tribunes; but since payment was not secured even thus, but instead the one class was ready to forfeit its securities, while the other demanded back its principal in cash, Caesar now came to the aid of both so far as he could. He ordered that

ἐναποτιμηθῆναι ἐκέλευσε, καὶ δικαστὰς αὐτῆς
τοῖς ἀμφισβητοῦσί τι ἀποκληροῦσθαι προσέ-
38 ταξεν. ἐπειδή τε συχνοὶ πολλά τε χρήματα[1]
ἔχειν καὶ πάντα αὐτὰ ἀποκρύπτειν ἐλέγοντο,
ἀπηγόρευσε μηδένα πλεῖον πεντακισχιλίων καὶ
μυρίων δραχμῶν ἐν ἀργυρίῳ ἢ καὶ χρυσίῳ
κεκτῆσθαι, οὐχ ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς τὸν νόμον τοῦτον
2 τιθείς, ἀλλ' ὡς καὶ πρότερόν ποτε ἐσενεχθέντα
ἀνανεούμενος, εἴτ' οὖν ἵνα τοῖς τε δανεισταῖς
οἱ ὀφείλοντές τι ἐκτίνωσι καὶ τοῖς δεομένοις
οἱ ἄλλοι δανείζωσιν, εἴτε καὶ ὅπως οἵ τε
εὐποροῦντες ἔκδηλοι γένωνται καὶ χρήματα
μηδεὶς αὐτῶν ἀθρόα ἔχῃ, μὴ καὶ ἀπόντος τι
3 νεωτερισθῇ. ἐπαρθέντος δὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τοῦ
πλήθους, καὶ ἀξιοῦντος καὶ τοῖς οἰκέταις μήνυτρα
ἐπ' αὐτῷ κατὰ τῶν δεσποτῶν προτεθῆναι,[2] οὔτε
προσέγραψεν αὐτὸ τῷ νόμῳ, καὶ προσέτι καὶ
ἐξώλειαν ἑαυτῷ προσεπηράσατο, ἄν ποτέ τι
δούλῳ κατὰ τοῦ δεσπότου εἰπόντι πιστεύσῃ.
39 Καῖσαρ μὲν δὴ ταῦτά τε πράξας καὶ τὰ
ἀναθήματα, τά τε ἄλλα καὶ τὰ ἐκ τοῦ Καπι-
τωλίου πάντα, ἀνελόμενος ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἐπ'
ἐξόδῳ τοῦ ἔτους, καὶ πρὶν ἐς τὴν ὑπατείαν ἐς
2 ἣν ἐκεχειροτόνητο ἐσελθεῖν, ἐξώρμησε. καὶ αὐτοῦ
τὰ τῆς ἐκστρατείας ποιοῦντος ἴκτινος ἐν τῇ
ἀγορᾷ κλωνίον δάφνης ἑνὶ τῶν συμπαρόντων
οἱ ἐπέρριψε· καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τῇ Τύχῃ θύοντος
ὁ ταῦρος ἐκφυγὼν πρὶν τιτρώσκεσθαι, ἔξω τε
τῆς πόλεως ἐξεχώρησε καὶ πρὸς λίμνην τινὰ
3 ἐλθὼν διενήξατο αὐτήν. κἀκ τούτων ἐπὶ πλέον

[1] τε χρήματα Rk., χρήματά τε L.
[2] προτεθῆναι H. Steph., προτεθεῖναι L.

securities should have a fixed valuation according to their worth, and he provided that arbiters for this purpose should be allotted to persons involved in such a dispute. Since also many were said to possess much wealth but to be concealing it all, he forbade any one to possess more than sixty thousand sesterces in silver or gold; and he claimed he was not enacting this law himself, but was simply renewing a measure introduced on some previous occasion. His object was either that those who were owing money should pay back a part of their debt to the lenders and the latter should lend to such as needed, or else that the well-to-do might become known and none of them should keep his wealth all together, for fear some rebellion might be set afoot during his absence. When the populace, elated at this, demanded also that rewards should be offered to slaves for information against their masters, he refused to add such a clause to the law, and furthermore invoked dire destruction upon himself if he should ever trust a slave when speaking against his master. B.C. 49

After accomplishing this and removing all the offerings in the Capitol, as well as the others, Caesar hastened to Brundisium toward the close of the year, before entering upon the consulship to which he had been elected. And as he was attending to the details of his departure, a kite in the Forum let fall a sprig of laurel upon one of his companions. Later, while he was sacrificing to Fortune, the bull escaped before being wounded, rushed out of the city, and coming to a certain lake, swam across it. Consequently he took greater courage and hastened his

θαρσήσας ἠπείχθη, καὶ μάλισθ᾽ ὅτι οἱ μάντεις
μένοντι μὲν αὐτῷ οἴκοι ὄλεθρον, περαιωθέντι
δὲ τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ σωτηρίαν καὶ νίκην ἔσεσθαι
4 ἔφασαν. ἀφορμηθέντος δὲ αὐτοῦ οἱ παῖδες οἱ
ἐν τῇ πόλει ὄντες διχῇ τε ἐνεμήθησαν αὐτοκέ-
λευστοι, καὶ οἱ μὲν Πομπηιείους[1] σφᾶς οἱ δὲ
Καισαρείους[2] ὀνομάσαντες ἐμαχέσαντο τρόπον
τινὰ ἄνευ ὅπλων ἀλλήλοις, καὶ ἐπεκράτησαν οἱ[3]
τῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος προσωνυμίᾳ χρώμενοι.

40 Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτ᾽ ἔν τε τῇ Ῥώμῃ καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ
ἐγίγνετο, Μᾶρκος μὲν Ὀκτάουιος καὶ Λούκιος
Σκριβώνιος Λίβων[4] Πούπλιον Κορνήλιον Δολο-
βέλλαν, τά τε τοῦ Καίσαρος πράττοντα καὶ ἐν
τῇ Δελματίᾳ[5] ὄντα, ἐξήλασαν ἐξ αὐτῆς τῷ τοῦ
2 Πομπηίου ναυτικῷ χρώμενοι. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο
Γάιον Ἀντώνιον ἐπαμῦναί οἱ ἐθελήσαντα ἔς τε[6]
νησίδιόν τι κατέκλεισαν, κἀνταῦθα πρός τε τῶν
ἐπιχωρίων ἐγκαταλειφθέντα καὶ λιμῷ πιεσθέντα
πασσυδὶ πλὴν ὀλίγων εἷλον· ἔς τε γὰρ τὴν
ἤπειρον ἔφθησάν τινες αὐτῶν διαφυγόντες, καὶ
ἕτεροι ἐν σχεδίαις διαπλέοντες καὶ ἁλισκόμενοι
σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀπεχρήσαντο.

41 Κουρίων δὲ Σικελίαν μὲν[7] ἀμαχεὶ παρεστήσατο
(ὁ γὰρ Κάτων ἄρχων αὐτῆς, ὡς οὔτε ἀξιόμαχός
οἱ ἦν οὔτε τὰς πόλεις ἐς κίνδυνον μάτην ἐμβαλεῖν
ἠθέλησε, προεξεχώρησε[8] πρὸς τὸν Πομπήιον), ἐς
2 δὲ δὴ τὴν Ἀφρικὴν περαιωθεὶς ἀπώλετο. ὁ μὲν

[1] Πομπηιείους Xyl., πομπηίους L (and so regularly).
[2] Καισαρείους H. Steph., καισαρίους L (regularly).
[3] οἱ Bk., ὅσοι L. [4] Λίβων R. Steph., λαβὼν L.
[5] Δελματίᾳ St., δαλματίαι L.
[6] ἔς τε Rk., ἔς γε L. [7] μὲν added by Bk.
[8] προεξεχώρησε Leuncl., προεξεχώρησε μὲν L.

preparations, especially as the soothsayers declared that destruction should be his portion if he remained at home, but safety and victory if he crossed the sea. After his departure the boys in the city divided of their own accord into two groups, one side calling themselves Pompeians and the other Caesarians, and, fighting with each other in some fashion or other without arms, those conquered who used Caesar's name. B.C. 49

While these events were occurring in Rome and in Spain, Marcus Octavius and Lucius Scribonius Libo, with the aid of Pompey's fleet drove out of Dalmatia Publius Cornelius Dolabella, who was there attending to Caesar's interests. After this they shut up Gaius Antonius, who had been desirous of aiding him, on a small island, and there, after he had been abandoned by the natives and was oppressed by hunger, they captured him with all his troops save a few; for some had escaped in season to the mainland, and others, who were sailing across on rafts and were overtaken, made away with themselves.

Curio had meanwhile reduced Sicily without a battle, since Cato, the governor of the island, being no match for him and not wishing to expose the cities to danger needlessly, had already withdrawn to join Pompey; later, however, he crossed over to Africa and there perished. Upon Curio's approach Lucius

γὰρ Καῖσαρ ὁ Λούκιος τὴν Ἀσπίδα τὴν πόλιν,
ἐν ᾗ κατὰ τύχην ἄλλως ἦν, πρὸς τὸν ἐπίπλουν
αὐτοῦ ἐξέλιπε, καὶ Πούπλιος Ἄττιος Οὐᾶρος ὁ
τὰ[1] ἐκεῖ πράγματα τότε ἔχων καὶ στρατιώτας
συχνοὺς καὶ πλοῖα συχνὰ[2] ἡττηθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ
3 ἀπέβαλεν· ὁ δὲ δὴ Ἰόβας Ἰεμψοῦ τε παῖς
ὢν καὶ τῶν Νομάδων βασιλεύων, τά τε τοῦ
Πομπηίου ὡς καὶ τὰ τοῦ δήμου τῆς τε βουλῆς
προτιμῶν, καὶ τὸν Κουρίωνα διά τε τοῦτο, καὶ ὅτι
τήν τε βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ δημαρχῶν ἀφελέσθαι
καὶ τὴν[3] χώραν δημοσιῶσαι ἐπεχείρησε, μισῶν,
4 ἰσχυρῶς αὐτῷ προσεπολέμησεν. οἴκαδε μὲν γὰρ
ἐς τὴν Νουμιδίαν οὐκ ἀνέμεινεν αὐτὸν ἐσβαλεῖν,
πολιορκοῦντι δέ οἱ Οὐτικὴν παντὶ μὲν ἅμα τῷ
στρατῷ οὐ προσέμιξε, φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ προ-
πυθόμενος ἐξαναχθείη (οὐ γάρ που[4] ἀπώσασθαι
αὐτὸν μᾶλλόν τι ἢ τιμωρήσασθαι ἐπεθύμει),
5 ὀλίγους δέ τινας προπέμψας, καὶ προφημίσας
ὡς αὐτὸς ἄλλοσέ ποι καὶ πόρρω γε ἀπεληλυθὼς
εἴη, ἐφέσπετό τέ σφισι καὶ οὐ διήμαρτεν ὧν
42 ἤλπισεν. ὁ γὰρ Κουρίων πρότερον μέν, ὡς καὶ
αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου προσιόντος, ἔς τε τὸ στρατόπεδον
τὸ πρὸς τῇ θαλάσσῃ ὂν μετέστη, καὶ γνώμην
ἐποιεῖτο τῶν τε νεῶν, ἂν βιάζηται, ἐπιβῆναι καὶ
2 τὴν Ἀφρικὴν παντελῶς ἐκλιπεῖν· ἐπεὶ δὲ ὀλίγους
τέ τινας καὶ τούτους ἄνευ τοῦ Ἰόβου ἀφικνεῖσθαι
ἐπύθετο, ἐθάρσησε, καὶ εὐθὺς τῆς νυκτὸς ὡς καὶ
ἐφ' ἕτοιμον νίκην, μὴ καὶ διαφύγωσιν αὐτόν, ἄρας
ἐπορεύετο, καί τινας τῶν προδρόμων καθεύδοντας

[1] ὁ τὰ Leuncl., ὅτι L.
[2] πλοῖα συχνὰ Jacoby, πόλεις καὶ L.
[3] τὴν Rk., τήν τε L. [4] που Bk., πω L.

Caesar abandoned the city of Aspis[1] where he happened to be by mere chance, and Publius Attius Varus, then in charge of the affairs of that region, was defeated by him and lost many troops and many ships. Juba, however, the son of Hiempsal and king of the Numidians, preferred the cause of Pompey as that of the people and the senate, and hated Curio both on this account and because the latter when tribune had attempted to take away his kingdom from him and to confiscate the land; accordingly he carried on a vigorous war against him. For he did not wait for him to invade his home country of Numidia, but went to meet him while he was besieging Utica. He did not attack him, however, with his whole army, since he feared that Curio might put to sea if he learned in advance of his approach; for he was evidently not so eager to repulse him as to take vengeance on him. Instead, he sent forward a few men and spread the report that he himself had gone far away in another direction; then he followed after this force and did not fail of the results he had hoped for. For, though Curio, under the impression that his enemy was approaching, had previously transferred his men to the camp near the sea and had formed the plan, in case he were hard pressed, of embarking on the ships and leaving Africa altogether, he now, when he ascertained that only a few men were coming, and these without Juba, took courage and set out on the march that very night as if to a victory lying ready to hand, fearing that they might otherwise escape him; and after destroying some of the enemy's vanguard who were sleeping B.C. 49

[1] The Roman Clupea, situated on the coast east of Carthage.

ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ φθείρας πολὺ προθυμότερος ἐγένετο.
3 κἀκ τούτου τοῖς λοιποῖς ὑπὸ τὴν ἕω προκεχωρηκόσιν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἐντυχὼν οὐδεμίαν ἀναβολὴν ἐποιήσατο, ἀλλὰ καίτοι τῶν στρατιωτῶν καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς πορείας καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀγρυπνίας τεταλαιπωρημένων ἐς χεῖράς σφισι παραχρῆμα
4 ἦλθε. κἀν τούτῳ ἑστώτων τε αὐτῶν καὶ ἀντιρρόπως ἀγωνιζομένων, ὁ Ἰόβας αἰφνιδίως οἱ ἐπιφανεὶς τῷ τε ἀδοκήτῳ ἅμα αὐτὸν καὶ τῷ πλήθει κατειργάσατο, καὶ ἐκεῖνον μὲν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς πλείστους αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ[1] ἀπέκτεινεν, τοὺς δὲ[2] λοιποὺς μέχρι τε τῆς ταφρείας ἐπεδίωξε καὶ
5 μετὰ τοῦτα ἐς τὰς ναῦς καθεῖρξε, κἀν[3] τῷ ταράχῳ τούτῳ πολλῶν μὲν χρημάτων ἐκράτησε πολλοὺς δὲ ἄνδρας ἔφθειρε. συχνοὶ δὲ δὴ καὶ διαφυγόντες αὐτῶν ἀπώλοντο, οἱ μὲν ἐν τῇ ἐς τὰ πλοῖα ἐσβάσει ὑπὸ τοῦ ὠθισμοῦ σφαλέντες, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς σκάφεσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ βάρους αὐτῶν
6 βαπτισθέντες. γιγνομένων δὲ τούτων, φοβηθέντες τινὲς μὴ τὰ αὐτὰ αὐτοῖς πάθωσι, προσεχώρησαν μὲν τῷ Οὐάρῳ ὡς καὶ σωθησόμενοι, εὕροντο δ' οὐδὲν ἐπιεικές· ὁ γὰρ Ἰόβας προϊσχόμενος ὅτι αὐτός σφας ἐνενικήκει, καὶ ἐκείνους πλὴν ὀλίγων ἐφόνευσεν. Κουρίων μὲν δὴ πλεῖστά τε τῷ Καίσαρι συναράμενος καὶ πάμπολλα αὐτὸν[4]
7 ἐπελπίσας οὕτως ἀπώλετο· Ἰόβας δὲ πρὸς μὲν τοῦ Πομπηίου τῶν τε ἄλλων τῶν ἐν τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ βουλευτῶν τιμάς τε εὕρετο καὶ βασιλεὺς προσηγορεύθη, πρὸς δὲ δὴ τοῦ Καίσαρος τῶν τε ἐν τῇ

[1] αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ R. Steph., αὐτῆι ταύτηι L.
[2] δὲ Pflugk, τε L
[3] κἀν Reim., καὶ L.
[4] αὐτὸν Bk., ἐπ' αὐτὸν L.

on the road he became much more emboldened. B.C. 49
Then, about dawn, he encountered the rest who had gone on ahead from the camp; and without any delay, in spite of the fact that his soldiers were exhausted both by the march and by want of sleep, he at once joined battle with them. Thereupon, when the others stood their ground and were holding their own, Juba suddenly appeared and by the unexpectedness of his arrival as well as by his numbers overwhelmed him. Curio and most of the others he killed on the spot, and the rest he pursued up to their entrenchments, later confining them to the ships; and in the midst of this rout he got possession of large amounts of treasure and destroyed many men. Indeed, many of them perished after escaping his grasp, some losing their footing while boarding the ships because of the crowding, and others going down with the vessels themselves when these became overloaded. While this was occurring still others, out of fear that they might suffer the same fate, went over to Varus, expecting that their lives would be spared; but they received no considerate treatment. For Juba asserted that it was he who had conquered them, and so slew nearly all of these, too. Thus Curio died after rendering most valuable assistance to Caesar and inspiring in him many hopes. And Juba received honours at the hands of Pompey and the senators who were in Macedonia, and was saluted as king; but by Caesar and those in the city he

πόλει αἰτίαν εἶχε καὶ πολέμιος ἀπεδείχθη, ὅ τε Βόκχος καὶ ὁ Βογούας βασιλῆς,[1] ὅτι ἐχθροὶ αὐτῷ[2] ἦσαν, ὠνομάσθησαν.[3]

43 Τῷ δὲ ἐχομένῳ ἔτει διττοί τε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἄρχοντες παρὰ τὸ καθεστηκὸς ἐγένοντο καὶ μάχη μεγίστη δὴ συνηνέχθη. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἄστει καὶ ὑπάτους τόν τε Καίσαρα καὶ Πούπλιον Σερουίλιον καὶ στρατηγοὺς τά τε ἄλλα τέλη[4] τὰ ἐκ τῶν νόμων ᾕρηντο, οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ Θεσσαλονίκῃ
2 τοιοῦτο μὲν οὐδὲν προπαρεσκευάσαντο, καίτοι τῆς τε ἄλλης βουλῆς ἐς διακοσίους, ὥς φασί τινες, καὶ τοὺς ὑπάτους ἔχοντες, καί τι καὶ χωρίον ἐς τὰ οἰωνίσματα, τοῦ δὴ καὶ ἐν νόμῳ δή τινι αὐτὰ δοκεῖν γίγνεσθαι, δημοσιώσαντες, ὥστε καὶ τὸν δῆμον δι' αὐτῶν τήν τε πόλιν ἅπασαν ἐνταῦθα
3 εἶναι νομίζεσθαι (αἴτιον δὲ ὅτι τὸν νόμον οἱ ὕπατοι τὸν φρατριατικὸν[5] οὐκ ἐσενηνόχεσαν), τοῖς δὲ δὴ αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις οἷσπερ[6] καὶ πρόσθεν ἐχρήσαντο, τὰς ἐπωνυμίας σφῶν μόνας μεταβαλόντες καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀνθυπάτους τοὺς δὲ ἀντιστρατήγους τοὺς δὲ ἀντιταμίας ὀνομάσαντες.
4 πάνυ γάρ που τῶν πατρίων αὐτοῖς ἔμελε τά τε ὅπλα ἀνταιρομένοις καὶ τὴν πατρίδα ἐκλελοιπόσιν, ὥστε μὴ πάντα τὰ ἀναγκαῖα πρὸς τὴν τῶν παρόντων ἀπαίτησιν καὶ παρὰ τὴν τῶν τεταγμένων ἀκρίβειαν ποιεῖν.
5 οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τῷ μὲν ὀνόματι οὗτοί σφισιν ἑκατέροις ἦρχον, ἔργῳ δὲ ὁ Πομπήιος καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ, τῆς μὲν φήμης ἕνεκα τὰς

[1] βασιλῆς Bs., βασιλεῖς L. [2] αὐτῷ Pflugk, αὐτῶν L.
[3] ἦσαν ὠνομάσθησαν Xyl., ἀνωμάσθησαν L.
[4] τέλη supplied by Bs. [5] φρατριατικὸν Reim., φρατρικὸν L
[6] οἷσπερ Reim., τοῖσπερ L.

was called to account and declared an enemy, while Bocchus and Bogud were named kings, because they were hostile to him. B.C. 49

The ensuing year the Romans had two sets of magistrates, contrary to custom, and a mighty battle was fought. The people of the city had chosen as consuls Caesar and Publius Servilius, along with praetors and all the other officers required by law. Those in Thessalonica had made no such appointments, although they had by some accounts about two hundred of the senate and also the consuls with them and had appropriated a small piece of land for the auguries, in order that these might seem to take place under some form of law, so that they regarded the people and the whole city as present there. They had not appointed new magistrates for the reason that the consuls had not proposed the *lex curiata*[1]; but instead they employed the same officials as before, merely changing their names and calling some proconsuls, others propraetors, and others proquaestors. For they were very careful about precedents, even though they had taken up arms against their country and abandoned it, and they were anxious that the acts rendered necessary by the exigencies of the situation should not all be in violation of the strict requirement of the ordinances. Nevertheless, these men mentioned were the magistrates of the two parties in name only, while in reality it was Pompey and Caesar who were supreme; for the sake of good repute they bore the legal titles of proconsul and B.C. 48

[1] The *lex curiata de imperio*, passed by the *comitia curiata*, formally conferred upon a consul or praetor his authority. Though largely a matter of form at this time, the magistrate was nevertheless not felt to be fully in possession of the privileges of his office until this vote had been passed.

ἐννόμους ἐπικλήσεις,[1] ὁ μὲν τὴν τοῦ ὑπάτου ὁ δὲ
τὴν τοῦ ἀνθυπάτου, ἔχοντες, πράττοντες δὲ οὐκ
ὅσα ἐκεῖναι ἐπέτρεπον ἀλλ' ὅσα αὐτοὶ ἤθελον.

44 Τοιούτων δὲ δὴ τούτων ὄντων καὶ δίχα τῆς
ἀρχῆς μεμερισμένης, Πομπήιος μὲν δὴ ἔν τε τῇ
Θεσσαλονίκῃ ἐχείμαζε καὶ φυλακὴν οὐκ ἀκριβῆ
τῶν παραθαλασσίων ἐποιεῖτο (οὔτε γὰρ ἐς τὴν
Ἰταλίαν ἤδη τὸν Καίσαρα ἐκ τῆς Ἰβηρίας
ἀφῖχθαι ἐνόμιζε, εἴ τε καὶ παρείη, ἀλλ' ἔν γε τῷ
χειμῶνι οὐχ ὑπώπτευσεν αὐτὸν τολμήσειν τὸν
2 Ἰόνιον διαβαλεῖν), Καῖσαρ δὲ ἦν μὲν ἐν Βρεντεσίῳ
τὸ ἔαρ ἀναμένων, πυθόμενος δὲ ἐκεῖνόν τε πόρρω[2]
ὄντα καὶ τὴν καταντιπέρας ἤπειρον ἀμελῶς
τηρουμένην, τό τε καινὸν τοῦ πολέμου ἥρπασε
καὶ τῷ ἀνειμένῳ[3] αὐτοῦ ἐπέθετο. μεσοῦντος
γοῦν τοῦ χειμῶνος μέρει τοῦ στρατοῦ ἀπῆρεν (οὐ
γὰρ ἦσαν ἱκαναὶ νῆες ὥστε πάντας ἅμα αὐτοὺς
3 περᾶσαι), καὶ λαθὼν τὸν Βίβουλον τὸν Μᾶρκον,
ᾧ ἡ θάλασσα φρουρεῖσθαι προσετέτακτο, ἐπε-
ραιώθη πρὸς τὰ ἄκρα τὰ Κεραύνια ὠνομασμένα·
ἔστι δὲ ἔσχατα τῆς Ἠπείρου, πρὸς τῷ στόματι
τοῦ Ἰονίου κόλπου. καὶ ἐλθὼν ἐνταῦθα πρὶν
ἔκπυστος ὅτι καὶ πλευσεῖται γενέσθαι, τὰς ναῦς
4 ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον ἐπὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἔστειλε· καὶ
αὐτὰς ὁ Βίβουλος ἀνακομιζομένας ἐκάκωσε, καί
τινας καὶ ἀνεδήσατο, ὥστε τὸν Καίσαρα ἔργῳ
μαθεῖν ὅτι εὐτυχέστερον τὸν πλοῦν ἢ εὐβουλότερον
ἐπεποίητο.

[1] τὰς ἐννόμους ἐπικλήσεις Rk., τῆς ἐννόμου καὶ ἐπικλήσεις L.
[2] τε πόρρω Pflugk, τε πόρρω τε L.
[3] ἀνειμένῳ Rk., ἀνέμωι L.

consul respectively, yet their acts were not those B.C. 48
which these offices permitted, but whatever they themselves pleased.

Under these conditions, with the government divided in twain, Pompey was wintering in Thessalonica and not keeping a very careful watch upon the coast; for he did not suppose that Caesar had yet arrived in Italy from Spain, and even if he were there, he did not suspect that he would venture to cross the Ionian Gulf in the winter, at any rate. But Caesar was in Brundisium, waiting for spring, and when he ascertained that Pompey was some distance off and that the mainland opposite was rather carelessly guarded, he seized upon the "chance of war[1]" and attacked him while his attention was relaxed. At any rate, when the winter was about half gone, he set out with a portion of his army, as there were not enough ships to carry them all across at once, and eluding Marcus Bibulus, to whom the guarding of the sea had been committed, he crossed to the Ceraunian Headlands, as they are called, the outermost point of Epirus, near the mouth of the Ionian Gulf. Arriving there before it became noised abroad that he would sail at all, he sent the ships to Brundisium for the others; but Bibulus damaged them on the return voyage and actually took some in tow, so that Caesar learned by experience that the voyage he had made was more fortunate than prudent.

[1] The expression τὸ καινὸν τοῦ πολέμου appears first in Thucydides (iii. 30), and soon became proverbial; cf. Polybius xxix. 6, Diodorus xx. 30, 67, Cic. *ad Att.* v. 20, 3. Dio uses it again in xlix. 5, 1. It seems to be used generally in the favourable sense of "the (lucky) chance of war." The proverb ran πολλὰ τὰ καινὰ τοῦ πολέμου ("many are the surprises of war");

45 Ἐν δ' οὖν τῇ διατριβῇ ταύτῃ τό τε Ὠρικὸν[1]
καὶ τὴν Ἀπολλωνίαν ἄλλα τε τῶν ἐκείνῃ χωρίων
ἐκλειφθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦ Πομπηίου φρουρῶν
παρεστήσατο. ἡ δὲ Ἀπολλωνία αὕτη ἡ[2] Κο-
ρινθία ἐν καλῷ μὲν τῆς γῆς ἐν καλῷ δὲ καὶ τῆς
2 θαλάσσης ποταμῶν τε ἄριστα κεῖται. ὅ τε
μάλιστα διὰ πάντων ἐθαύμασα, πῦρ πολὺ πρὸς
τῷ Ἀώῳ[3] ποταμῷ ἀναδίδοται, καὶ οὔτε ἐπὶ
πλεῖον τῆς πέριξ γῆς ἐπεξέρχεται, οὔτ' αὐτὴν
ἐκείνην ἐν ᾗ ἐνδιαιτᾶται ἐκπυροῖ ἢ καὶ κραυροτέραν
πῃ ποιεῖ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πόας καὶ δένδρα καὶ πάνυ
πλησία θάλλοντα ἔχει· πρός τε τὰς ἐπιχύσεις
3 τῶν ὄμβρων ἐπαύξει καὶ ἐς ὕψος ἐξαίρεται. καὶ
διὰ τοῦτο αὐτό τε Νυμφαῖον ὀνομάζεται καὶ δὴ
καὶ μαντεῖον τοιόνδε τι παρέχεται. λιβανωτὸν
δὴ λαβών, καὶ προσευξάμενος ὅ τι ποτὲ καὶ
4 βούλει, ῥίπτεις αὐτὸν τὴν εὐχὴν φέροντα. κἂν
τούτῳ τὸ πῦρ, ἂν μέν τι ἐπιτελὲς ᾖ[4] ἐσόμενον,
δέχεται αὐτὸν ἑτοιμότατα, κἂν ἄρα καὶ ἔξω που
προπέσῃ,[5] προσδραμὸν ἥρπασε καὶ κατανάλωσεν·
ἂν δὲ ἀτέλεστον ᾖ, οὔτ' ἄλλως αὐτῷ προσέρχεται,
κἂν ἐς αὐτὴν τὴν φλόγα φέρηται, ἐξαναχωρεῖ τε
5 καὶ ἐκφεύγει. καὶ ταῦθ' οὕτως ἑκάτερα περὶ
πάντων ὁμοίως, πλὴν θανάτου τε καὶ γάμου,
ποιεῖ· περὶ γὰρ τούτων οὐδὲ ἔξεστί τινι ἀρχὴν
αὐτοῦ πυθέσθαι τι.

46 Τοῦτο μὲν τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν, ὁ δὲ δὴ Καῖσαρ
βραδύνοντος τοῦ Ἀντωνίου, ᾧ τοὺς ὑπομείναντας
ἐν τῷ Βρεντεσίῳ κομίσαι ἐπετέτακτο, καὶ οὐδὲ

[1] Ὠρικὸν R. Steph., νωρικὸν L. [2] ἡ added by Bk.
[3] Ἀώῳ Palmerius, following Casaubon, ἄνᾳ L.
[4] ᾖ Pflugk, εἴη L. [5] προπέσῃ Rk., προσπέσηι L.

During this delay, then, he won over Oricum and Apollonia and other points there which had been abandoned by Pompey's garrisons. This Corinthian Apollonia[1] is well situated as regards the land and as regards the sea, and most excellently in respect to rivers. What I have marvelled at, however, above all else, is that a huge fire issues from the ground near the Aoüs river and neither spreads to any extent over the surrounding land nor sets on fire even the place where it abides nor makes it at all dry, but has grass and trees flourishing very near it. In pouring rains it increases and towers aloft. For this reason it is called Nymphaeum,[2] and in fact it furnishes an oracle, of this kind. You take incense and after making whatever prayer you wish cast it in the fire as the vehicle of the prayer. At this the fire, if your wish is to be fulfilled, receives it very readily, and even if the incense falls somewhere outside, darts forward, snatches it up, and consumes it. But if the wish is not to be fulfilled, the fire not only does not go to it, but, even if it falls into the very flames, recedes and flees before it. It acts in these two ways in all matters save those of death and marriage; for concerning these two one may not make any inquiry of it at all. Such is the nature of this marvel. B.C. 48

Now as Antony, to whom had been assigned the duty of conveying across those who remained at Brundisium, continued to tarry, and no message even

[1] Cf. Frag. 42.
[2] *I.e.* "Temple of the Nymphs."

ἀγγελίας τινὸς περὶ αὐτῶν διά τε τὸν χειμῶνα καὶ διὰ τὸν Βίβουλον φοιτώσης, ὑπώπτευσέ σφας μεσεύειν τε καὶ ἐφεδρεύειν τοῖς πράγμασιν,
2 οἷά που ἐν ταῖς στάσεσι φιλεῖ γίγνεσθαι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο βουληθεὶς αὐτὸς καὶ μόνος γε ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν πλεῦσαι, ἐπέβη μὲν ἀκατίου τινὸς ὥς τις ἄλλος, λέγων ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος πεπέμφθαι, καὶ τὸν κυβερνήτην αὐτοῦ καίπερ πνεύματος ὄντος
3 ἐξεβιάσατο ἀναχθῆναι· ὡς μέντοι ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἐγένοντο καὶ ὅ τε ἄνεμος ἰσχυρῶς κατέσπερχε καὶ ὁ κλύδων δεινῶς σφας ἐξετάραττεν, ὥστε τὸν κυβερνήτην μηδ' ἀναγκαζόμενον ἔτι τολμῆσαι περαιτέρω πλεῦσαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄκοντος αὐτοῦ ἐπανιέναι ἐπιχειρῆσαι,[1] ἐξέφηνεν ἑαυτὸν καθάπερ ἐκ τούτου καὶ τὸν χειμῶνα παύσων, καὶ ἔφη
4 "θάρσει· Καίσαρα γὰρ ἄγεις." τοιοῦτον μὲν δὴ φρόνημα καὶ τοιαύτην ἐλπίδα ἤτοι τὴν ἄλλως ἢ καὶ ἐκ μαντείας τινὸς εἶχεν ὥστε καὶ παρὰ τὰ φαινόμενα πίστιν τῆς σωτηρίας ἐχέγγυον ποιεῖσθαι· οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπεραιώθη, ἀλλ'[2] ἐπὶ πολὺ μάτην πονήσας ἀνέπλευσεν.

47 Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τῷ Πομπηίῳ περὶ τὸν Ἄψον ἀντεστρατοπεδεύσατο. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἐπειδὴ πρῶτον τῆς ἀφίξεως αὐτοῦ ᾔσθετο, οὐκ ἀνεβάλετο,[3] ἀλλὰ ἐλπίσας ῥᾳδίως αὐτόν, πρὶν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς μετὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ὄντας προσλαβεῖν, κατεργάσεσθαι,[4] σπουδῇ πρὸς τὴν Ἀπολλωνίαν δυνάμει
2 τινὶ ἤλασεν. ὁ οὖν Καῖσαρ μέχρι μὲν τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀπήντησέν οἱ, νομίσας ἀξιόμαχος καὶ

[1] ἐπιχειρῆσαι Xiph., ἐπεχείρησεν L.
[2] ἀλλ' Rk., ἀλλ' ὡς L.
[3] ἀνεβάλετο R. Steph., ἀνεβάλλετο L.
[4] κατεργάσεσθαι Rk., κατεργάσασθαι L.

came about them because of the winter and because B.C. 48
of Bibulus, Caesar suspected that they had adopted a neutral attitude and were watching the course of events, as often happens in civil strife. Wishing, therefore, to sail to Italy in person and unattended, he embarked on a small boat in disguise, saying that he had been sent by Caesar; and he forced the captain to set sail, although there was a wind. When, however, they had got away from land, and the gale swept violently down upon them and the waves buffeted them terribly, so that the captain did not longer dare even under compulsion to sail farther, but undertook to return even without his passenger's consent, then Caesar revealed himself, as if by this act he could stop the storm, and said, "Be of good cheer: you carry Caesar." Such spirit and such hope had he, either naturally or as the result of some oracle, that he felt firm confidence in his safety even contrary to the appearance of things. Nevertheless, he did not get across, but after struggling for a long time in vain sailed back.

After this he encamped opposite Pompey, near Apsus. For Pompey, as soon as he had learned of his arrival, had made no delay, but hoping to crush him easily before he should receive the others who were with Antony, hastily marched with a considerable force toward Apollonia. Caesar advanced to meet him as far as the river, thinking that even as he was he would prove a match for the troops

ὡς τοῖς τότε προσιοῦσι γενήσεσθαι· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔμαθεν ὅτι πολὺ τῷ πλήθει ἠλαττοῦτο, ἡσύχασε. καὶ ὅπως γε μήθ' ὑπὸ δέους τοῦτο ποιεῖν μήτε ἐξάρχειν τοῦ πολέμου νομισθείη, λόγους τέ τινας συμβατηρίους σφίσι καθίει[1] καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο
3 διῆγε. γνοὺς δὲ ταῦθ' ὁ Πομπήιος συμβαλεῖν μὲν αὐτῷ ὡς ὅτι τάχιστα ἠθέλησε, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐπιδιαβῆναι ἐπεχείρησεν· ὡς δὲ ἡ γέφυρα βάρος λαβοῦσα διελύθη καί τινες τῶν προδιαβεβηκότων μονωθέντες ἀπώλοντο, ἐπέσχεν ἀθυμήσας ὅτι πρῶτον τῶν τοῦ πολέμου ἔργων ἁπτόμενος ἐπταίκει.

Κἀν τούτῳ καὶ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ἐπελθόντος
48 φοβηθεὶς ἀπεχώρησε πρὸς τὸ Δυρράχιον. τέως μὲν γὰρ ὁ Βίβουλος ἔζη, οὐδ' ἀπᾶραι ἐκεῖνος ἐκ τοῦ Βρεντεσίου ἐτόλμησεν· τοσαύτη που φυλακὴ αὐτοῦ ἐγίγνετο· ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτός τε ἐκκαμὼν ὑπὸ τῆς ταλαιπωρίας ἐτελεύτησε καὶ τὴν ναυαρχίαν ὁ Λίβων διεδέξατο, κατεφρόνησεν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀνηγάγετο ὡς καὶ βιασόμενος τὸν ἔκπλουν.
2 καταραχθείς τε ἐς τὴν γῆν ἠμύνατό τε αὐτὸν ἰσχυρῶς προσβαλόντα οἱ, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐπεκβῆναί ποι βουληθέντα οὐδαμῇ τῆς ταύτῃ
3 ἠπείρου προσορμισθῆναι εἴασεν. ἀπορήσας οὖν ὁ Λίβων καὶ ὅρμου καὶ ὕδατος (τὸ γὰρ νησίδιον τὸ πρὸς τοῦ λιμένος ὄν, ἐς ὅπερ μόνον προσέχειν ἐδύνατο, καὶ ἄνυδρον καὶ ἀλίμενόν ἐστιν) ἀπέπλευσε πόρρω ποι, ὅπου ἀμφοτέρων εὐπορή-
4 σειν ἔμελλε. καὶ οὕτως ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐξαναχθεὶς ὕστερον πρὸς μὲν ἐκείνου, καίπερ μετεώροις σφίσιν ἐπιχειρῆσαι ἐθελήσαντος, οὐδὲν ἔπαθε·

[1] καθίει Dind., καθείη L.

then approaching; but when he learned that he was far inferior in numbers, he halted. And in order that it might not be thought either that he was halting through fear or that he was making the first move in the war, he submitted some conciliatory proposals to the other side and delayed on this pretext. Pompey, perceiving his motive, wished to try conclusions with him as soon as possible and for this reason undertook to cross the river. But the bridge broke down under the weight and some of the advance guard, thus isolated, perished. Then he desisted, discouraged because he had failed in the first action of the war. B.C. 48

Meanwhile Antony also had arrived, and Pompey in fear retired to Dyrrachium. As long as Bibulus was alive, Antony had not dared even to set out from Brundisium, so close guard did the other keep over it; but when Bibulus, succumbing to the hardships, died, and Libo succeeded him as admiral, Antony scorned him and set sail with the intention of forcing the passage. When driven back to land, he repelled the other's vigorous attack upon him and later, when Libo was anxious to disembark somewhere, he allowed him to find anchorage nowhere along that part of the mainland. So the admiral, being in need of anchorage and water, since the little island in front of the harbour, which was the only place he could approach, is destitute of water and harbour alike, sailed off to some distant point where he was likely to find both in abundance. In this way Antony was enabled to set sail, but later, although he met with no harm at Libo's hands, even when the other attempted to attack them on

χειμὼν γὰρ σφοδρὸς ἐπιγενόμενος ἐκώλυσε τὴν
ἐπίθεσιν· πρὸς δὲ δὴ αὐτοῦ τούτου ἀμφότεροι
ἐκακοπάθησαν.

49 Διασωθέντων δ' οὖν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ὅ τε
Πομπήιος ἐς τὸ Δυρράχιον, ὥσπερ εἶπον, ἀνεχώ-
ρησε, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπηκολούθησεν αὐτῷ θαρσή-
σας, ὅτι τῷ πλήθει τῶν τότε συνόντων οἱ περιῆν
2 ἐκ τῶν προσγεγενημένων. τὸ δὲ Δυρράχιον ἐν τῇ
γῇ τῇ πρότερον μὲν Ἰλλυριῶν τῶν Παρθινῶν, νῦν
δὲ καὶ τότε γε ἤδη[1] Μακεδονίας[2] νενομισμένῃ
κεῖται, καὶ ἔστιν ἐπικαιρότατον, εἴτ' οὖν ἡ
Ἐπίδαμνος ἡ[3] τῶν Κερκυραίων εἴτε καὶ ἑτέρα τις
οὖσα. καὶ οἱ μὲν τοῦτο γράψαντες τήν τε
κτίσιν αὐτῆς καὶ τὸ ὄνομα ἐς Δυρράχιον ἥρωα
3 ἀναφέρουσιν· οἱ δ' ἕτεροι Δυρράχιον ἀντονομα-
σθῆναι τὸ χωρίον ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πρὸς τὴν τῆς
ῥαχίας δυσχέρειαν ἔφασαν, ὅτι ἡ τῆς Ἐπιδάμνου
πρόσρησις ζημιώδη δήλωσιν ἐν τῇ τῶν Λατίνων
γλώσσῃ ἔχουσα δυσοιώνιστός σφισιν ἐς τὸ
περαιοῦσθαι ἐς αὐτὴν ἔδοξεν εἶναι.

50 Πρὸς οὖν τοῦτο τὸ Δυρράχιον ὁ Πομπήιος
καταφυγὼν στρατόπεδόν τε ἔξω τῆς πόλεως
ἐποιήσατο, καὶ τάφρους βαθείας σταυρώματά τε
ἰσχυρὰ περιεβάλετο.[4] καὶ αὐτῷ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπι-
στρατοπεδεύσας προσέμιξε μὲν ὡς καὶ δι' ὀλίγου
τὸ χαράκωμα τῷ πλήθει τῶν στρατιωτῶν αἱρή-
σων, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπεκρούσθη, ἐπεχείρησεν αὐτὸ ἀπο-
2 τειχίσαι. καὶ ἐκεῖνός τε ἅμα τοῦτ' εἰργάζετο, καὶ

[1] ἤδη Leuncl., ἧδε L.
[2] Μακεδονίας Oddey, μακεδονία L.
[3] ἡ Reim., καὶ ἡ L.
[4] περιεβάλετο Xiph., περιεβάλλετο L.

the high seas (for a violent storm came up which prevented the attack), both he and Libo suffered injuries from the storm itself. B.C. 48

When the soldiers had got safely across, Pompey, as I have said, retired to Dyrrachium, and Caesar followed him, encouraged by the fact that, with the reinforcements that had arrived, he was superior to his adversary in the number of troops then at his disposal. Dyrrachium is situated in the land formerly regarded as belonging to the tribe of Illyrians called Parthini, but now and even at that time regarded as a part of Macedonia; and it is very favourably placed, whether it be the Epidamnus of the Corcyraeans or another city. Those who record this fact refer both its founding and its name to a hero Dyrrachius; but the other authorities have declared that the place was renamed by the Romans with reference to the difficulties of the rocky shore,[1] because the term Epidamnus has in the Latin tongue the meaning of "loss,"[2] and so seemed to be of ill-omen for their voyages thither.

Pompey after taking refuge in this town of Dyrrachium built a camp outside the city and surrounded it with deep moats and a stout palisade. Caesar encamped over against him and made assaults, in the hope of quickly capturing the palisades by the superior number of his troops; and when he was repulsed, he attempted to wall it in. While he was engaged in

[1] *I.e.*, the name was a compound of δυσ- ("unlucky") and ῥαχία ("breakers" or "rocky shore"). From Dyrrachium comes its modern name Durazzo.

[2] Epidamnus is of course a Greek name, but the Romans were not slow to connect the second element of the word with their own *damnum*. Compare the jest in Plautus, *Menaechmi*, 263 f.

ὁ Πομπήιος τὰ μὲν διεσταύρου τὰ δὲ ὑπετείχιζε
καὶ διετάφρευε, πύργους τε ἐπὶ τῶν μετεώρων καὶ
φυλακὰς ἐπικαθίστη, ὥς τήν τε περίοδον τοῦ
περιτειχίσματος ἀπέραντον καὶ τὴν ἔφοδον καὶ
κρατοῦσι τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἄπορον ποιῆσαι. πολλαὶ
μὲν οὖν καὶ ἐν τούτῳ μάχαι αὐτῶν, βραχεῖαι δ'
3 οὖν[1] ἐγίγνοντο· καὶ ἐν ταύταις τοτὲ μὲν οὗτοι
τοτὲ δὲ ἐκεῖνοι καὶ ἐνίκων καὶ ἐνικῶντο, ὥστε καὶ
θνήσκειν τινὰς ἀμφοτέρων ὁμοίως. αὐτοῦ δὲ δὴ τοῦ
Δυρραχίου ὁ Καῖσαρ μεταξὺ τῶν τε ἑλῶν καὶ τῆς
θαλάσσης νυκτός, ὡς καὶ προδοθησομένου ὑπὸ[2]
τῶν[3] ἀμυνομένων, πειράσας εἴσω μὲν τῶν στενῶν
4 παρῆλθε, προσπεσόντων δέ οἱ ἐνταῦθα πολλῶν
μὲν κατὰ πρόσωπον πολλῶν δὲ καὶ κατόπιν, οἳ
πλοίοις παρακομισθέντες ἐξαίφνης αὐτῷ ἐπέθεντο,
καὶ συχνοὺς ἀπέβαλε καὶ ὀλίγου καὶ αὐτὸς ἐφθάρη.
γενομένου δὲ τούτου ὁ Πομπήιος ἐπιθαρσήσας
ἐπεβούλευσε νυκτὸς τῷ περιτειχίσματι, καὶ ἐκείνου
τέ τι ἀπροσδόκητος προσπεσὼν εἷλε, καὶ φόνον
τῶν αὐλιζομένων πρὸς αὐτῷ πολὺν εἰργάσατο.
51 Ὁ οὖν Καῖσαρ, ὡς ταῦτά τε συνεβεβήκει καὶ ὁ
σῖτος αὐτὸν ἐπελελοίπει (ἥ τε γὰρ θάλασσα καὶ ἡ
γῆ πᾶσα ἡ πλησία ἀλλοτρία αὐτῷ ἦν, καί τινες
διὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἀπηυτομολήκεσαν), δείσας μὴ ἤτοι[4]
προσεδρεύων καταπολεμηθῇ ἢ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων
ἐγκαταλειφθῇ, πάντα μὲν τὰ ᾠκοδομημένα κατέ-
στρεψε, πάντα δὲ τὰ παραβεβλημένα προσδιέ-
φθειρε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐξαίφνης ἄρας ἐς Θεσσαλίαν
2 ὥρμησεν. ἐν γὰρ τῷ αὐτῷ τούτῳ χρόνῳ ᾧ[5] τὸ

[1] οὖν Leuncl., οὖν αὐτῶν L.
[2] ὑπὸ supplied by Rk.
[3] τῶν Rk., τῶν τε L.
[4] ἤτοι Bk., τοι L.
[5] ᾧ supplied by Leuncl.

this task, Pompey was constructing palisades, cross-walls and ditches, and placing towers on the elevations and guards in them, so as to make the circuit of the encompassing wall complete and to make an attack impracticable for the foe, even if they conquered. There were meanwhile many, though slight, encounters between them, in which now one party, now the other, was victorious or beaten, so that a few were killed on both sides alike. Upon Dyrrachium itself Caesar made an attempt by night, between the marshes and the sea, in the expectation that it would be betrayed by its defenders. He got inside the narrows, but at that point was attacked both in front and in the rear by large forces which had been conveyed along the shore in boats and suddenly fell upon him; thus he lost many men and very nearly perished himself. After this occurrence Pompey took courage and planned a night assault upon the enclosing wall; and attacking it unexpectedly, he captured a portion of it by storm and caused great slaughter among the men encamped near it. B.C. 48

Caesar, in view of this occurrence and because his grain had failed, inasmuch as the whole sea and land in the vicinity were hostile, and because for this reason some had actually deserted, feared that he might either be defeated while watching his adversary or be abandoned by his other followers. Therefore he levelled all the works that had been constructed, destroyed also all the parallel walls, and thereupon set out suddenly and hastened into Thessaly. During this same time, it seems, while

Δυρράχιον ἐπολιορκεῖτο, Λούκιός τε Κάσσιος Λογγῖνος καὶ Γναῖος Δομίτιος Καλουῖνος ἔς τε τὴν Μακεδονίαν καὶ ἐς τὴν Θεσσαλίαν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πεμφθέντες, Λογγῖνος μὲν ἐνταῦθα ὑπό τε τοῦ Σκιπίωνος καὶ ὑπὸ Σαδάλου Θρᾳκὸς ἰσχυρῶς
3 ἐσφάλη, Καλουῖνος δὲ τῆς μὲν Μακεδονίας ὑπὸ τοῦ Φαύστου ἀπεώσθη, Λοκρῶν δὲ δὴ καὶ Αἰτωλῶν προσχωρησάντων οἱ ἔς τε τὴν Θεσσαλίαν μετ' αὐτῶν ἐσέβαλε, καὶ τὸν Σκιπίωνα μάχαις, τῇ μὲν λοχισθεὶς τῇ δ' ἀντενεδρεύσας, ἐνίκησε,[1] καὶ ἀπ'
4 αὐτοῦ καὶ πόλεις τινὰς προσεποιήσατο. ἐνταῦθ' οὖν ὁ Καῖσαρ, ὡς καὶ ῥᾷον σὺν ἐκείνοις τῆς τε τροφῆς εὐπορήσων καὶ τὸν πόλεμον διοίσων, ἠπείχθη. καὶ ἐπειδὴ οὐδεὶς αὐτὸν ἅτε κακῶς πεπραγότα ἐδέχετο, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων καὶ ἄκων ἀπείχετο, Γόμφοις δὲ δὴ πολίχνῃ τινὶ Θεσσαλικῇ προσπεσὼν καὶ κρατήσας πολλούς τε ἔκτεινε καὶ
5 πάντα [2] διήρπασεν, ὅπως καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐκ τούτου καταφοβήσῃ. αὐτίκα γοῦν Μητρόπολις, ἕτερόν τι πόλισμα, οὐδὲ ἐς χεῖρας αὐτῷ ἦλθεν, ἀλλ' ἀμαχεὶ ὡμολόγησε· καί σφας κακὸν οὐδὲν δράσας ῥᾷον καὶ ἄλλους τινὰς ἀφ' ἑκατέρου προσεποιήσατο.

52 Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἰσχυρὸς αὖθις ἐγίγνετο, Πομπήιος δὲ οὐκ ἐπεδίωξε μὲν αὐτόν (νυκτός τε γὰρ ἐξαπιναίως ἀπανέστη, καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Γενουσὸν σπουδῇ διέβη), οὕτω μέντοι τὴν γνώμην εἶχεν ὡς καὶ διαπεπολεμηκώς. κἀκ τούτου τὸ μὲν τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ὄνομα ἔλαβεν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐμεγαληγόρει τι ἢ καὶ δάφνην τινὰ ταῖς ῥάβδοις περιῆψεν, δυσχεραίνων ἐπὶ πολίταις τοιοῦτό τι

[1] ἐνίκησε Leuncl., ἐνέδρευσε L. [2] πάντα Xyl., πάντας L.

Dyrrachium was being besieged, Lucius Cassius Longinus and Gnaeus Domitius Calvinus had been sent by him into Macedonia and Thessaly. Longinus had been disastrously defeated in Thessaly by Scipio and by Sadalus, a Thracian; and Calvinus had been repulsed from Macedonia by Faustus, but on receiving accessions from the Locrians and Aetolians had invaded Thessaly with these troops, and after being ambushed had afterwards set ambuscades himself and conquered Scipio in battle, thereby winning over a few cities. Thither, accordingly, Caesar hastened, thinking that by uniting with these officers he could more easily secure an abundance of provisions and thus continue the war. When no one would receive him, because of his reverses, he reluctantly held aloof from the larger settlements, but assaulted Gomphi, a little town in Thessaly; and upon taking it he put many to death and plundered everything, in order that by this act he might inspire the rest with terror. Metropolis, another town, for example, did not even contend with him but forthwith capitulated without a struggle; and as he did no harm to its citizens he more easily won over some other places by his course in these two instances. B.C. 48

So he was once more becoming powerful. Pompey did not pursue him, for he had withdrawn suddenly by night and had hastily crossed the Genusus river; however, he was of the opinion that he had brought the war to an end. Consequently he assumed the title of *imperator*, though he uttered no boastful words about it and did not even wind laurel about his fasces, disliking to show such exul-

2 ποιῆσαι. ἐκ δὲ δὴ τῆς αὐτῆς ταύτης διανοίας
οὐδὲ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν οὔτ' αὐτὸς ἔπλευσεν οὔτ'
ἄλλους τινὰς ἔπεμψε, καίτοι ῥᾳδίως ἂν πᾶσαν
αὐτὴν κατασχών· τῷ τε γὰρ ναυτικῷ πολὺ
ἐκράτει ἅτε πεντακοσίας ναῦς ταχείας ἔχων, ὥστε
πανταχόσε ἅμα καταραι, καὶ τὰ ἐκεῖ οὔτ' ἄλλως
αὐτῷ ἤχθετο, οὔτε, εἰ καὶ τὰ[1] μάλιστα ἠλλο-
3 τρίωτο, ἀξιόμαχά γε ἀντιπολεμῆσαι ἦν. πόρρω
τε[2] γὰρ τοῦ περὶ αὐτῆς δόξαι πολεμεῖν ἀφεστη-
κέναι ἐβούλετο, καὶ φόβον οὐδένα τοῖς ἐν τῇ
Ῥώμῃ τότε οὖσι παρασχεῖν ἠξίου. τῆς μὲν οὖν
Ἰταλίας διὰ ταῦτ' οὐκ ἐπείρασεν, οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ
ἐπέστειλε τῷ κοινῷ περὶ τῶν πραχθέντων οὐδέν·
ἐπὶ δὲ δὴ τὸν Καίσαρα μετὰ τοῦθ' ὁρμήσας ἐς
τὴν Θεσσαλίαν ἀφίκετο.

53 Ἀντικαθημένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἀλλήλοις ἡ μὲν
ὄψις τῶν στρατοπέδων πολέμου τινὰ εἰκόνα
ἔφερεν, ἡ δὲ δὴ χρεία τῶν ὅπλων ὡς καὶ ἐν
εἰρήνῃ ἡσύχαζε. τό τε γὰρ μέγεθος τοῦ κινδύνου
διασκοποῦντες, καὶ τὸ ἄδηλον τό τε ἀστάθμητον
τῶν πραγμάτων προορώμενοι, καί τινα καὶ αἰδῶ
τοῦ τε ὁμοφύλου καὶ τῆς συγγενείας ἔτι ποιού-
2 μενοι, διέμελλον, κἀν τούτῳ καὶ λόγους περὶ
φιλίας σφίσιν ἀντέπεμπον, καί τισι καὶ συναλ-
λαγήσεσθαι διὰ κενῆς ἔδοξαν. αἴτιον δὲ ὅτι τοῦ
τε παντὸς κράτους ἀμφότεροι ἐφιέμενοι, καὶ
πολλῇ μὲν φιλοτιμίᾳ ἐμφύτῳ πολλῇ δὲ καὶ
3 φιλονεικίᾳ ἐπικτήτῳ χρώμενοι (πρός τε γὰρ τῶν
ἴσων καὶ πρὸς τῶν οἰκειοτάτων ἥκιστά τινες
ἐλαττούμενοι φέρουσιν) οὔτε τι συγχωρῆσαι

[1] τὰ added by R. Steph. (and so V).

[2] πόρρω τε Bk., πορρωτέρωι L.

tation over the downfall of citizens. From this same motive he neither sailed to Italy himself nor sent any others there, though he might easily have taken possession of it all. For with his fleet he was far superior, as he had five hundred swift ships and could land at all points at the same time; moreover, the sentiment of that country was not opposed to him in any case, and, even if it had been ever so hostile, the people were no match for him in war. But he wished to be far from giving the impression that Italy was the stake for which he was fighting, and did not think he ought to cause any fear to the people who were then in Rome. Hence he made no attempt on Italy, nor even sent to the government any despatch about his successes; but after this he set out against Caesar and came into Thessaly. B.C. 48

As they lay opposite each other the appearance of the camps bore, indeed, some semblance of war, but their arms were idle as in time of peace. As they considered the greatness of the danger and foresaw the obscurity and uncertainty of the issue, and still felt some regard for their common ancestry and their kinship, they continued to delay. Meanwhile they exchanged propositions looking toward friendship and appeared to some likely even to effect an empty reconciliation. The reason was that they were both reaching out after the supreme power and were influenced greatly by native ambition and greatly also by acquired rivalry,—since men can least endure to be outdone by their equals and intimates; hence they were not willing to make any concessions

ἀλλήλοις ἤθελον, ὥσπερ ἀμφότεροι κρατῆσαι
δυνάμενοι, οὔτε πιστεῦσαι, κἂν συμβαθῇ[1] τι,
ἐδύναντο μὴ οὐ τοῦ πλείονός τε ἀεί σφας ὀριγνή-
σεσθαι καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ παντὸς αὖθις στασιάσειν.
54 γνώμῃ μὲν γὰρ τοσοῦτον ἀλλήλων διέφερον ὅσον
Πομπήιος μὲν οὐδενὸς ἀνθρώπων δεύτερος, Καῖσαρ
δὲ καὶ πρῶτος πάντων εἶναι ἐπεθύμει, καὶ ὁ μὲν
παρ' ἑκόντων τε τιμᾶσθαι καὶ ἐθελόντων προστα-
τεῖν φιλεῖσθαί τε ἐσπούδαζε, τῷ δὲ οὐδὲν ἔμελεν
εἰ καὶ ἀκόντων ἄρχοι καὶ μισοῦσιν ἐπιτάσσοι,
2 τάς τε τιμὰς αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ διδοίη. τὰ μέντοι ἔργα,
δι' ὧν ἤλπιζον πάνθ' ὅσα ἐβούλοντο καταπράξειν,
ἀμφότεροι ὁμοίως καὶ ἀνάγκῃ ἐποίουν· ἀδύνατον
γὰρ ἦν αὐτῶν κατατυχεῖν τινι μὴ οὐ τοῖς τε
οἰκείοις πολεμοῦντι καὶ τοὺς ὀθνείους ἐπὶ τοὺς
ὁμοφύλους ἄγοντι, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν χρήματα
ἀδίκως συλῶντι, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ τῶν φιλτάτων
3 ἀνόμως κτείνοντι.[2] ὥστε εἰ καὶ ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις
διήλλαττον, ἀλλὰ ταῖς γε πράξεσι, δι' ὧν ἀπο-
πληρώσειν αὐτὰς ἤλπιζον, ὡμοιοῦντο. καὶ διὰ
τοῦτ' οὔθ'[3] ὑφίεντό τινος ἀλλήλοις, καίπερ
πολλὰς δικαιώσεις προτεινάμενοι, καὶ ἐς χεῖρας
τελευτῶντες ἦλθον.
55 Ἐγένετο δὲ ὁ ἀγὼν μέγας καὶ οἷος οὐχ ἕτερος.
αὐτοί τε γὰρ ἄριστοι πρὸς πάντα τὰ πολέμια καὶ
εὐδοκιμώτατοι διαφανῶς οὐχ ὅτι τῶν Ῥωμαίων
ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τότε[4] ἀνθρώπων ἠξι-
οῦντο εἶναι· οἷα[5] γὰρ ἐκ παίδων τε ἐν αὐτοῖς
ἠσκημένοι καὶ διὰ παντὸς αὐτοῖς ὡμιληκότες, ἔργα

[1] συμβαθῇ St., συμβανθῆι L.
[2] κτείνοντι Bk., κτείναντι L.
[3] τοῦτ' οὔθ' Bk., τοῦθ' L.
[4] τότε H. Steph., τε L.
[5] οἷα Bk., οἱ L.

to each other, since each felt that he might win, nor could they feel confident, if they did reach some agreement, that they would not be always striving to gain the upper hand and would not fall to quarrelling again over the supreme issue. In temper they differed from each other to this extent, that Pompey desired to be second to no man and Caesar to be first of all, and the former was anxious to be honoured by a willing people and to preside over and be loved by men who fully consent, whereas the latter cared not at all if he ruled over even an unwilling people, issued orders to men who hated him, and bestowed the honours with his own hand upon himself. The deeds, however, through which they hoped to accomplish all that they wished, were perforce common to both alike. For it was impossible for any one successfully to gain these ends without fighting against his countrymen, leading foreigners against kindred, obtaining vast sums by unjust pillage, and killing unlawfully many of his dearest associates. Hence, even though they differed in their desires, yet in their acts, by which they hoped to realise those desires, they were alike. Consequently they would not yield to each other on any point, in spite of the many claims they put forward, and finally came to blows. B.C. 48

The struggle proved a mighty one and unparalleled by any other. In the first place, the leaders themselves had the name of being the most skilled in all matters of warfare and clearly the most distinguished not only of the Romans but also of all other men then living. They had been trained in arms from boyhood, had constantly been

τε ἀξιόλογα ἀποδεδειγμένοι, καὶ πολλῇ μὲν ἀρετῇ πολλῇ δὲ καὶ τύχῃ κεχρημένοι, καὶ ἀξιοστρατη-
2 γητότατοι[1] καὶ ἀξιονικότατοι ἦσαν· καὶ δυνάμεις Καῖσαρ μὲν τοῦ τε πολιτικοῦ τὸ πλεῖστον καὶ καθαρώτατον, καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης Ἰταλίας τῆς τε Ἰβηρίας καὶ τῆς Γαλατίας πάσης τῶν τε νήσων ὧν ἐκράτει τοὺς μαχιμωτάτους εἶχε, Πομπήιος δὲ συχνοὺς μὲν καὶ ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς τῆς τε ἱππάδος κἀκ τῶν καταλόγων ἐπῆκτο, παμπληθεῖς δὲ παρά τε τῶν λοιπῶν ὑπηκόων καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἐνσπόνδων
3 καὶ δήμων καὶ βασιλέων ἠθροίκει. ἄνευ γὰρ δὴ τοῦ τε Φαρνάκου καὶ τοῦ Ὀρώδου (καὶ γὰρ τοῦτον, καίτοι πολέμιον ἀφ' οὗ τοὺς Κράσσους ἀπέκτεινεν ὄντα, προσεταιρίσασθαι ἐπεχείρησε) πάντες οἱ ἄλλοι, οἱ καὶ ἐφ' ὁσονοῦν οἰκειωθέντες ποτὲ αὐτῷ, καὶ χρήματά οἱ ἔδωκαν, καὶ βοηθείας
4 οἱ μὲν ἔπεμψαν οἱ δὲ ἤγαγον. ὁ δὲ δὴ Πάρθος ὑπέσχετο μὲν αὐτῷ, ἂν τὴν Συρίαν λάβῃ, συμμαχήσειν, μὴ τυχὼν δὲ αὐτῆς οὐκ ἐπήμυνε. προύχοντος δ' οὖν πολὺ τοῦ Πομπηίου τῷ πλήθει, ἐξισοῦντό σφισιν οἱ τοῦ Καίσαρος τῇ ῥώμῃ· καὶ οὕτως ἀπ' ἀντιπάλου πλεονεξίας καὶ ἰσόρροποι ἀλλήλοις καὶ ἰσοκίνδυνοι ἐγίγνοντο.

56 Ἔκ τε οὖν τούτων καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς τῆς αἰτίας τῆς τε ὑποθέσεως τοῦ πολέμου ἀξιολογώτατος ἀγὼν συνηνέχθη. ἥ τε γὰρ πόλις ἡ τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ ἡ ἀρχὴ αὐτῆς ἅπασα, καὶ πολλὴ καὶ μεγάλη ἤδη οὖσα, ἆθλόν σφισι προύκειτο· εὔδηλον γάρ που πᾶσιν ἦν ὅτι τῷ τότε κρατήσαντι δουλωθή-
2 σεται. τοῦτό τε οὖν ἐκλογιζόμενοι, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τῶν προτέρων ἔργων, Πομπήιος μὲν τῆς τε

[1] ἀξιοστρατηγητότατοι Bk., ἀξιοστρατηγηκότατοι L.

occupied with them, had performed deeds worthy of note, had been conspicuous for great valour and also for great good fortune, and were therefore most worthy of commanding and most worthy of victory. As to their forces, Caesar had the largest and the most genuinely Roman portion of the state legions and the most warlike men from the rest of Italy, from Spain, and the whole of Gaul and the islands that he had conquered; Pompey had brought along many from the senatorial and the equestrian order and from the regularly enrolled troops, and had gathered vast numbers from the subject and allied peoples and kings. With the exception of Pharnaces and Orodes (for he tried to win over even the latter, although an enemy since the time he had killed the Crassi), all the rest who had ever been befriended at all by Pompey gave him money and either sent or brought auxiliaries. Indeed, the Parthian had promised to be his ally if he should receive Syria; but as he did not get it, he lent him no help. While Pompey, then, greatly excelled in numbers, Caesar's followers were their equals in strength; and so, the advantages being even, they were an equal match for each other and the risks they incurred were equal. B.C. 48

As a result of these circumstances and of the very cause and purpose of the war a most notable struggle took place. For the city of Rome and its entire empire, even then great and mighty, lay before them as the prize, since it was clear to all that it would be the slave of him who then conquered. When they reflected on this fact and furthermore thought of their former deeds,—Pompey of Africa, Sertorius,

Ἀφρικῆς καὶ τοῦ Σερτωρίου τοῦ τε Μιθριδάτου καὶ τοῦ Τιγράνου καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης, Καῖσαρ δὲ τῆς τε Γαλατίας καὶ τῆς Ἰβηρίας τοῦ τε
3 Ῥήνου καὶ τῆς Βρεττανίας, ἀναμιμνησκόμενοι, καὶ κινδυνεύειν τε καὶ περὶ ἐκείνοις ἡγούμενοι καὶ προσκτήσασθαι τὴν ἀλλήλων δόξαν σπουδὴν ποιούμενοι, ὤργων. τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα τῶν ἡττημένων τοῖς κρατοῦσι προσγίγνεται καὶ ἡ εὔκλεια ὅτι μάλιστα· ὅσῳ γὰρ ἂν μείζω καὶ δυνατώτερόν τις ἀνταγωνιστὴν καθέλῃ, τόσῳ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπὶ
57 μεῖζον αἴρεται. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις πολλὰ μὲν παραπλήσια δ' οὖν ἀλλήλοις παρῄνεσαν, εἰπόντες πάνθ' ὅσα ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ πρός τε τὸ αὐτίκα τοῦ κινδύνου καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἔπειτα πρέπει λέγεσθαι. ἔκ τε γὰρ τῆς αὐτῆς πολιτείας ὁρμώμενοι καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτῶν λόγους
2 ποιούμενοι, καὶ ἀλλήλους τε τυράννους καὶ αὑτοὺς ἐλευθερωτὰς αὐτῶν ὀνομάζοντες, οὐδέν σφισι διάφορον εἰπεῖν ἔσχον, ἀλλ' ὅτι τοῖς μὲν ἀποθανεῖν τοῖς δὲ σωθῆναι, καὶ τοῖς μὲν αἰχμαλώτους τοῖς δὲ ἐν δεσπότου μοίρᾳ πάντα τε ἔχειν ἢ πάντων στερηθῆναι καὶ παθεῖν ἢ ποιῆσαι δεινό-
3 τατα ὑπάρξει. τοιαύτας οὖν δή τινας παραινέσεις τοῖς πολίταις ποιησάμενοι, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὰ τῶν ὑπηκόων τῶν τε συμμάχων πρός τε τὰς ἐλπίδας τῶν κρεισσόνων καὶ πρὸς τοὺς φόβους τῶν χειρόνων προαγαγόντες, συνέβαλον ἀλλήλοις τοὺς ὁμοφύλους, τοὺς συσκήνους, τοὺς συσσίτους,
4 τοὺς ὁμοσπόνδους. καὶ τί ἄν τις τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ὀδύραιτο, ὁπότε καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐκεῖνοι πάντα τε ταῦτα ἀλλήλοις ὄντες, καὶ προσέτι πολλῶν μὲν λόγων ἀπορρήτων πολλῶν δὲ καὶ ἔργων ὁμοίων κεκοινω-

Mithridates, Tigranes, and the sea, and Caesar of Gaul, Spain, the Rhine, and Britain,—they were wrought up to the highest pitch of excitement, believing that those conquests, too, were at stake, and each being eager to acquire the other's glory. For the renown of the vanquished, far more than his other possessions, becomes the property of the victor, since, the greater and more powerful the antagonist that a man overthrows, the greater is the height to which he himself is raised. Therefore they delivered to their soldiers also many exhortations, but very much alike on both sides, saying all that is fitting to be said on such an occasion with reference both to the immediate results of the struggle and to the subsequent results. As they both came from the same state and were talking about the same matters and calling each other tyrants and themselves liberators from tyranny of the men they addressed, they had nothing different to say on either side, but stated that it would be the lot of the one side to die, of the other to be saved, of the one side to be captives, of the other to enjoy the master's lot, to possess everything or to be deprived of everything, to suffer or to inflict a most terrible fate. After addressing some such exhortations to the citizens and furthermore trying to inspire the subject and allied contingents with hopes of a better lot and fears of a worse, they hurled at each other kinsmen, sharers of the same tent, of the same table, of the same libations. Yet why should any one, then, lament the fate of the others involved, when those very leaders, who were all these things to each other, and had, moreover, shared many secret plans and many exploits of like character, B.C. 48

νηκότες, κῆδός τέ ποτε συναψάμενοι καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ παιδίον, ὁ μὲν ὡς πατὴρ ὁ δὲ ὡς πάππος, ἀγαπήσαντες, ὅμως ἐμάχοντο; ὅσα γὰρ ἡ φύσις τὸ αἷμα αὐτῶν μίξασα συνέδησε, τότε ταῦτα τῇ ἀπλήστῳ τῆς δυναστείας ἐπιθυμίᾳ διέλυον καὶ διέσπων καὶ διερρήγνυσαν. καὶ δι' ἐκείνους[1] καὶ ἡ Ῥώμη περί τε ἑαυτῇ καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτὴν ἅμα κινδυνεύειν ἠναγκάζετο, ὥστε καὶ νικήσασα ἡττηθῆναι.

58 Τοιούτῳ μὲν ἀγῶνι συνηνέχθησαν· οὐ μέντοι καὶ εὐθὺς συνέμιξαν, ἀλλ' οἷα ἔκ τε τῆς αὐτῆς πατρίδος καὶ ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ἑστίας ὁρμώμενοι, καὶ τά τε ὅπλα παραπλήσια καὶ τὰς τάξεις ὁμοίας ἔχοντες, ὤκνουν μὲν ἄρξαι τῆς μάχης, ὤκνουν δὲ
2 καὶ φονεῦσαί τινας ἑκάτεροι. σιγή τε οὖν ἀμφοτέρων καὶ κατήφεια πολλὴ ἦν, καὶ οὔτε τις αὐτῶν ἐς τὰ πρόσω προήει[2] οὔθ' ὅλως ἐκινεῖτο, ἀλλ' ἐγκύψαντες ἠτρέμιζον ὥσπερ ἄψυχοι. φοβηθέντες οὖν ὅ τε Καῖσαρ καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος μὴ καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἡσυχάσαντες ἀμβλύτεροί πως γένωνται ἢ καὶ συναλλαγῶσι, προσέταξαν σπουδῇ τοῖς τε σαλπικταῖς σημῆναι
3 καὶ ἐκείνοις συμβοῆσαι τὸ πολεμικόν.[3] καὶ ἐπράχθη μὲν ἑκάτερον, τοσούτου δὲ ἐδέησαν ἐπιρρωσθῆναι ὥστε καὶ ἐπὶ μᾶλλον ἔκ τε τῆς τῶν σαλπικτῶν ἠχῆς ὁμοφωνούσης καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτῶν βοῆς ὁμογλωσσούσης τό τε ὁμόφυλόν σφων ἐξέφηναν καὶ τὸ ὁμογενὲς ἐξήλεγξαν, κἀκ τούτου καὶ ἐς δάκρυα καὶ θρῆνον ἔπεσον. ὀψὲ δ' οὖν ποτε τῶν συμμαχικῶν προκαταρξάντων καὶ

[1] ἐκείνους Bk., ἐκείνου L. [2] προήει R. Steph., προσήιει L.
[3] πολεμικόν St., πολέμιον L.

who had once been joined by domestic ties and had loved the same child, one as a father, the other as grandfather, nevertheless fought? All the ties with which nature, by mingling their blood, had bound them together, they now, led by their insatiable lust of power, hastened to break, tear, and rend asunder. Because of them Rome was being compelled to fight both in her own defence and against herself, so that even if victorious she would be vanquished. B.C. 48

Such was the struggle in which they joined; yet they did not immediately come to close quarters. Sprung from the same country and from the same hearth, with almost identical weapons and similar formation, each side shrank from beginning the battle, and shrank from slaying any one. So there was great silence and dejection on both sides; no one went forward or moved at all, but with heads bowed they stood motionless, as if devoid of life. Caesar and Pompey, therefore, fearing that if they remained quiet any longer their animosity might be lessened or they might even become reconciled, hurriedly commanded the trumpeters to give the signal and the men to raise the war cry in unison. Both orders were obeyed, but the combatants were so far from being imbued with courage, that at the sound of the trumpeters' call, uttering the same notes, and at their own shout, raised in the same language, they showed their sense of relationship and betrayed their kinship more than ever, and so fell to weeping and lamenting. But after a long time, when the allied troops began the battle, the rest also joined in, fairly

ἐκεῖνοι συνέμιξαν, ἔκφρονες ἐπ' αὐτοῖς γενό-
59 μενοι. καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις, οἷς πόρρωθεν ἡ
ἀλκὴ ἦν, ἧττον τὸ δεινὸν συνέβαινεν, οὐδὲ
γὰρ εἰδότες οὓς ἔβαλλον, ἐτόξευον ἠκόντιζον
2 ἐσφενδόνων· οἱ δὲ δὴ ὁπλῖται οἵ τε ἱππῆς
χαλεπώτατα ἀπήλλασσον, ἅτε γὰρ[1] ἐγγὺς
ἀλλήλων ὄντες καί τι καὶ λαλεῖν σφισι δυνάμενοι
ἐγνώριζόν τε ἅμα τοὺς ἀντιπαρατεταγμένους καὶ
ἐτίτρωσκον, ἀνεκάλουν καὶ ἐφόνευον, τῶν πα-
3 τρίδων ἐμέμνηντο καὶ ἐσκύλευον. ταῦτα μὲν οἵ
τε Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας
συστρατευόμενοί σφισιν, ὅπου ποτὲ προστύχοιεν
ἀλλήλοις, καὶ ἔπραττον καὶ ἔπασχον· καὶ
πολλοὶ πολλὰ καὶ οἴκαδε δι' αὐτῶν τῶν σφαγέων
4 ἐνετέλλοντο. τὸ δὲ ὑπήκοον καὶ προθύμως καὶ
ἀφειδῶς ἐμάχετο, πολλὴν σπουδήν, ὥσπερ ποτὲ
ὑπὲρ[2] τῆς σφετέρας ἐλευθερίας, οὕτω τότε κατὰ
τῆς τῶν Ῥωμαίων δουλείας ποιούμενοι, ἐπιθυμίᾳ,
ἅτε ἐν πᾶσιν αὐτῶν ἐλαττούμενοι, ὁμοδούλους
σφᾶς ἔχειν.

60 Μεγίστη τε οὖν ἡ μάχη καὶ πολυτροπωτάτη
διά τε ταῦτα καὶ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τό τε πολυειδὲς
τῆς παρασκευῆς ἐγένετο. πάμπολλοι μὲν γὰρ
ὁπλῖται πάμπολλοι δὲ καὶ ἱππῆς, τοξόται τε
ἕτεροι καὶ σφενδονῆται ἄλλοι ὄντες, τό τε πεδίον
πᾶν κατέλαβον, καὶ σκεδασθέντες πολλαχῇ μὲν
ἀλλήλοις οἷα ὁμόσκευοι, πολλαχῇ δὲ καὶ ἑτέροις
2 ἀναμὶξ ἐμάχοντο. προεῖχον δὲ οἱ Πομπηίειοι τῇ
τε ἱππείᾳ καὶ τῇ τοξείᾳ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πόρρωθέν
τε ἐγκυκλούμενοί τινας προσβολαῖς αἰφνιδίοις

[1] γὰρ Bs., καὶ L.
[2] ὑπὲρ R. Steph., ὑπὸ L.

beside themselves at what they were doing. Those who fought at long range were less sensible of the horror, as they shot their arrows, hurled their javelins, and discharged their slings without knowing whom they hit; but the heavy-armed troops and the cavalry had a very hard time of it, as they were close to each other and could even talk a little back and forth; at one and the same moment they would recognize those who confronted them and would wound them, would call them by name and would slaughter them, would recall the towns they had come from and would despoil them. Such were the deeds both done and suffered by the Romans and by the others from Italy who were with them on the campaign, wherever they met each other. Many sent messages home through their very slayers. But the subject force fought both zealously and relentlessly, showing great zeal, as once to win their own freedom, so now to secure the slavery of the Romans; they wanted, since they were reduced to inferiority to them in all things, to have them as fellow-slaves. B.C. 48

Thus it was a very great battle and full of diverse incidents, partly for the reasons mentioned and partly on account of the numbers and the variety of the armaments. There were vast bodies of heavy-armed soldiers, vast bodies of cavalry, in another group archers and still others that were slingers, so that they occupied the whole plain, and scattered over it, they fought often with each other, since they belonged to the same arms, but often also with men of the other arms indiscriminately. The Pompeians surpassed in cavalry and archers; hence they would surround troops at a distance, employ sudden assaults,

ἐχρῶντο, καὶ συνταράξαντες αὐτοὺς ἐξανεχώρουν, εἶτ' αὖθις καὶ μάλ' αὖθις ἐπετίθεντό σφισι, τοτὲ
3 μὲν ἐνταῦθα τοτὲ δὲ ἐκεῖσε μεθιστάμενοι. οἱ οὖν Καισάρειοι ταῦτά τε ἐφυλάσσοντο, καὶ τὰς τάξεις σφῶν ἐξελίσσοντες ἀντιπρόσωποί τε ἀεὶ τοῖς προσβάλλουσιν[1] ἐγίγνοντο καὶ ὁμόσε αὐτοῖς χωροῦντες τῶν τε ἀνδρῶν καὶ τῶν ἵππων[2] ἀντελαμβάνοντο, προθύμως ἀγωνιζόμενοι· καὶ γὰρ πεζοὶ τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν αὐτῶν κοῦφοι ἐπ' αὐτὸ
4 τοῦτο συνετετάχατο. καὶ ταῦτα οὐ καθ' ἕν,[3] ὥσπερ εἶπον, ἀλλὰ πολλαχῇ ἅμα σποράδην ἐγίγνετο, ὥστε τῶν μὲν πόρρωθεν μαχομένων τῶν δὲ συσταδὸν ἀγωνιζομένων, καὶ τῶν μὲν παιόντων τινὰς τῶν δὲ πατασσομένων, φευγόντων ἑτέρων, διωκόντων ἄλλων,[4] πολλὰς μὲν πεζομαχίας
5 πολλὰς δὲ καὶ ἱππομαχίας ὁρᾶσθαι. κἂν τούτῳ καὶ παρὰ δόξαν[5] συχνὰ συνέβαινε. καὶ γὰρ τρέψας τίς τινα ἐτρέπετο, καὶ ἄλλος ἐκκλίνας τινὰ ἀντεπετίθετο αὐτῷ· πλήξας τις ἕτερον αὐτὸς ἐτιτρώσκετο, καὶ πεπτωκὼς ἄλλος τὸν ἑστηκότα ἀπεκτίννυε. καὶ πολλοὶ μὲν καὶ ἄτρωτοι ἔθνησκον, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἡμιθνῆτες
6 ἐφόνευον. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἔχαιρον καὶ ἐπαιώνιζον, οἱ δὲ ἐλυποῦντο καὶ ὠλοφύροντο, ὥστε βοῆς καὶ στεναγμῶν πάντα πληρωθῆναι, καὶ τοῖς μὲν πλείοσι καὶ ἐκ τούτου ταραχὴν ἐγγενέσθαι (τὰ γὰρ λεγόμενα ἄσημά σφισι διά τε τὸ ἀλλοεθνὲς καὶ διὰ τὸ ἀλλόθροον ὄντα δεινῶς αὐτοὺς

[1] προσβάλλουσιν Xiph., προσβαλοῦσιν L.
[2] ἵππων Xiph., ἱππέων L. [3] καθ' ἕν Rk., καθ' ἕνα L.
[4] ἄλλων Xiph., ἑτέρων L.
[5] παρὰ δόξαν Xiph., παραδόξαντι L.

and retire after throwing their opponents into confusion; then they would attack them again and again, turning now to this side and now to that. The Caesarians, therefore, were on their guard against this, and by wheeling round always managed to face their assailants, and when they came to close quarters with them, would seize hold of both men and horses in the eagerness of the struggle; for light-armed infantry had been drawn up with their cavalry for this very purpose. And all this took place, as I said, not in one spot, but in many places at once, scattered all about, so that with some contending at a distance and others fighting at close quarters, this body smiting its opponents and that group being struck, one detachment fleeing and a second pursuing, many infantry battles and many cavalry battles as well were to be seen. Meanwhile many incredible things were taking place. One man after routing another would himself be turned to flight, and another who had avoided an opponent would in turn attack him. One soldier who had struck another would be wounded himself, and a second, who had fallen, would kill the enemy who stood over him. Many died without being wounded, and many when half dead kept on slaying. Some were glad and sang paeans, while the others were distressed and uttered lamentations, so that all places were filled with shouts and groans. The majority were thrown into confusion by this fact, for what was said was unintelligible to them, because of the confusion of nations and languages, and alarmed them greatly, and those who could understand one B.C. 48

ἐξέπλησσε), τοῖς δὲ δὴ συνιεῖσιν ἀλλήλων πολλαπλάσιον τὸ κακὸν συμβῆναι· πρὸς γὰρ τοῖς ἰδίοις σφῶν παθήμασι καὶ τὰ τῶν πέλας καὶ ἑώρων ἅμα καὶ ἤκουον.

61 Τέλος δέ, ἰσορρόπως αὐτῶν ἐπὶ μακρότατον ἀγωνισαμένων, καὶ πολλῶν ἀμφοτέρωθεν ὁμοίως καὶ πεσόντων καὶ τρωθέντων, ὁ Πομπήιος ἅτε καὶ Ἀσιανὸν καὶ ἀγύμναστον τὸ πλεῖον τοῦ στρατοῦ ἔχων ἡττήθη, ὥσπερ που καὶ πρὸ τοῦ ἔργου οἱ
2 ἐδεδήλωτο· κεραυνοί τε γὰρ ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτοῦ ἐσέπεσον, καὶ πῦρ ἀέριον ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος ταφρείας φανὲν ἐς τὴν ἐκείνου κατέσκηψε, τά τε σημεῖα αὐτοῦ τὰ στρατιωτικὰ μέλισσαι περιέσχον, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἱερείων αὐτοῖς ἤδη τοῖς βωμοῖς προσαγόμενα ἐξέδρα.
3 καὶ οὕτω γε καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀνθρώπους ὁ ἀγὼν ἐκεῖνος ἔτεινεν ὥστε πολλαχόθι ἐν[1] αὐτῇ τῇ τῆς μάχης ἡμέρᾳ καὶ στρατοπέδων συνόδους καὶ ὅπλων κτύπους συμβῆναι, ἔν τε Περγάμῳ τυμπάνων τέ τινα καὶ κυμβάλων ψόφον ἐκ τοῦ Διονυσίου ἀρθέντα διὰ πάσης τῆς πόλεως
4 χωρῆσαι, καὶ ἐν Τράλλεσι φοίνικά τε ἐν τῷ τῆς Νίκης ναῷ ἀναφῦναι καὶ τὴν θεὸν αὐτὴν πρὸς εἰκόνα τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐν πλαγίῳ που κειμένην μεταστραφῆναι, τοῖς τε Σύροις δύο τινὰς νεανίσκους τὸ τέλος τῆς μάχης ἀγγείλαντας ἀφανεῖς γενέσθαι, καὶ ἐν Παταουίῳ τῆς νῦν Ἰταλίας τότε δὲ ἔτι Γαλατίας ὄρνιθάς τινας οὐχ ὅτι διαγγεῖλαι
5 αὐτὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ δεῖξαι τρόπον τινά· Γάιος γάρ τις Κορνήλιος πάντα τὰ γενόμενα ἀκριβῶς τε ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐτεκμήρατο καὶ τοῖς παροῦσιν ἐξηγήσατο.

[1] πολλαχόθι ἐν Rk., πολλαχόθεν L.

another suffered a calamity many times worse; for in addition to their own misfortunes they could hear and at the same time see those of their neighbours. B.C. 48

At last, after they had carried on an evenly-balanced struggle for a very long time and many on both sides alike had fallen or been wounded, Pompey, since the larger part of his army was Asiatic and untrained, was defeated, even as had been made clear to him before the action. For thunderbolts had fallen upon his camp, a fire had appeared in the air over Caesar's camp and had then fallen upon his own, bees had swarmed about his military standards, and many of the victims after being led up close to the very altar had run away. And so far did the effects of that contest extend to the rest of mankind that on the very day of the battle collisions of armies and the clash of arms occurred in many places. In Pergamum a noise of drums and cymbals rose from the temple of Dionysus and spread throughout the city; in Tralles a palm tree grew up in the temple of Victory and the goddess herself turned about toward an image of Caesar that stood beside her; in Syria two young men announced the result of the battle and vanished; and in Patavium, which now belongs to Italy but was then still a part of Gaul, some birds not only brought news of it but even acted it out to some extent, for one Gaius Cornelius drew from their actions accurate information of all that had taken place, and narrated it to

ταῦτα μὲν ἐν αὐτῇ ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ὡς ἕκαστα[1] συνηνέχθη, καὶ παραχρῆμα μὲν ἠπιστεῖτο, ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἦν, ἀγγελθέντων δὲ τῶν πραχθέντων ἐθαυμάζετο.

62 Τῶν δὲ δὴ Πομπηιείων τῶν μὴ[2] ἐν χερσὶ φθαρέντων οἱ μὲν ἔφυγον ὅπῃ ποτὲ ἠδυνήθησαν, οἱ δὲ καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο . . . . . .[3] καὶ αὐτῶν ὁ Καῖσαρ τοὺς μὲν ἐν τῷ τεταγμένῳ στρατευομένους ἐς τὰ ἑαυτοῦ στρατόπεδα ἐσέγραψε, μηδέν σφισι
2 μνησικακήσας, τῶν δὲ δὴ βουλευτῶν τῶν τε ἱππέων ὅσους μὲν καὶ πρότερόν ποτε ᾑρηκὼς ἠλεήκει ἀπέκτεινε, πλὴν εἴ[4] τινας οἱ φίλοι αὐτοῦ ἐξῃτήσαντο (τούτοις γὰρ ἕνα ἑκάστῳ τότε σῶσαι
3 συνεχώρησε), τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς τοὺς τότε πρῶτον ἀντιπολεμήσαντας αὐτῷ ἀφῆκεν, εἰπὼν ὅτι "οὐδέν με[5] ἠδικήκασιν οἳ τὰ τοῦ Πομπηίου φίλου σφίσιν ὄντος ἐσπούδασαν, μηδεμίαν εὐεργεσίαν παρ'
4 ἐμοῦ ἔχοντες." τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ πρὸς τοὺς δυνάστας τούς τε δήμους τοὺς συναραμένους οἱ ἐποίησε· πᾶσι γὰρ αὐτοῖς συνέγνω, ἐννοῶν ὅτι αὐτὸς μὲν ἤ τινα ἢ οὐδένα[6] αὐτῶν ἠπίστατο, παρ' ἐκείνου δὲ δὴ πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ προεπεπόνθεσαν.
5 καὶ πολύ γε τούτους μᾶλλον ἐπῄνει τῶν εὐεργεσίαν μέν τινα παρὰ τοῦ Πομπηίου προλαβόντων, ἐν δὲ δὴ τοῖς κινδύνοις αὐτὸν ἐγκαταλι-
6 πόντων· τοὺς μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἑαυτῷ δι' εὐνοίας ἔσεσθαι ἤλπιζε, τοὺς δέ, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἔδοξάν τί οἱ καὶ χαρίσασθαι, ἀλλὰ προδότας γε τοῦ νῦν

[1] ἕκαστα Oddey, ἥκιστα L. [2] μὴ Reim., μὲν L.
[3] Lacuna recognized by Xyl.
[4] εἴ H. Steph., ἤ L. [5] με H. Steph., μὲν L.
[6] ἤ τινα ἢ οὐδένα Cobet, ἢ οὐδένα ἤ τινα L.

the bystanders. These several things happened on that very same day and though they were, not unnaturally, distrusted at the time, yet when news of the actual facts was brought, they were marvelled at. B.C. 48

Of Pompey's followers who were not destroyed on the spot some fled whithersoever they could, and others [were captured[1]] later on. Those of them who were soldiers of the line Caesar enrolled in his own legions, exhibiting no resentment. Of the senators and knights, however, he put to death all whom he had previously captured and spared, except some whom his friends begged off; for he allowed each friend on this occasion to save one man. The rest who had then for the first time fought against him he released, remarking: "Those have not wronged me who supported the cause of Pompey, their friend, without having received any benefit from me." This same attitude he adopted toward the princes and the peoples who had assisted Pompey. He pardoned them all, bearing in mind that he himself was acquainted with none or almost none of them, whereas from his rival they had previously obtained many favours. Indeed, he praised these far more than he did those who, after receiving favours from Pompey, had deserted him in the midst of dangers; the former he could reasonably expect would be favourably disposed to him also, but as to the latter, no matter how anxious they seemed to be to please him in anything, he believed that, inasmuch as they had betrayed their friend in this

[1] This is the idea to be supplied if we follow Plutarch (*Caes.* 46, 2); but Caesar's own account (*B.C.* iii. 98 f.) would suggest rather "surrendered."

φίλου γενομένους οὐδὲ ἑαυτοῦ ποτε φείσεσθαι[1]
63 ἐνόμιζε. τεκμήριον δὲ ὅτι Σαδάλου μὲν τοῦ Θρᾳκὸς καὶ Δηιοτάρου τοῦ Γαλάτου, καίτοι καὶ ἐν τῇ μάχῃ γενομένων, Ταρκονδιμότου[2] τε ἐν μέρει μέν τινι τῆς Κιλικίας δυναστεύοντος, πλεῖστον δὲ αὐτῷ πρὸς τὰ ναυτικὰ βοηθήσαντος,
2 ἐφείσατο. τί γὰρ δεῖ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς τὰς συμμαχίας πέμψαντας καταλέγειν, οἷς καὶ αὐτοῖς συγγνώμην ἔνειμε, χρήματα μόνον παρ' αὐτῶν[3] λαβών; ἄλλο γὰρ οὐδὲν οὔτε ἔδρασέ σφας οὔτ' ἀφείλετο,[4] καίπερ πολλῶν πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα, τὰ μὲν πάλαι τὰ δὲ καὶ τότε, παρὰ τοῦ Πομπηίου
3 εἰληφότων. μέρος μὲν γάρ τι τῆς Ἀρμενίας τῆς τοῦ Δηιοτάρου γενομένης Ἀριοβαρζάνει τῷ τῆς Καππαδοκίας βασιλεῖ ἔδωκεν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ τὸν Δηιόταρον ἐν τούτῳ τι ἔβλαψεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσευηργέτησεν·[5] οὐ γὰρ ἐκείνου τὴν χώραν ἀπετέμετο, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τοῦ Φαρνάκου πᾶσαν τὴν Ἀρμενίαν καταληφθεῖσαν καταλαβὼν τὸ μέν τι αὐτῆς τῷ Ἀριοβαρζάνει τὸ δὲ δὴ τῷ Δηιοτάρῳ ἐχαρίσατο.
4 καὶ τούτοις μὲν οὕτως ἐχρήσατο· τῷ δὲ δὴ Φαρνάκῃ προβαλλομένῳ ὅτι μὴ προσαμύναι τῷ Πομπηίῳ, κἀκ τούτου συγγνώμης ἐφ' οἷς ἐπεποιήκει τυχεῖν ἀξιοῦντι, οὔτε ἔνειμεν ἐπιεικὲς οὐδέν, καὶ προσέτι καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτ' ἐπεκάλεσεν, ὅτι καὶ πονηρὸς καὶ
5 ἀνόσιος περὶ τὸν εὐεργέτην ἐγένετο. τοσαύτῃ μὲν καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ καὶ ἀρετῇ πρὸς ἅπαντας τοὺς ἀντιπολεμήσαντας αὐτῷ ἐπίπαν[6] ἐχρῆτο· ἀμέλει

[1] φείσεσθαι H. Steph., φείσασθαι L.
[2] Ταρκονδιμότου R. Steph., ταρκονδομότου L.
[3] αὐτῶν R. Steph., αὐτοῦ L. [4] ἀφείλετο St., ἀφείλατο L.
[5] προσευηργέτησεν St., προσευεργέτησεν L.
[6] ἐπίπαν Kuiper, ἔπηταν L.

crisis they would, on occasion, not spare him either. B.C. 48
A proof of his feeling is that he spared Sadalus the Thracian and Deiotarus the Galatian, who had been in the battle, and Tarcondimotus, who was ruler of a portion of Cilicia and had been of the greatest assistance to Pompey in the matter of ships. But what need is there to enumerate the rest who had sent auxiliaries, to whom also he granted pardon, merely exacting money from them? He did nothing else to them and took from them nothing else, though many had received numerous large gifts from Pompey, some long ago and some just at that time. He did give a certain portion of Armenia that had belonged to Deiotarus, to Ariobarzanes, king of Cappadocia, yet in this he did not injure Deiotarus at all, but rather conferred an additional favour upon him. For he did not curtail his territory, but after occupying all of Armenia previously occupied by Pharnaces, he bestowed one part of it upon Ariobarzanes and another part upon Deiotarus. These men, then, he treated in this wise. Pharnaces, on his side, made a plea that he had not assisted Pompey and therefore, in view of his behaviour, deserved to obtain pardon; but Caesar showed him no consideration, and furthermore reproached him for this very thing, that he had proved himself base and impious toward his benefactor. Such humanity and uprightness did he show throughout to all those who had fought against him. At any rate, all the letters that were

καὶ τὰ γράμματα τὰ[1] ἀπόθετα τὰ ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Πομπηίου κιβωτίοις εὑρεθέντα, ὅσα τινῶν τήν τε πρὸς ἐκεῖνον εὔνοιαν καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν δύσνοιαν ἤλεγχεν, οὔτ' ἀνέγνω οὔτ' ἐξεγράψατο ἀλλ'
6 εὐθὺς κατέφλεξεν, ὅπως μηδὲν ἀπ' αὐτῶν δεινὸν ἀναγκασθῇ δρᾶσαι, ὥστε τινὰ καὶ διὰ ταῦτα τοὺς ἐπιβουλεύσαντας αὐτῷ μισῆσαι. τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἄλλως εἶπον, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ ὁ Καιπίων[2] ὁ Βροῦτος ὁ Μᾶρκος, ὁ μετὰ τοῦτο αὐτὸν ἀποκτείνας, καὶ ἑάλω ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐσώθη.

[1] τὰ added by Rk. [2] Καιπίων Leuncl., καπίων L.

found filed away in Pompey's chests which convicted any persons of good-will toward the latter or ill-will toward himself he neither read nor had copied, but burned them immediately, in order not to be forced by what was in them to take severe measures; and for this reason, if no other, one ought to hate the men who plotted against him. I make this statement with a particular purpose, since Marcus Brutus Caepio, who afterwards killed him, was not only captured by him but also spared. B.C. 48

BOOK XLII

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ τετταρακοστῷ δευτέρῳ τῶν Δίωνος Ῥωμαϊκῶν

α. Ὡς Πομπήιος ἡττηθεὶς ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ ἔφυγεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον καὶ ἀπέθανεν.

β. Ὡς Καῖσαρ Πομπήιον ἐπιδιώκων εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἦλθεν.

γ. Ὡς ἠγγέλθη τὰ κατὰ Καίσαρα καὶ Πομπήιον εἰς Ῥώμην καὶ ἃ[1] ἐψηφίσαντο τῷ Καίσαρι.

δ. Ὡς ἐστασίασαν οἱ ἐν Ῥώμῃ παρὰ τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀποδημίαν.

ε. Ὡς Καῖσαρ Αἰγυπτίοις πολεμήσας κατεστρέψατο αὐτοὺς καὶ τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ ἐχαρίσατο.

ϛ. Ὡς Καῖσαρ Φαρνάκην ἐνίκησεν.

η. Ὡς Καῖσαρ ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπανῆλθε καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῇ κατεστήσατο.

θ. Ὡς Καῖσαρ ἐς Ἀφρικὴν ἐστράτευσεν.

Χρόνου πλῆθος τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς Γ.[2] Ἰουλίου Καίσαρος τὸ β′ καὶ Πουπλίου Σερουιλίου Ἰσαυρικοῦ ὑπατείας καὶ ἄλλο ἔτος ἕν, ἐν ᾧ ἄρχοντες οἱ ἀριθμούμενοι οἵδε ἐγένοντο

Γ. Ἰούλιος Γ. υἱ. Καῖσαρ δικτάτωρ τὸ β′[3]
Μ. Ἀντώνιος Μ. υἱ. ἵππαρχος
ὑπάτω δὲ
Κ. Φούφιος Κ. υἱ. Καλῆνος
Π. Οὐατίνιος[4] Π. υἱ.

Ἡ μὲν οὖν μάχη τοιαύτη δή τις ἐγένετο, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς ὁ Πομπήιος πάντων τῶν ἑαυτοῦ πραγμάτων παραχρῆμα ἀπέγνω, καὶ οὐκέτ' οὔτε[5] τῆς ἰδίας ἀρετῆς οὔτε τοῦ τῶν λοιπῶν στρατιωτῶν

[1] ἃ supplied by Xyl. (in transl.).
[2] τῆς Γ. Bs., τῆς Reim., ἔτη ϛ̄ L.
[3] L has ὑπ′ after β′; Xyl. deleted.

BOOK XLII

The following is contained in the Forty-second of Dio's *Rome* :—

How Pompey, defeated in Thessaly, fled to Egypt and perished (chaps. 1–5).
How Caesar, pursuing Pompey, came into Egypt (chaps. 6–9).
How the news about Caesar and Pompey was announced at Rome, and what decrees were passed in honour of Caesar (chaps. 17–20).
How the people in Rome fell into strife during Caesar's absence (chaps. 21–33).
How Caesar fought and subdued the Egyptians and made a present of them to Cleopatra (chaps. 34–44).
How Caesar conquered Pharnaces (chaps. 45–48).
How Caesar returned to Rome and settled matters there (chaps. 49–55).
How Caesar led an expedition into Africa (chaps. 56–58).

Duration of time, the remainder of the consulship of C. Julius Caesar (II) and Publius Servilius Isauricus, together with one additional year, in which there were the magistrates here enumerated :—

B.C.
47 C. Iulius C. F. Caesar, dictator (II), M. Antonius M. F., master of horse, and the two consuls Q. Fufius Q. F. Calenus and P. Vatinius P. F.

Such was the general character of the battle. As a result of it Pompey straightway despaired of all his projects and no longer took any account of his own valour or of the multitude of troops remaining B.C. 48

[4] Οὐατίνιος R. Steph., οὐαντινος L.
[5] οὔτε Pflugk, οὐδε L.

πλήθους οὔθ' ὅτι πολλάκις ἡ τύχη δι' ἐλαχίστου
τοὺς πταίσαντας ἀναλαμβάνει λογισμόν τινα
ἐποιήσατο, καίπερ ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν χρόνῳ πλεῖ-
στον μὲν τὸ εὔθυμον πλεῖστον δὲ τὸ εὔελπι
παρὰ πάντα ὅσα ἐσφάλη ἀεί ποτε σχών.
2 αἴτιον δὲ ὅτι ἐν μὲν ἐκείνοις ἀντίπαλος ὡς
πλήθει τοῖς ἐναντίοις ὢν οὐ προελάμβανε τῇ
γνώμῃ τὴν νίκην, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἀμφότερα τὴν ἔκβασιν
τῶν πραγμάτων, ἔν τε τῷ θαρσοῦντι καὶ πρὶν ἐς
κατάπληξίν τινα ἀφικέσθαι, προσκοπῶν οὐκ
ἠμέλει τῆς τοῦ χείρονος θεραπείας, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ'
οὔθ' ὑπείκειν ταῖς συμφοραῖς ἠναγκάζετο καὶ
ἀναμάχεσθαι ῥᾳδίως ἐδύνατο, τότε δὲ πολλῷ τοῦ
Καίσαρος περισχήσειν ἐλπίσας οὐδὲν προείδετο.
3 οὔκουν[1] οὐδὲ τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐν ἐπιτηδείῳ
ἐποιήσατο, οὐδ' ἀναφυγὴν οὐδεμίαν ἡττηθέντι οἱ
παρεσκεύασε· τρῖψαί τε δυνηθεὶς ἂν τὰ πράγματα,
κἀκ τούτου ἀμαχεὶ κρατῆσαι (στρατός τε γὰρ
καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν αὐτῷ προσεγίγνετο, καὶ τὰ
ἐπιτήδεια ἄφθονα ἅτε ἔν τε φιλίᾳ τῇ πλείστῃ
χώρᾳ ὢν καὶ ναυκρατῶν εἶχεν), ὅμως, εἴτε
ἐθελοντὴς ὡς καὶ πάντως νικήσων, εἴτε καὶ ὑπὸ
4 τῶν συνόντων ἐκβιασθείς, συνέβαλε. καὶ διὰ
ταῦτ', ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἐνικήθη, δεινῶς ἐξεπλάγη
καὶ οὔτε τι[2] βούλευμα καίριον οὔτ' ἐλπίδα
βεβαίαν ἐς τὸ ἀνακινδυνεῦσαι ἔσχεν. ὅταν γάρ
τι ἀπροσδοκήτως τέ τινι καὶ μετὰ πλείστου
παραλόγου προσπέσῃ, τό τε φρόνημα αὐτοῦ
ταπεινοῖ καὶ τὸ λογιζόμενον ἐκπλήσσει, ὥστ'
αὐτὸν κάκιστόν τε καὶ ἀσθενέστατον τῶν
5 πρακτέων κριτὴν γενέσθαι· οὐ γὰρ ἐθέλουσιν οἱ

[1] οὔκουν Bk., οὐκοῦν L. [2] οὔτε τι Xiph., οὔτι ἔτι L.

to him or of the fact that Fortune often restores the fallen in a moment of time; yet previously he had always possessed the greatest cheerfulness and the greatest hopefulness on all occasions of failure. The reason for this was that on those occasions he had usually been evenly matched with his foe and hence had not taken his victory for granted; but by reflecting beforehand on the two possible issues of events while he was still cool-headed and was not yet involved in any alarm he had not neglected to prepare for the worst. In this way he had not been compelled to yield to disasters and had always been able easily to renew the conflict; but this time, as he had expected to prove greatly superior to Caesar, he had taken no precautions. For instance, he had not placed his camp in a suitable position, nor had he provided a refuge for himself in case of defeat. And whereas he might have delayed action and so have prevailed without a battle,—since his army kept increasing every day and he had abundant provisions, being in a country for the most part friendly and being also master of the sea,—nevertheless, whether of his own accord, because he expected to conquer in any event, or because his hand was forced by his associates, he joined issue. Consequently, as soon as he was defeated, he became greatly terrified and had no opportune plan or sure hope to enable him to face the danger anew. Thus it is that whenever an event befalls a man unexpectedly and contrary to all calculation, it humbles his spirit and strikes his reason with panic, so that he becomes the poorest and weakest judge of what must be done. For reason cannot dwell B.C. 48

λογισμοὶ τοῖς φόβοις συνεῖναι, ἀλλὰ ἂν μὲν προκατάσχωσί τινα, καὶ μάλα γενναίως αὐτοὺς ἀπωθοῦνται, ἂν δ' ὑστερήσωσιν, ἡττῶνται.

2 Διὰ μὲν δὴ ταῦτα καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος, ὡς οὐδὲν αὐτῶν προενόησε, καὶ γυμνὸς καὶ ἄφρακτος εὑρέθη, τάχ' ἂν μὴ χαλεπῶς, εἴπερ τι προεώρατο,[1] πάντα διὰ ταχέων ἀνακτησάμενος. τῶν τε γὰρ μεμαχημένων συχνοὶ περιεγεγόνεσαν, καὶ ἑτέρας δυνάμεις οὐ σμικρὰς εἶχε· τό τε μέγιστον καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ ἐκέκτητο καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης ἁπάσης ἐκράτει, αἵ τε πόλεις καὶ αἱ αὐτοῦ καὶ αἱ ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ καὶ δυστυχήσαντα αὐτὸν
2 ἠγάπων. νῦν δ' ἐπειδήπερ ἐφ' ᾧ μάλιστα ἐθάρσει κακῶς ἀπήλλαξεν, οὐδὲ ἐκείνων οὐδενὶ ὑπὸ τῆς αὐτίκα τοῦ φόβου προσβολῆς ἐχρήσατο, ἀλλὰ τό τε ἔρυμα εὐθὺς ἐξέλιπε καὶ πρὸς Λάρισ-
3 σαν μετ' ὀλίγων ἔφυγε. καὶ ἐς μὲν τὴν πόλιν οὐκ ἐσῆλθε καίτοι τῶν Λαρισσαίων ἐσκαλούντων, φοβηθεὶς μή τινα αἰτίαν ἐκ τούτου ὄφλωσιν· ἀλλ' ἐκείνους μὲν τῷ κρατοῦντι προσχωρῆσαι ἐκέλευσεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τά τε ἐπιτήδεια λαβὼν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν καταβὰς ἐς Λέσβον ὁλκάδι[2] πρός τε τὴν γυναῖκα τὴν Κορνηλίαν καὶ πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν
4 τὸν Σέξτον[3] ἔπλευσε. καὶ αὐτοὺς παραλαβὼν καὶ μηδὲ ἐς τὴν Μυτιλήνην[4] ἐσελθὼν ἐς Αἴγυπτον ἀπῆρε, συμμαχίαν παρὰ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ βασιλεύοντος αὐτῆς σχήσειν ἐλπίσας· τοῦ τε γὰρ Πτολεμαιου τοῦ διὰ τοῦ Γαβινίου τὴν

[1] προεώρατο Bk., προεωρᾶτο L.
[2] ὁλκάδι R. Steph., ὁλκάδα L.
[3] Here and in the majority of instances elsewhere the Mss. read σέξστον, but Xiph. and Zon. usually have σέξτον.
[4] Μυτιλήνην Dind., μιτυλήνην L.

with fear; if it occupies the ground first, it boldly thrusts the other out, but if it be last on the field, it gets the worst of the encounter. B.C. 48

Hence Pompey, also, having considered none of the chances beforehand, was found naked and defenceless, whereas, if he had taken any precautions, he might, perhaps, without trouble have quickly recovered everything. For large numbers of the combatants on his side had survived and he had other forces of no small importance. Above all, he possessed large sums of money and was master of the whole sea, and the cities both there and in Asia were devoted to him even in his misfortune. But, as it was, since he had fared ill where he felt most confident, through the fear that seized him at the moment he made no use of any one of these resources, but left the camp at once and fled with a few companions toward Larissa. He did not enter the city, although the inhabitants invited him to do so, because he feared that they might incur some blame in consequence; but bidding them go over to the victor, he himself took provisions, went down to the sea, and sailed away on a merchantman to Lesbos, to his wife Cornelia and his son Sextus. After taking them on board, he did not enter Mitylene either, but departed for Egypt, hoping to secure an auxiliary force from Ptolemy, the king of that country. This was the son of that Ptolemy who had received back the kingdom at his hands,

βασιλείαν παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀπολαβόντος υἱὸς ἦν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν ἐς ἐπικουρίαν οἱ ἐπε-
5 πόμφει. ἤκουσα μὲν γὰρ ὅτι καὶ ἐς Πάρθους φυγεῖν ἐβουλεύσατο, οὐ μέντοι καὶ πιστεύειν ἔχω. ἐκεῖνοί τε γὰρ τούς τε Ῥωμαίους πάντας, ἀφ' οὗ σφισιν ὁ Κράσσος ἐπεστράτευσε, καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον μάλιστα ἅτε καὶ προσήκοντα αὐτῷ, οὕτως ἐμίσουν ὥστε καὶ τὸν πρεσβευτὴν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὴν αἴτησιν τῆς βοηθείας ἐλθόντα δῆσαι
6 καίπερ βουλευτὴν ὄντα· καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος οὐκ ἄν ποτε τοῦ πολεμιωτάτου, οὗ γε[1] εὖ πράττων οὐκ ἐτετυχήκει, ἱκέτης ὑπέμεινε δυστυχήσας γενέσθαι.
3 Ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον δι' ἅπερ εἶπον ὥρμησε, καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἤπειρον μέχρι Κιλικίας κομισθεὶς ἐκεῖθεν πρὸς τὸ Πηλούσιον ἐπεραιώθη, ὅπου ὁ Πτολεμαῖος Κλεοπάτρᾳ τῇ[2] ἀδελφῇ πολεμῶν
2 ἐστρατοπεδεύετο. τάς τε ναῦς ἀνοκωχεύσας[3] ἔπεμψέ τινας, τῆς τε πατρῴας αὐτὸν εὐεργεσίας ἀναμιμνήσκων καὶ δεόμενος ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς τέ τισι καὶ βεβαίοις καταχθῆναι· ἐκβῆναι γὰρ πρὶν
3 ἀσφάλειάν τινα λαβεῖν οὐκ ἐθάρσησε. καὶ αὐτῷ ὁ μὲν Πτολεμαῖος οὐδέν (παῖς γὰρ ἔτι κομιδῇ ἦν) ἀπεκρίνατο, τῶν δὲ δὴ Αἰγυπτίων τινὲς καὶ Λούκιος Σεπτίμιος ἀνὴρ Ῥωμαῖος, συνεστρατευκὼς μέν ποτε τῷ Πομπηίῳ, συγγεγονὼς δὲ τῷ Γαβινίῳ καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνου τῷ Πτολεμαίῳ μετὰ στρατιωτῶν
4 ἐς φυλακὴν αὐτοῦ καταλελειμμένος, ἦλθον μὲν ὡς φίλοι, ἐπεβούλευσαν δὲ ἀνοσίως, καὶ ἐκ τούτου προστρόπαιον καὶ ἑαυτοῖς καὶ τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ πάσῃ προσέθεντο· αὐτοί τε γὰρ οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἀπώλοντο,

[1] οὗ γε Rk., οὔτε L. [2] τῇ supplied by R. Steph.
[3] ἀνοκωχεύσας Dind., ἀνακωχεύσας L.

through the agency of Gabinius, and in return for that service he had sent a fleet to Pompey's assistance. I have heard, indeed, that Pompey even thought of fleeing to the Parthians, but I cannot credit the report. For that race so hated the Romans as a people ever since Crassus had made his expedition against them, and Pompey especially, because he was related to Crassus, that they had even imprisoned his envoy who came with a request for aid, though he was a senator. And Pompey would never have endured in his misfortune to become a suppliant of his bitterest foe for what he had failed to obtain while enjoying success. B.C. 48

He set out, then, for Egypt, for the reasons mentioned, and after coasting along the shore as far as Cilicia crossed from there to Pelusium, where Ptolemy was encamped while making war upon his sister Cleopatra. Bringing the ships to anchor, he sent some men to remind the prince of the favour shown his father and to ask that he be permitted to land under certain definite guarantees; for he did not venture to disembark before obtaining some guarantee of safety. Ptolemy gave him no answer, for he was still a mere boy, but some of the Egyptians and Lucius Septimius, a Roman who had once served with Pompey and after becoming associated with Gabinius had been left behind by him with some troops to guard Ptolemy, came in the guise of friends; but they impiously plotted against him and by their act brought a curse upon themselves and all Egypt. For not only did they themselves

καὶ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ δουλεύειν, ὅπερ ἥκιστα ἐβούλοντο,[1] παρεδόθησαν, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἐς τὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὑπήκοον ἐσ-
4 εγράφησαν. ἐν δ' οὖν τῷ τότε Σεπτίμιος καὶ Ἀχιλλᾶς ὁ στρατίαρχος, ἄλλοι τε μετ' αὐτῶν ὄντες, ἑτοίμως ἔφασαν ἐσδέξεσθαι[2] τὸν Πομπήιον, ὅπως ὡς ῥᾷστα ἀπατηθεὶς ἁλοίη·[3] καὶ τούς τε ἐλθόντας παρ' αὐτοῦ προέπεμψαν, θαρσεῖν σφας ἔνιοι κελεύσαντες, καὶ αὐτοὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀκατίων ἐπιβάντες προσέπλευσαν αὐτῷ,
2 καὶ τά τε ἄλλα ἐφιλοφρονήσαντο αὐτὸν καὶ ἠξίωσαν πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς μετεκβῆναι, λέγοντες μήτε τινὰ ναῦν[4] δύνασθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγέθους διὰ τὰ βράχη πρὸς τὴν γῆν προσσχεῖν,[5] καὶ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον ἐν πολλῇ ἐπιθυμίᾳ εἶναι θᾶσσον αὐτὸν
3 ἰδεῖν. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτω, καίτοι πάντων οἱ τῶν σύμπλων ἀπαγορευόντων, πιστεύσας αὐτοῖς . . .[6] τοσοῦτον μόνον εἰπών,

"ὅστις γὰρ ὡς τύραννον ἐμπορεύεται,
κείνου 'στὶ δοῦλος, κἂν ἐλεύθερος μόλῃ·"

4 οἱ δὲ ἐπειδὴ ἐγγὺς τῆς γῆς ἐγένοντο, φοβηθέντες μὴ καὶ ἐντυχὼν τῷ Πτολεμαίῳ σωθῇ εἴτε ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου ἢ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων τῶν συνόντων αὐτῷ ἢ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων (καὶ γὰρ εὔνοιαν αὐτοῦ[7] μεγάλην εἶχον), ἀπέκτειναν αὐτὸν πρὶν καταπλεῦσαι, μηδὲν μήτ' εἰπόντα μήτ'

[1] ἐβούλοντο R. Steph., ἠβούλοντο L.
[2] ἐσδέξεσθαι Dind., ἐσδέξασθαι L. [3] ἁλοίη Dind., ἁλώηι L.
[4] ναῦν supplied by Jacoby. [5] προσσχεῖν Bk., προσχεῖν L.
[6] At least one word is wanting here, though no lacuna is indicated in L. The scribe of L' conjectured ἐξῆλθε.
[7] αὐτοῦ supplied by Reim.

perish not long afterward, but the Egyptians for their part were first delivered to be slaves of Cleopatra, which they particularly disliked, and later were enrolled among the subjects of Rome. At this time, then, Septimius and Achillas, the commander-in-chief, and others who were with them declared they would readily receive Pompey, their purpose being that he might be the more easily deceived and ensnared. So they sent his messengers on ahead, after some had bidden them be of good cheer, and afterwards the conspirators themselves embarked on some small boats and sailed out to him. After many friendly greetings they begged him to come over to their boats, declaring that by reason of its size and the shallow water a ship could not come close to land and that Ptolemy was very eager to see him promptly. Accordingly, though all his fellow-voyagers urged him not to do so, [he changed boats], trusting in his hosts and saying merely: B.C. 48

"Whoever to a tyrant wends his way,
His slave is he, e'en though his steps be free."

Sophocles *Incert. Fab.* 789 (Nauck)

Now when they drew near the land, fearing that if he met Ptolemy he might be saved, either by the king himself or by the Romans who were with him or by the Egyptians, who regarded him with very kindly feelings, they killed him before sailing into the harbour. He uttered not a word and made

5 ὀδυράμενον. ὡς γὰρ τάχιστα τῆς τε ἐπιβουλῆς ᾔσθετο, καὶ ἔγνω ὅτι οὔτ' ἀμύνασθαί σφας οὔτε διαφυγεῖν δυνήσεται, συνεκαλύψατο.

5 Τοιοῦτον μὲν τὸ τέλος τῷ Πομπηίῳ ἐκείνῳ τῷ μεγάλῳ ἐγένετο, ὥστε καὶ διὰ τούτου τήν τε ἀσθένειαν καὶ τὴν ἀτοπίαν τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου[1] γένους
2 ἐλεγχθῆναι. προμηθείας τε γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐλλείπων, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ κακουργῆσαί τε δυνάμενον ἀσφαλέστατος[2] ἀεί ποτε γενόμενος ἠπατήθη, καὶ νίκας πολλὰς μὲν[3] ἐν τῇ Ἀφρικῇ πολλὰς δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ[4] Ἀσίᾳ τῇ τε Εὐρώπῃ παραδόξους καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἐκ μειρακίου ἀνελόμενος ἡττήθη παραλόγως ὀκτώ τε καὶ
3 πεντηκοντούτης ὤν, τήν τε θάλασσαν τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων πᾶσαν ἡμερώσας ἐν αὐτῇ ἐκείνῃ διώλετο, καὶ χιλίων ποτὲ νεῶν, ὡς ὁ λόγος ἔχει, ἄρξας ἐν πλοιαρίῳ τινί, πρός τε τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ πρὸς τοῦ Πτολεμαίου τρόπον τινὰ οὗ ποτε τὸν πατέρα ἔς τε ἐκείνην ἅμα καὶ ἐς τὴν βασιλείαν κατήγαγε,
4 διεφθάρη· ὃν γάρ τοι καὶ τότε ἔτι στρατιῶται Ῥωμαῖοι διὰ τὴν τοῦ Πομπηίου χάριν ὑπὸ τοῦ Γαβινίου, διὰ τὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἐς τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ μῖσος, καταλειφθέντες ἐφρούρουν, οὗτος αὐτὸν δι' αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ἑκατέρων ἀπεκτονέναι
5 ἔδοξε. Πομπήιος μὲν δὴ κράτιστος πρότερον Ῥωμαίων νομισθείς, ὥστε καὶ Ἀγαμέμνονα αὐτὸν ἐπικαλεῖσθαι, τότε καθάπερ τις καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν

[1] ἀνθρωπείου R. Steph., ἀνθρωπίου L.
[2] ἀσφαλέστατος Dind., ἀσφαλέστατα L.
[3] νίκας πολλὰς μὲν R. Steph., νικήσας μὲν πολέμων πολλὰς L.
[4] τῇ supplied by R. Steph.

no complaint, but as soon as he perceived their plot and recognized that he would not be able to ward them off or escape, he veiled his face. B.C. 48

Such was the end of Pompey the Great, whereby was proved once more the weakness and the strange fortune of the human race. For, although he was not at all deficient in foresight, but had always been absolutely secure against any force able to do him harm, yet he was deceived; and although he had won many unexpected victories in Africa, and many, too, in Asia and Europe, both by land and by sea, ever since boyhood, yet now in his fifty-eighth year he was defeated without apparent reason. Although he had subdued the entire Roman sea, he perished on it; and although he had once been, as the saying is, "master of a thousand ships,"[1] he was destroyed in a tiny boat near Egypt and in a sense by Ptolemy, whose father he had once restored from exile to that land and to his kingdom. The man whom Roman soldiers were then still guarding,—soldiers left behind by Gabinius as a favour from Pompey and on account of the hatred felt by the Egyptians for the young prince's father,—this very man seemed to have put him to death by the hands of both Egyptians and Romans. Thus Pompey, who previously had been considered the most powerful of the Romans, so that he even received the nickname of Agamemnon,[2] was now butchered like one of the lowest of

[1] A reference to the Trojan expedition. The actual number of ships under Pompey's command was 270 at the outset of the war with the pirates.

[2] Plutarch (*Pomp.* 67, 3; *Caes.* 41, 1) says that Domitius Ahenobarbus styled him Agamemnon and King of Kings in order to bring him into disfavour.

Αἰγυπτίων ἔσχατος, πρός τε τῷ Κασίῳ[1] ὄρει καὶ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐν ᾗ ποτε τά τε τοῦ Μιθριδάτου καὶ τὰ τῶν καταποντιστῶν ἐπινίκια ἤγαγεν, ἐσφάγη,
6 ὥστε μηδὲν μηδὲ ἐν τούτῳ ὁμολογηθῆναι· ἔν τε γὰρ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ τὰ λαμπρότατα πρὶν πράξας τότε τὰ ἀλγεινότατα ἔπαθε, καὶ ἐς πάντας τοὺς πολίτας τοὺς Κασσίους ἐκ χρησμοῦ τινος ὑποπτεύων πρὸς μὲν ἀνδρὸς[2] Κασσίου οὐδενὸς ἐπεβουλεύθη, παρὰ δὲ δὴ τῷ ὄρει τῷ τὴν ἐπίκλησιν ταύτην ἔχοντι καὶ ἀπέθανε καὶ ἐτάφη.
7 τῶν δὲ δὴ συμπλεόντων αὐτῷ οἱ μὲν αὐτίκα ἑάλωσαν οἱ δὲ καὶ ἔφυγον, ἄλλοι τε καὶ ὁ παῖς ἥ τε γυνὴ αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἡ μὲν καὶ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην μετὰ ταῦτα ἀδείας τυχοῦσα ἀνεσώθη, ὁ δὲ δὴ Σέξτος ἐς τὴν Ἀφρικὴν πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν Γναῖον ἐκομίσθη· τούτοις γὰρ δὴ τοῖς ὀνόμασι διακεκρίδαται, ἐπειδὴ τὴν τοῦ Πομπηίου πρόσρησιν ἀμφότεροι εἶχον.

6 Καῖσαρ δὲ ὡς τότε μετὰ τὴν μάχην τὰ κατεπείγοντα διῳκήσατο, τὴν μὲν Ἑλλάδα τά τε λοιπὰ τὰ ταύτῃ ἄλλοις τισὶ καὶ προσποιεῖσθαι καὶ καθίστασθαι προσέταξεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὸν Πομπήιον ἐπεδίωξε. καὶ μέχρι μὲν τῆς Ἀσίας κατὰ πύστιν αὐτοῦ προϊὼν[3] ἠπείχθη, ἐνταῦθα δέ, ἐπειδὴ μηδεὶς
2 ὅπῃ πεπλευκὼς ἦν ἠπίστατο, ἐνδιέτριψεν. οὕτω δ' οὖν ἐν τύχῃ πάντα αὐτῷ προεχώρει ὥστε καὶ τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον ἐν πορθμείῳ τινὶ περαιούμενος ἐνέτυχε μὲν τῷ τοῦ Πομπηίου ναυτικῷ μετὰ τοῦ Κασσίου τοῦ Λουκίου πλέοντι, οὐ μόνον δὲ οὐδὲν δεινὸν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἔπαθεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσκατα-

[1] Κασίῳ v. Herw., κασσίωι L. [2] ἀνδρὸς Xiph., ἀνδρῶν L.
[3] προϊὼν Leuncl., προσιὼν L.

the Egyptians themselves, not only near Mount Casius but on the anniversary of the day on which he had once celebrated a triumph over Mithridates and the pirates. So even in this respect the two parts of his career were utterly contradictory: on that day of yore he had gained the most brilliant success, whereas he now suffered the most grievous fate; again, following a certain oracle, he had been suspicious of all the citizens named Cassius, but instead of being the object of a plot by any man called Cassius he died and was buried beside the mountain that had this name. Of his fellow-voyagers some were captured at once, while others escaped, among them his wife and son. His wife later obtained pardon and came back safely to Rome, while Sextus proceeded to Africa to his brother Gnaeus; these are the names by which they were distinguished, since they both bore the name of Pompey. B.C. 48

Caesar, when he had attended to pressing demands after the battle and had assigned Greece and the rest of that region to certain others to win over and reduce, set out himself in pursuit of Pompey. He hurried forward as far as Asia following information received about him, and there waited for a time, since no one knew which way he had sailed. Everything turned out favourably for him; for instance, while crossing the Hellespont in a kind of ferry-boat, he met Pompey's fleet sailing with Lucius Cassius in command, but so far from suffering any harm at their hands, he terrified them and won them over to his

3 πλήξας σφᾶς προσεποιήσατο. κἀκ τούτου καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ ἐκείνῃ, μηδενὸς ἔτ' ἀνταίροντος, παρελάμβανε καὶ διῴκει, χρημάτων μὲν ἐκλογήν, ὥσπερ εἶπον, ποιούμενος, ἄλλο δὲ μηδὲν μηδένα λυπῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐεργετῶν πάντας ὅσα ἐνεδέχετο. τοὺς γοῦν τελώνας πικρότατά σφισι χρωμένους ἀπαλλάξας, ἐς φόρου συντέλειαν τὸ συμβαῖνον ἐκ τῶν τελῶν κατεστήσατο.

7 Κἀν τούτῳ πυθόμενος τὸν Πομπήιον πρὸς τὴν Αἴγυπτον πλέοντα, καὶ δείσας μὴ προκατασχὼν
2 αὐτὴν αὖθις ἰσχύσῃ, ἀφωρμήθη κατὰ τάχος. καὶ ἐκεῖνον μὲν οὐκέτι περιόντα κατέλαβε, τῇ δ' Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ αὐτῇ μετ' ὀλίγων πολὺ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων, πρὶν τὸν Πτολεμαῖον ἐκ τοῦ Πηλουσίου ἐλθεῖν, προσπλεύσας, καὶ τοὺς Ἀλεξανδρέας θορυβουμένους ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ Πομπηίου θανάτῳ εὑρών, οὐκ ἐθάρσησεν εὐθὺς ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐκβῆναι, ἀλλ' ἀνορμισάμενος ἀνεῖχε μέχρις οὗ τήν τε κεφαλὴν καὶ τὸν δακτύλιον αὐτοῦ πεμφθέντα
3 οἱ ὑπὸ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου εἶδεν. οὕτω δὴ[1] ἐς μὲν τὴν ἤπειρον θαρσούντως προσέσχεν, ἀγανακτήσεως δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς ῥαβδούχοις αὐτοῦ παρὰ τοῦ πλήθους γενομένης αὐτὸς μὲν ἀγαπητῶς ἐς τὰ βασίλεια προκατέφυγε, τῶν δὲ δὴ στρατιωτῶν τινες τὰ ὅπλα ἀφῃρέθησαν, καὶ διὰ τοῦθ' οἱ λοιποὶ ἀνωρμίσαντο αὖθις, ἕως πᾶσαι αἱ νῆες ἐπικατήχθησαν.
8 ὁ δ' οὖν Καῖσαρ τὴν τοῦ Πομπηίου κεφαλὴν ἰδὼν κατεδάκρυσε καὶ κατωλοφύρατο, πολίτην τε αὐτὸν καὶ γαμβρὸν ὀνομάζων, καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα ποτὲ ἀλλήλοις ἀνθυπουργήκεσαν ἀναριθμούμενος. τοῖς τε ἀποκτείνασιν αὐτὸν οὐχ ὅπως εὐεργεσίαν τινὰ

[1] δὴ R. Steph., δὲ L.

side. Thereupon, meeting with no further resistance, he proceeded to take possession of the rest of that region and to regulate its affairs, levying a money contribution, as I have said, but otherwise doing no one any harm and even conferring benefits on all, so far as was possible. In any case he did away with the tax-gatherers, who had been abusing the people most cruelly, and he converted the amount accruing from the taxes into a joint payment of tribute. B.C. 48

Meanwhile he learned that Pompey was sailing to Egypt, and fearing that the other by occupying that country first might again become strong, he set out with all speed. And finding him no longer alive, with a few followers he sailed far in advance of the others to Alexandria itself before Ptolemy came from Pelusium. On discovering that the people of the city were in a tumult over Pompey's death he did not at once venture to go ashore, but put out to sea and waited till he saw the head and finger-ring of the murdered man, sent him by Ptolemy. Thereupon he confidently put in to land; the multitude, however, showed irritation at the sight of his lictors and he was glad to make his escape into the palace. Some of his soldiers had their weapons taken from them, and the rest accordingly put to sea again until all the ships had reached port. Now Caesar at the sight of Pompey's head wept and lamented bitterly, calling him countryman and son-in-law, and enumerating all the kindnesses they had shown each other. As for the murderers, far from admitting that he owed

ὀφείλειν ἔφη, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπεκάλει, καὶ ἐκείνην κοσμῆσαί τε καὶ εὐθετῆσαι καὶ θάψαι τισὶν
2 ἐκέλευσε. καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τούτῳ ἔπαινον ἔσχεν, ἐπὶ δὲ δὴ τῇ προσποιήσει γέλωτα ὠφλίσκανε· τῆς γὰρ δυναστείας δεινῶς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἐφιέμενος, καὶ ἐκεῖνον καὶ ὡς ἀνταγωνιστὴν καὶ ὡς ἀντίπαλον ἀεί ποτε μισήσας, καὶ τά τε ἄλλα ἐπ' αὐτῷ
3 πάντα πράξας καὶ τὸν πόλεμον τόνδε οὐκ ἐπ' ἄλλο τι παρασκευάσας ἢ ἵνα ἀπολομένου αὐτοῦ πρωτεύσῃ, τότε τε ἐς τὴν Αἴγυπτον οὐ δι' ἄλλο τι ἐπειχθεὶς ἢ ἵνα αὐτόν, εἰ περιείη, προσκατεργάσαιτο, ποθεῖν τε αὐτὸν ἐπλάττετο καὶ ἀγανακτεῖν τῷ ὀλέθρῳ αὐτοῦ ἐσκήπτετο.

9 Καὶ ὁ μὲν μηδὲν ἔτι πολέμιον ὑπεξῃρημένου οἱ ἐκείνου καταλείπεσθαι[1] νομίζων, ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ ἐνεχρόνισεν ἀργυρολογῶν καὶ τὰ τοῦ[2] Πτολεμαίου καὶ τὰ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας διάφορα διακρίνων· πόλεμοι δὲ ἐν τούτῳ ἕτεροι αὐτῷ παρεσκευά-
2 σθησαν. ἥ τε γὰρ Αἴγυπτος ἐνεόχμωσε, καὶ ὁ Φαρνάκης ἤρξατο μὲν εὐθύς, ἐπειδὴ πρῶτον τόν τε Πομπήιον καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ἐκπεπολεμῶσθαι ἔμαθε, τῆς[3] πατρῴας ἀρχῆς ἀντιποιεῖσθαι (χρονιεῖν τε γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ στάσει καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις τῶν Ῥωμαίων αὐτὰς περὶ αὑταῖς ἀναλώσειν
3 ἤλπισεν), εἴχετο δὲ καὶ τότε τῶν προκειμένων, ὅτι τε ἅπαξ ἐκεκίνητο καὶ ὅτι πόρρω τὸν Καίσαρα ὄντα ἐπύθετο, καὶ πολλά γε χωρία προκατέλαβε. κἂν τούτῳ καὶ ὁ Κάτων καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων, οἵ τε ἄλλοι οἱ τὴν αὐτήν σφισι γνώμην ἔχοντες, καὶ

[1] καταλείπεσθαι St., καταλιπέσθαι L.
[2] καὶ τὰ τοῦ R. Steph., καὶ κατὰ τοῦ L.
[3] τῆς Rk., τῆς τε L.

them any reward, he actually heaped reproaches B.C. 48 upon them; and he commanded that the head should be adorned, properly prepared, and buried. For this he received praise, but for his hypocrisy he incurred ridicule. He had, of course, from the outset been very eager for dominion; he had always hated Pompey as his antagonist and rival, and besides all his other measures against him he had brought on this war with no other purpose than to secure this rival's ruin and his own supremacy; he had but now been hurrying to Egypt with no other end in view than to overthrow him completely if he should still be alive; yet he feigned to mourn his loss and made a show of vexation over his murder.

In the belief that now that Pompey was out of his way there was no longer any hostility left against him, he spent some time in Egypt levying money and deciding the differences between Ptolemy and Cleopatra. Meanwhile other wars were being prepared against him. Egypt revolted, and Pharnaces, just as soon as he had learned that Pompey and Caesar were at variance, had begun to lay claim to his ancestral domain, since he hoped that they would waste a lot of time in their quarrel and use up the Roman forces upon each other; and he now still went ahead with his plans, partly because he had once made a beginning and partly because he learned that Caesar was far away, and he actually seized many points before the other's arrival. Meanwhile Cato and Scipio and the others who were of the same

ἐμφύλιον καὶ ὀθνεῖον ἐν τῇ Ἀφρικῇ πόλεμον
ἤγειραν.
10 Ἔσχε γὰρ οὕτως. ὁ Κάτων ἐν τῷ Δυρραχίῳ
πρὸς τοῦ Πομπηίου τά τε ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας
ἐπιτηρεῖν, ἄν τις διαβαίνῃ, καὶ τοὺς Παρθινοὺς
κατείργειν, ἄν τι παρακινῶσι, καταλειφθεὶς τὸ
2 μὲν πρῶτον ἐκείνοις ἐπολέμει, ἡττηθέντος δὲ
τοῦ Πομπηίου τὴν μὲν Ἤπειρον ἐξέλιπεν, ἐς δὲ
Κέρκυραν μετὰ τῶν ὁμογνωμονούντων οἱ κομισ-
θεὶς ἐνταῦθα τούς τε ἐκ τῆς μάχης διαφυγόντας
καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς τὰ αὐτὰ φρονοῦντας ἐδέχετο.
Κικέρων μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς τῶν βουλευτῶν
3 ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην παραχρῆμα ἀπῆραν· οἱ δὲ δὴ
πλείους μετά τε τοῦ Λαβιήνου καὶ μετὰ τοῦ
Ἀφρανίου, ἅτε μηδεμίαν ἐν τῷ Καίσαρι ἐλπίδα,
ὁ μὲν ὅτι ηὐτομολήκει, ὁ δὲ ὅτι σωθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ
αὖθίς οἱ ἐπεπολεμήκει, ἐχόντων, πρός τε τὸν
Κάτωνα ἦλθον καὶ ἐκεῖνον προστησάμενοι ἐπολέ-
11 μουν. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ Ὀκτάουιός σφισι
προσεγένετο. ὡς γὰρ τότε τὸν Ἰόνιον ἐσέπλευσε
καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον τὸν Γάιον συνέλαβεν, ἄλλων
μέν τινων χωρίων ἐκράτησε, τὴν δὲ δὴ Σάλωνα,
καίπερ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον αὐτὴν πολιορκήσας, οὐχ
2 εἷλε. τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα ἰσχυρῶς αὐτὸν ἀπεκρού-
οντο, βοηθοῦντά σφισι τὸν Γαβίνιον ἔχοντες, καὶ
τέλος μετὰ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐπεκδραμόντες μέγα
ἔργον εἰργάσαντο· ἐκεῖναί τε γὰρ τάς τε κόμας
καθεῖσαι καὶ στολὰς μελαίνας ἐνδυσάμεναι λαμ-
πάδας τε λαβοῦσαι, καὶ τὸ σύμπαν πρὸς τὸ
3 φοβερώτατον σχηματισάμεναι, τῷ τε στρατοπέδῳ
τῷ πολιορκοῦντί σφας νυκτὸς μέσης προσέμιξαν,
καὶ τοὺς προφύλακας ὡς καὶ δαίμονές τινες ἐκ-

mind with them set on foot in Africa a struggle that was at once a civil and a foreign war. B.C. 48

It came about in this way. Cato had been left behind at Dyrrachium by Pompey to keep an eye out for any forces from Italy which might try to cross over, and to repress the Parthini, in case they should begin any disturbance. At first he carried on war with the latter, but after Pompey's defeat he abandoned Epirus, and proceeding to Corcyra with those of the same mind as himself, he there received the men who had escaped from the battle and the rest who had the same sympathies. Cicero and a few other senators had set out for Rome at once, but the majority, including Labienus and Afranius, who had no hope in Caesar,—the one because he had deserted him, and the other because after having been pardoned by him he had again made war on him,—went to Cato, put him at their head, and continued the war. Later Octavius also joined them. After sailing into the Ionian Sea and arresting Gaius Antonius, he had conquered several places, but could not take Salonae, though he besieged it a very long time. For the inhabitants, having Gabinius to assist them, vigorously repulsed him and finally along with the women made a sortie and performed a remarkable deed. The women let down their hair and robed themselves in black garments, then taking torches and otherwise making their appearance as terrifying as possible, they assaulted the camp of the besiegers at midnight. They threw the outposts, who thought they were

πλήξασαι τὸ πῦρ ἐς τὸ χαράκωμα ἀπανταχόθεν
ἅμα ἐνέβαλον, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐπισπόμενοί σφισι
πολλοὺς μὲν ταραττομένους πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ
καθεύδοντας ἐφόνευσαν, καὶ ἐκεῖνό τε εὐθὺς κατέ-
σχον, καὶ τὸ ναύσταθμον ἐν ᾧ ὁ Ὀκτάουιος
4 ηὐλίζετο αὐτοβοεὶ εἷλον. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐν ῥασ-
τώνῃ τινὶ ἐγένοντο· διαφυγὼν γάρ πως αὐτοὺς
δύναμίν τε αὖθις ἤθροισε, καὶ μάχῃ νικήσας
προσήδρευε σφίσι. κἀν τούτῳ τοῦ Γαβινίου νόσῳ
τελευτήσαντος τῆς τε θαλάσσης τῆς ἐκεῖ πάσης
5 ἐκράτησε, καὶ ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐκβαίνων πολλὰ αὐτῆς
ἐκακούργει, μέχρις οὗ ἥ τε πρὸς[1] Φαρσάλῳ μάχη
ἐγένετο, καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται αὐτοῦ ἐπιπλευσάντων
τινῶν ἐκ τοῦ Βρεντεσίου σφίσι μετέστησαν, μηδὲ
ἐς χεῖρας αὐτοῖς ἐλθόντες. τότε γὰρ ἐρημωθεὶς
τῶν συμμάχων ἐς τὴν Κέρκυραν ἀπεχώρησε.
12 Καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος δὲ ὁ Γναῖος πρότερον μὲν
τῷ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ναυτικῷ περιπλέων τήν τε
Ἤπειρον καλουμένην κατέτρεχε καὶ Ὠρικὸν[2]
ὀλίγου εἷλε, Μάρκου Ἀκιλίου[3] αὐτὸ κατέχον-
τος, καὶ τόν τε[4] ἔσπλουν τὸν ἐς τὸν λιμένα
πλοίοις λίθων γέμουσι χώσαντος,[5] καὶ περὶ τὸ
στόμα αὐτοῦ πύργους ἑκατέρωθεν ἐπί τε τῆς
2 ἠπείρου καὶ ἐφ' ὁλκάδων ἐγείραντος. τούς τε
γὰρ λίθους τοὺς ἐν τοῖς σκάφεσιν ἐγκειμένους
κολυμβηταῖς ὑφύδροις[6] διασκεδάσας, καὶ αὐτὰ
ἐκεῖνα κουφισθέντα ἑλκύσας, τόν τε ἔσπλουν
ἠλευθέρωσε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ὁπλίτας ἐφ' ἑκάτερα

[1] πρὸς Dind., πρὸς τῷ L.
[2] Ὠρικὸν Xyl., νωρικὸν L. (so just below).
[3] Ἀκιλίου Xyl., ἀκυλίου L. [4] τόν τε R. Steph., τότε L.
[5] χώσαντος Xyl., χώσαντες L.
[6] ὑφύδροις Xyl., ἐφύδροις L.

spirits, into a panic, and then from all sides at once hurled the fire within the palisade, and the men, following them, slew many while they were in confusion and many who were still asleep, promptly gained possession of the camp, and captured without a blow the harbour in which Octavius was lying. They were not, however, left in peace. For he escaped them somehow, gathered a force again, and after defeating them in battle besieged them. Meanwhile, as Gabinius had died of some disease, he gained control of the whole sea in that vicinity, and by making descents upon the land ravaged many districts. This lasted until the battle at Pharsalus, after which his soldiers, as soon as a force sailed against them from Brundisium, changed sides without even coming to blows with them. Then, destitute of allies, Octavius retired to Corcyra. B.C. 48

Gnaeus Pompey first sailed about with the Egyptian fleet and overran the district called Epirus, almost capturing Oricum. The commander of the place, Marcus Acilius,[1] had blocked up the entrance to the harbour by means of boats loaded with stones and about the mouth of it had raised towers on either side, both on the land and on freight-ships. Pompey, however, had divers scatter the stones that were in the vessels, and when the latter had been lightened, he dragged them out of the way, freed the passage, and then, after putting heavy-armed troops ashore

[1] M. Acilius Caninus.

τῆς χηλῆς ἐκβιβάσας ἐπεσέπλευσε,[1] καὶ τά
τε πλοῖα πάντα καὶ τῆς πόλεως τὸ πολὺ
3 κατέκαυσεν. εἷλε δ' ἂν καὶ τὴν λοιπήν, εἰ
μὴ τρωθεὶς δέος τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις μὴ καὶ ἀποθάνῃ
παρέσχε. θεραπευθεὶς δ' οὖν Ὠρικῷ μὲν οὐκέτι
προσέβαλε, τὰ δ' ἄλλα περιφοιτῶν ἐπόρθει,
καί ποτε καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Βρεντεσίου μάτην,
4 ὥσπερ που καὶ ἄλλοι τινές, ἐπείρασε. τέως
μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἐποίει· ἐπεὶ δὲ ὅ τε πατὴρ αὐτοῦ
ἡττήθη καὶ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι πυθόμενοι τοῦτο οἴκαδε
ἀπέπλευσαν, οὕτω δὴ πρὸς τὸν Κάτωνα ἀφίκετο.
13 καὶ αὐτὸν Κάσσιος ὁ Γάιος ἐμιμήσατο, πλεῖστα
μὲν καὶ τῆς Σικελίας καὶ τῆς Ἰταλίας λυπήσας,
πολλαῖς δὲ μάχαις ἔν τε τῇ θαλάσσῃ καὶ ἐν τῇ
ἠπείρῳ συχνοὺς νικήσας.
2 Προύχοντα μὲν δὴ[2] τὸν Κάτωνα ἀρετῇ σφῶν
ἰδόντες πολλοὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν συγκατέφυγον, καὶ
αὐτοῖς ἐκεῖνος συναγωνισταῖς καὶ συμβούλοις
πρὸς πάντα χρώμενος ἐς Πελοπόννησον, ὡς καὶ
καταληψόμενος αὐτήν, ἔπλευσεν· οὐ γάρ πω
3 τὸν Πομπήιον τεθνεῶτα ἠκηκόει. καὶ Πάτρας μὲν
κατέσχον, κἀνταῦθα ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς καὶ τὸν
Πετρέιον τόν τε Πομπηίου γαμβρὸν τὸν Φαῦστον[3]
προσέλαβον· Κυίντου δὲ δὴ Φουφίου Καλήνου
μετὰ τοῦτο ἐπιστρατεύσαντός σφισιν ἐξανή-
χθησαν, καὶ ἐς Κυρήνην ἐλθόντες καὶ ἐκεῖ τὸν
τοῦ Πομπηίου θάνατον μαθόντες οὐκέτι συνεφρό-
4 νησαν, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Κάτων δι' ἀχθηδόνα τῆς
τοῦ Καίσαρος δυναστείας, καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς δι'

[1] ἐπεσέπλευσε Xyl., ἔπεισε πλεῦσαι L. δὴ Bk., τοὶ L.
[3] τόν τε Πομπηίου γαμβρὸν τὸν Φαῦστον Leuncl., Πομπήιον τὸν Φαῦστον L.

on each half of the breakwater, he sailed in. He burned all the boats and most of the city, and would have captured the rest of it, had he not been wounded and caused the Egyptians to fear that he might die. When, now, his wound had been cured, he did not continue to assail Oricum, but journeyed about pillaging various places and once vainly made an attempt upon Brundisium itself, as did some others. He was thus occupied for a time; but when his father had been defeated and the Egyptians on receipt of the news sailed home, he betook himself to Cato. And his example was followed by Gaius Cassius, who had done very great mischief both in Italy and in Sicily and had overcome a number of opponents in many battles both on sea and on land. B.C. 48

Many, indeed, fled to Cato for refuge, since they saw that he excelled them in uprightness; and he, using them as helpers and counsellors in all matters, sailed to the Peloponnesus with the intention of occupying it, for he had not yet heard that Pompey was dead. They seized Patrae and there received among other accessions Petreius and Pompey's son-in-law, Faustus. Subsequently Quintus Fufius Calenus marched against them, whereupon they set sail, and coming to Cyrene, learned there of the death of Pompey. Their views were now no longer harmonious: Cato, through hatred of Caesar's

ἀπόγνωσιν τῆς παρ' αὐτοῦ συγγνώμης, ἔς τε τὴν Ἀφρικὴν μετὰ τοῦ στρατοῦ ἔπλευσαν καὶ τὸν Σκιπίωνα προσλαβόντες πάντα ἐπὶ τῷ Καίσαρι ἔπραττον, οἱ δὲ δὴ πλείους ἐσκεδάσθησαν, καὶ αὐτῶν οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἀποχωρήσαντες ἀπήλλαξαν ὥς που καὶ συνέτυχε σφίσιν, οἱ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα παραχρῆμα ἐλθόντες, ἄλλοι τε καὶ Γάιος Κάσσιος, ἀδείας ἔτυχον.

14 Ὁ δὲ δὴ Καλῆνος ἐπέμφθη τε ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα πρὸ τῆς μάχης ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος, καὶ εἷλεν ἄλλα τε καὶ τὸν Πειραιᾶ ἅτε καὶ ἀτείχιστον ὄντα. τὰς γὰρ Ἀθήνας, καίπερ πλεῖστα τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν κακώσας, οὐκ ἠδυνήθη πρὸ τῆς τοῦ
2 Πομπηίου ἥττης λαβεῖν· τότε γὰρ ἐθελονταὶ αὐτῷ προσεχώρησαν, καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ Καῖσαρ μηδὲν μνησικακήσας ἀθῴους ἀφῆκε, τοσοῦτον μόνον εἰπών, ὅτι πολλὰ ἁμαρτάνοντες ὑπὸ τῶν νεκρῶν σῴζοιντο. τὸ δὲ δὴ ἔπος τοῦτο ἐδήλου ὅτι σφῶν διά τε τοὺς προγόνους καὶ διὰ τὴν δόξαν τήν τε
3 ἀρετὴν αὐτῶν ἐφείσατο. Ἀθῆναι μὲν οὖν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ πλείω τῆς Ἑλλάδος εὐθὺς τότε ὡμολόγησαν αὐτῷ, Μεγαρεῖς δὲ καὶ ὣς ἀντέσχον· πολλῷ τε[1] ὕστερον χρόνῳ τὰ μὲν βίᾳ τὰ δὲ καὶ προδοσίᾳ ἥλωσαν. ὅθενπερ φόνος τε αὐτῶν
4 πολὺς ἐγένετο καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἐπράθησαν. ὁ μέντοι Καλῆνος τοῦτο μέν, ἵνα δὴ καὶ κατ' ἀξίαν αὐτοὺς τετιμωρῆσθαι δόξῃ, ἐποίησε· φοβηθεὶς δὲ μὴ καὶ παντελῶς ἡ πόλις ἀπόληται, πρῶτα μὲν τοῖς ἐπιτηδείοις σφᾶς, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ ἐλαχίστου ἀπέδοτο, ἵν' ἐλευθερωθῶσι.

[1] τε Dind., γε L.

domination, and some others in despair of receiving pardon from him, sailed to Africa with the army, added Scipio to their number, and were as active as possible against Caesar; but the majority scattered, some of them retiring and escaping wherever they could, while the rest, among them Gaius Cassius, went to Caesar at once and received pardon. B.C. 48

Calenus had been sent by Caesar into Greece before the battle, and he captured among other places the Piraeus, owing to its being unwalled. Athens he had been unable to take, in spite of a great deal of damage he did to its territory, until the defeat of Pompey. The inhabitants then came over to him voluntarily, and Caesar, cherishing no resentment, let them go unharmed, merely remarking that in spite of their many offences they were saved by the dead. This remark signified that it was on account of their ancestors and on account of their glory and excellence that he spared them. Accordingly Athens and most of the rest of Greece then at once made terms with him; but the Megarians in spite of this resisted and were captured only at a considerably later date, partly by force and partly by treachery. Therefore many of the inhabitants were slain and the survivors sold. Calenus took this course so that men might think that he had punished them according to their deserts; but since he feared that the city might perish utterly, he sold the captives in the first place to their relatives, and in the second place for a very small sum, so that they might regain their freedom.

5 Καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα πράξας ἐπί τε τὰς Πάτρας ἐπεστράτευσε, καὶ ἀμαχεὶ αὐτάς, τόν τε Κάτωνα καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ προεκφοβήσας,[1] κατέσχεν·
15 ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτα[2] ὡς ἕκαστα ἐπράττετο, καὶ ἡ Ἰβηρία καίπερ εἰρηνεύσασα ἐκινήθη. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ὁ Λογγῖνος ὁ Κύιντος πολλὰ καὶ τότε αὐτοὺς ἐλυμαίνετο, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὀλίγοι τινὲς συνέστη-
2 σαν ὡς καὶ ἀποκτενοῦντες αὐτόν· ἐπεὶ δὲ δὴ τρωθεὶς διέφυγε κἀκ τούτου πολλῷ μείζω σφᾶς ἠδίκει, συχνοὶ μὲν Κορδουβήσιοι συχνοὶ δὲ καὶ στρατιῶται, ἅτε καὶ τοῦ Πομπηίου γεγονότες,
3 ἐπανέστησαν αὐτῷ, Μᾶρκον Μάρκελλον Αἰσερνῖνον τὸν ταμίαν προστησάμενοι. οὐ μὴν καὶ ὅλῃ τῇ γνώμῃ αὐτοὺς προσεδέξατο, ἀλλὰ τό τε ἀστάθμητον τῶν πραγμάτων ὁρῶν καὶ τὴν ἔκβασίν σφων ἐφ' ἑκάτερα προσδεχόμενος ἐπημφοτέριζε καὶ διὰ μέσου πάντα καὶ ἔλεγε καὶ ἔπραττεν, ὥστε, ἄν τε ὁ Καῖσαρ ἄν τε καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος κρατήσῃ, ἀμφοτέροις σφίσι συνηγωνίσθαι δόξαι.
4 Πομπηίῳ μὲν γάρ, ὅτι τούς τε μεταστάντας πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐδέξατο καὶ τῷ Λογγίνῳ τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος πράττειν λέγοντι ἀντεπολέμησεν, ἐχαρίσατο, Καίσαρι δὲ ὅτι καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας, ὡς καὶ τοῦ Λογγίνου νεωτερίζοντός τι, παραλαβὼν τούτους τε αὐτῷ ἐτήρησε καὶ ἐκεῖνον οὐκ εἴασε
5 πολεμωθῆναι. καὶ τό γε ὄνομα τὸ τοῦ Πομπηίου τῶν στρατιωτῶν ταῖς ἀσπίσιν ἐπιγραψάντων ἀπήλειψεν, ὅπως καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου τῷ μὲν τὰ ἔργα τῶν ὅπλων τῷ δὲ τὴν δόκησιν προβάλλων, καὶ τῶν μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κρατήσαντος γεγονότων

[1] προεκφοβήσας Leuncl., προσεκφοβήσας L.
[2] ταῦτα Rk., ταῦτά τε L.

After these achievements he marched upon Patrae and occupied it easily, as he had already frightened Cato and his followers away. Now while these various operations were being carried on, there was an uprising in Spain, although the country had been at peace. For the Spaniards were at the time being subjected to many abuses by Quintus Longinus, and at first some few banded together to kill him; he was wounded but escaped, and after that proceeded to injure them a great deal more. Then a number of Cordubans and a number of soldiers who had formerly belonged to the Pompeian party rose against him, putting at their head Marcus Marcellus Aeserninus, the quaestor. The latter, however, did not accept their appointment with his whole heart, but seeing the uncertainty of events and looking for them to turn out either way, he played a double game, taking a neutral attitude in all that he said and did, so that whether Caesar or Pompey should prevail he might seem to have fought for the victor in either case. He favoured Pompey, on the one hand, by receiving those who had transferred their allegiance to him and by fighting against Longinus, who declared he was on Caesar's side; on the other hand, he did a kindness to Caesar in taking charge of the soldiers when, as he would say, Longinus was beginning a rebellion, and in keeping these men for him and not allowing their commander to become hostile. And when the soldiers inscribed the name of Pompey on their shields, he erased it, so that he might thereby plead with the one man the deeds done by the arms and with the other their apparent ownership, and by laying claim to the deeds B.C. 48

προσποιούμενος, τὰ δὲ ἐναντία ἔς τε τὴν ἀνάγκην καὶ ἐς ἄλλους τινὰς ἀναφέρων, ἀσφαλὴς εἴη·
16 καὶ διὰ τοῦτο, καίτοι παρασχὸν αὐτῷ παντελῶς τοῦ Λογγίνου τῷ πλήθει κρατῆσαι, οὐκ ἠθέλησεν, ἀλλ' ἔς τε ἔνδειξιν καὶ ἐς παρασκευὴν ὧν ἐβούλετο προάγων τὰ πράγματα, ἐπ' ἄλλοις τισὶ τὰ ἀμφίλογα αὐτῶν ἐποιήσατο, ὥστε καὶ ἐν οἷς ἠλαττώθη καὶ ἐν οἷς ἐπλεονέκτησέ τι, ὑπὲρ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὁμοίως τὰ μὲν ὡς αὐτὸς καὶ ἐποίησε καὶ οὐκ ἐποίησε,
2 τὰ δὲ ὡς ἕτεροι, προτείνασθαι δυνηθῆναι. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτω διαγαγὼν μέχρις οὗ καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐνίκησε, παραχρῆμα μὲν ἐς ὀργὴν αὐτῷ[1] ἦλθε καὶ ὑπερωρίσθη, ἔπειτα δὲ κατῆλθε καὶ ἐτιμήθη· Λογγῖνος δέ, καταβοησάντων αὐτοῦ διὰ πρεσβείας τῶν Ἰβήρων, τῆς τε ἀρχῆς ἐξέπεσε, καὶ οἴκαδε ἀνακομιζόμενος ἐφθάρη πρὸς ταῖς τοῦ Ἴβηρος ἐκβολαῖς.

17 Ταῦτα μὲν ἔξω ἐγίγνετο· οἱ δὲ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, τέως μὲν ἔν τε ἀμφιλόγῳ[2] καὶ ἐν μετεώρῳ τά τε τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ τὰ τοῦ Πομπηίου πράγματα ἦν, ἐκ μὲν τοῦ προφανοῦς πάντες τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὑπό τε τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ τῆς συνούσης σφίσι καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Σερουιλίου τοῦ συνάρχοντος ἐσπού-
2 δαζον, καὶ εἴτε που κρατήσας ἠγγέλθη, ἔχαιρον, εἴτε καὶ πταίσας, ἐλυποῦντο, οἱ μὲν ἀληθῶς οἱ δὲ πλαστῶς ἑκάτερον· καὶ γὰρ κατάσκοποί σφων καὶ κατήκοοι, πάνθ' ὅσα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐλέγετο καὶ ἐγίγνετο παρατηροῦντες, πολλοὶ περιενόστουν·
3 ἰδίᾳ δὲ τὰ ἐναντιώτατα τῶν φανερῶν οἱ τῷ τε Καίσαρι ἀχθόμενοι καὶ τὰ τοῦ Πομπηίου προ-

[1] αὐτῷ Xyl., αὐτῶν L.
[2] τε ἀμφιλόγῳ Bk., τῶι ἀμφιλόγωι L.

that turned out to be in behalf of the victor and by laying upon necessity or upon other persons the blame for the contrary events he might be on the safe side. Consequently, although he had the opportunity of utterly defeating Longinus by his superior numbers, he refused, but by managing his affairs so as to create appearances and to carry out his designs, he put the responsibility for his questionable acts upon others. Thus both in his reverses and in his successes he could make the plea that he was acting equally in behalf of the same person: in the one case he would urge that he had, or had not, done the thing himself, and in the other case that others had or had not been responsible. He went on in this way until Caesar actually conquered, and though at the moment he incurred his anger and was banished, yet later he was restored and honoured. Longinus, however, being denounced by the Spaniards through an embassy, was deprived of his office, and while on his way home perished near the mouths of the Iberus. B.C. 48

These events were occurring abroad. In Rome, as long as the issue between Caesar and Pompey was doubtful and unsettled, the people all ostensibly favoured Caesar, because of his troops that were in their midst and because of his colleague Servilius. Whenever a victory of his was reported, they rejoiced, and whenever a reverse, they grieved, some sincerely and some feignedly in each case; for there were many spies and eavesdroppers prowling about, observing all that was said and done on such occasions. But privately the talk and actions of those who detested Caesar and preferred Pompey's

αιρούμενοι καὶ ἔλεγον καὶ ἐποίουν, κἀκ τούτου τα
τε ἀγγελλόμενα[1] κατὰ τὸ πρόσφορόν σφισιν
ἀμφότεροι λαμβάνοντες τοῖς μὲν δεδιότως τοῖς δὲ
4 θαρσούντως ἐχρῶντο, καὶ οἷα πολλῶν καὶ ποι-
κίλων ἔν τε τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ὥρᾳ
πολλάκις λογοποιουμένων χαλεπώτατα διετί-
θεντο· καὶ γὰρ ἥδοντο καὶ ἐλυποῦντο καὶ ἐθάρ-
18 σουν καὶ ἐφοβοῦντο διὰ βραχυτάτου. ἀγγελ-
θείσης δὲ τῆς Φαρσαλικῆς μάχης ἐπὶ πολὺ μὲν
ἠπίστουν· οὔτε γὰρ ὁ Καῖσαρ τῷ κοινῷ τι ἐπέ-
στειλεν, ὀκνήσας δημοσίᾳ χαίρων ἐπὶ τοιαύτῃ
νίκῃ φανῆναι (διόπερ οὐδὲ ἐπινίκια αὐτῆς ἔπεμψε),
καὶ ὁ παράλογος πρός τε τὴν παρασκευὴν αὐτῶν
2 καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἐλπιζόμενα πολὺς ἐφαίνετο. ὡς δ'
οὖν ἐπίστευσάν ποτε, τὰς μὲν εἰκόνας τοῦ τε
Πομπηίου καὶ τοῦ Σύλλου τὰς ἐπὶ τῷ βήματι
ἑστώσας ἀνεῖλον, ἄλλο δὲ οὐδὲν τότε ἔπραξαν·
συχνοὶ μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲ τοῦτο βουλόμενοι ποιῆσαι,
συχνοὶ δὲ καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον, μή πως ἀναμαχέ-
σηται, φοβούμενοι, τῷ τε Καίσαρι καὶ ἐκεῖνο[2]
3 ἱκανῶς ἔχειν ἐνόμιζον, καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον εὐπαραί-
τητον[3] ἐπ' αὐτῷ γενήσεσθαί σφισι προσεδόκων.
ἐπεὶ μέντοι καὶ ἀπέθανεν, ὀψὲ μὲν καὶ τοῦτο, καὶ
οὐ πρότερον πρὶν τὸν δακτύλιον αὐτοῦ πεμφθέντα
ἰδεῖν, ἐπίστευσαν (ἐνεγέγλυπτο δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ τρό-
19 παια τρία, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐν τῷ τοῦ Σύλλου), ὡς δ'
οὖν ἐτεθνήκει, φανερῶς τε ἤδη τὸν μὲν ἐπῄνουν
τὸν δὲ ἐλοιδόρουν, καὶ πᾶν ὅ τι ποτὲ ἐξευρεῖν
ἐδύναντο ἐσηγοῦντο δοθῆναι τῷ Καίσαρι. καὶ ἐν

[1] ἀγγελλόμενα Xyl., ἀπολλόμενα L.
[2] ἐκεῖνο Xyl., ἐκείνωι L.
[3] εὐπαραίτητον Bs., ἀπαραίτητον L.

side were the very opposite of their public expressions. B.C. 48
Hence, as both sides received the various reports in the light of their own advantage, they were inspired sometimes with fear and sometimes with boldness, and inasmuch as many diverse rumours would often be going about on the same day and at the same hour, their position was a most trying one; for they were pleased and distressed, bold and fearful, all within the briefest space of time. When the battle of Pharsalus was announced, they were long incredulous. For Caesar sent no despatch to the government, hesitating to appear to rejoice publicly over such a victory, for which reason also he celebrated no triumph; and furthermore the event was clearly very improbable in view of the relative equipment of the two forces and the hopes entertained. But when at last they gave the story credence, they removed the images of Pompey and of Sulla that stood upon the rostra, but did nothing further at the time. Many, indeed, did not wish to do even this, and many also, fearing that Pompey might renew the strife, regarded this as quite enough for Caesar and expected that it would be a fairly simple matter to placate Pompey on account of it. Even when he had died, they did not believe it for a long time, not, in fact, until they saw his seal-ring that had been sent; it had three trophies carved on it, as had that of Sulla. So when he was really dead, at last they openly praised the victor and abused the vanquished, and proposed that everything in the world which they could devise should be given to Caesar. And not only in this

τε τούτῳ πολλὴ ἦν[1] παρὰ πάντων ὡς εἰπεῖν τῶν πρώτων ἅμιλλα, ὑπερβάλλειν σφῶν ἀλλήλους τῇ κολακείᾳ σπουδαζόντων, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐπιχειρο-
2 τονίᾳ αὐτῶν· τοῖς τε γὰρ ἐπιβοήμασι[2] καὶ τοῖς σχήμασι πάντες, ὡς καὶ παρόντος καὶ ὁρῶντος τοῦ Καίσαρος, πολὺ πλείστην σπουδὴν ἐνεδείκνυντο, καὶ ἐνόμιζον εὐθὺς ἀντ' αὐτῶν, ὥσπερ τι αὐτῷ χαριζόμενοι ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐξ ἀνάγκης αὐτὸ ποιοῦντες, ὁ μὲν ἀρχὴν ὁ δὲ ἱερωσύνην ὁ δὲ καὶ
3 χρήματα ἀντιλήψεσθαι. ἐγὼ οὖν τὰ μὲν ἄλλα, ὅσα ἤτοι καὶ ἑτέροις τισὶ πρότερον ἐψήφισται, εἰκόνας τε καὶ στεφάνους καὶ προεδρίας τά τε τοιουτότροπα, ἢ καινὰ[3] μὲν καὶ τότε ἐσενεχθέντα πρῶτον ἦν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐβεβαιώθη, παραλείψω, μὴ καὶ δι' ὄχλου γένωμαι
4 εἰ πάντα αὐτὰ ἐπεξίοιμι· τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔπειτα, καὶ μᾶλλόν γε ὅσῳ καὶ πλείω καὶ ἀτοπώτερα ἀεὶ ἐσήγετο, ποιήσω· μόνα δὲ δὴ ὅσα ἴδιόν τέ τι καὶ ἐξαίρετον ἔχοντα ἐκυροῦτο καταλέξω.

20 Τούς τε γὰρ τὰ τοῦ Πομπηίου φρονήσαντας ἐπέτρεψαν αὐτῷ πᾶν ὅ τι[4] ποτ' ἂν ἐθελήσῃ δρᾶσαι, οὐχ ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς παρ' ἑαυτοῦ οὐ τοῦτ' ἤδη λαβὼν εἶχεν, ἀλλ' ἵνα καὶ ἐν νόμῳ δή[5] τινι αὐτὸ ποιεῖν δόξῃ· καὶ πολέμων καὶ εἰρήνης κύριον, προφάσει τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀφρικῇ συνισταμένων, πρὸς πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἀπέδειξαν αὐτόν, κἂν μηδὲν μήτε τῷ δήμῳ μήτε
2 τῇ βουλῇ περὶ αὐτῶν κοινώσηται. καὶ ἦν μέν

[1] ἦν supplied by Bk. [2] ἐπιβοήμασι Dind., ἐπιβοήσασι L.
[3] καινὰ R. Steph., κενὰ L. [4] πᾶν ὅ τι Bk., πανθ' ὅτι L.
[5] δή Reim., ἤδη L.

respect was there great rivalry among practically all the foremost men, who were eager to outdo one another in fawning upon him, but also in voting such measures. By their shouts and by their gestures they all, as if Caesar were present and looking on, showed the very greatest zeal and thought that in return for it they would get immediately—as if they were doing it to please him at all and not from necessity—one an office, another a priesthood, and a third some pecuniary reward. I shall omit those honours which had either been voted to some others previously—images, crowns, front seats, and things of that kind—or which, while novel and proposed now for the first time, were not confirmed by Caesar, for fear that I might become wearisome, were I to enumerate them all. This same plan I shall follow in my subsequent account, adhering the more strictly to it, as the honours proposed continually grew more numerous and more absurd. Only such as had some special and extraordinary importance and were confirmed will be related. B.C. 48

They granted him, then, permission to do whatever he wished to those who had favoured Pompey's cause, not that he had not already received this right from himself, but in order that he might seem to be acting with some show of legal authority. They appointed him arbiter of war and peace with all mankind—using the conspirators in Africa as a pretext—without the obligation even of making any communication on the subject to the people or the senate. This,

που καὶ τοῦτο καὶ πρὶν ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ ἅτε καὶ δύναμιν τηλικαύτην ἔχοντι· τοὺς γοῦν πολέμους οὓς ἐπολέμησε πάντας ὀλίγου καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀνείλετο· ὅμως δ' οὖν αὐτῷ (πολῖταί τε γὰρ καὶ αὐτοτελεῖς ἔτι δοκεῖν εἶναι ἤθελον) ταῦτά τε οὕτως ἐψηφίσαντο καὶ τἆλλα πάντα ἃ[1] καὶ ἀκόντων αὐτῶν ἔχειν
3 ἐδύνατο. ὕπατός τε γὰρ ἔτη πέντε ἐφεξῆς γενέσθαι καὶ δικτάτωρ οὐκ ἐς ἔκμηνον ἀλλ' ἐς ἐνιαυτὸν ὅλον λεχθῆναι ἔλαβεν, τήν τε ἐξουσίαν τῶν δημάρχων διὰ βίου ὡς εἰπεῖν προσέθετο· συγκαθέζεσθαί τε γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν βάθρων καὶ ἐς τἆλλα συνεξετάζεσθαί
4 σφισιν, ὃ μηδενὶ ἐξῆν, εὕρετο.[2] αἵ τε[3] ἀρχαιρεσίαι πᾶσαι, πλὴν τῶν τοῦ πλήθους, ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐγένοντο, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐς τὴν παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ ἀναβληθεῖσαι ἐπ' ἐξόδῳ τοῦ ἔτους ἐτελέσθησαν. τάς τε ἡγεμονίας τὰς ἐν τῷ ὑπηκόῳ τοῖς μὲν ὑπάτοις αὐτοὶ δῆθεν ἐκλήρωσαν, τοῖς δὲ δὴ στρατηγοῖς τὸν Καίσαρα ἀκληρωτὶ δοῦναι ἐψηφίσαντο· ἔς τε γὰρ τοὺς ὑπάτους καὶ ἐς τοὺς στρατηγοὺς αὖθις παρὰ τὰ δεδογμένα
5 σφίσιν ἐπανῆλθον. καὶ ἕτερον δέ τι, εἰθισμένον μὲν γίγνεσθαι, ἐν δὲ δὴ τῇ τοῦ καιροῦ διαφθορᾷ καὶ ἐπίφθονον καὶ νεμεσητὸν ὄν, ἔγνωσαν· τοῦ γὰρ πολέμου τοῦ πρός τε τὸν Ἰόβαν καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους τοὺς μετ' αὐτοῦ πολεμήσαντας, ὃν ὁ Καῖσαρ οὐδέπω τότε οὐδ' ὅτι γενήσοιτο ἠπίστατο, πέμψαι τινὰ αὐτῷ νικητήρια ὡς κεκρατηκότι προσέταξαν.

[1] ἃ added by Xyl. [2] εὕρετο R. Steph., εὕρητο L. [3] τε Bk., τε γὰρ L.

of course, also lay in his power before, inasmuch as he had so large an armed force; at any rate the wars he had fought he had undertaken on his own authority in nearly every case. Nevertheless, because they wished still to appear to be free and independent citizens, they voted him these rights and everything else which it was in his power to have even against their will. Thus he received the privilege of being consul for five consecutive years and of being chosen dictator, not for six months, but for an entire year, and he assumed the tribunician authority practically for life; for he secured the right of sitting with the tribunes upon the same benches and of being reckoned with them for other purposes—a privilege which was permitted to no one. All the elections except those of the plebs now passed into his hands, and for this reason they were delayed till after his arrival and were held toward the close of the year.[1] In the case of the governorships in subject territory the citizens pretended to allot themselves those which fell to the consuls, but voted that Caesar should give the others to the praetors without the casting of lots; for they had gone back to consuls and praetors again contrary to their decree. And they also granted another privilege, which was customary, to be sure, but in the corruption of the times might cause hatred and resentment: they decreed that Caesar should hold a triumph for the war against Juba and the Romans who fought with him, just as if he had been the victor, although, as a matter of fact, he had not then so much as heard that there was to be such a war. B.C. 48

[1] The year 47, in which Caesar came to Rome, is here meant, or else Dio has made an error.

21 Ταῦτ' οὖν οὕτω καὶ ἐψηφίσθη καὶ ἐκυρώθη·
καὶ ὅ τε Καῖσαρ τὴν δικτατορίαν παραχρῆμα,
καίπερ ἔξω τῆς Ἰταλίας ὤν, ὑπέστη, καὶ τὸν
Ἀντώνιον μηδὲ ἐστρατηγηκότα ἵππαρχον προε-
λόμενος, καὶ εἶπε καὶ τοῦτον ὁ ὕπατος, καίτοι
τῶν οἰωνιστῶν σφοδρότατα ἀντειπόντων μηδενὶ
ἐξεῖναι πλείω τοῦ ἑξαμήνου χρόνον ἱππαρχῆσαι.
2 ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γέλωτα ἐπὶ τούτῳ πολὺν ὠφλί-
σκανον, αὐτὸν μὲν τὸν δικτάτορα ἐς ἐνιαυτὸν
παρὰ πάντα τὰ πάτρια λεχθῆναι γνόντες, περὶ
22 δὲ δὴ τοῦ ἱππάρχου ἀκριβολογούμενοι· ὁ δὲ δὴ
Καίλιος[1] ὁ Μᾶρκος καὶ ἀπώλετο τολμήσας τὰ περὶ
τῶν δανεισμάτων ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὁρισθέντα,
καθάπερ ἡττημένου τε αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐφθαρμένου,
λῦσαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν Ῥώμην καὶ τὴν
2 Καμπανίαν ἐκταράξας. οὗτος γὰρ ἔπραξε μὲν[2]
ἀνὰ πρώτους τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος, διὸ[3] καὶ στρατη-
γὸς ἀπεδείχθη· ὀργισθεὶς δὲ ὅτι τε μὴ ἠστυνό-
μησεν καὶ ὅτι καὶ ὁ Τρεβώνιος ὁ συνάρχων
αὐτοῦ οὐ κληρωτός, ὥσπερ εἴθιστο, ἀλλ' αἱρετὸς
ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐς τὴν ἀστυνομίαν προεκρίθη,
3 ἠναντιοῦτο πρὸς πάντα τῷ συνάρχοντι καὶ οὔτ'
ἄλλο τι τῶν ἐπιβαλλόντων οἱ ποιεῖσθαι ἐπέ-
τρεπεν, οὔτε τὰς δίκας κατὰ τοὺς τοῦ Καίσαρος
νόμους τελεῖσθαι συνεχώρει, καὶ προσέτι τοῖς
ὀφείλουσί τι βοηθήσειν ἐπὶ τοὺς δεδανεικότας
καὶ τοῖς ἐν ἀλλοτρίων οἰκοῦσι τὸ ἐνοίκιον ἀφή-
4 σειν ἐπηγγέλλετο. προσθέμενος δὲ ἐκ τούτου

[1] Καίλιος Xyl., καικίλιος L.
[2] μὲν added by Bk. following Rk. [3] διὸ Bk., διὰ L.

In this way these measures were voted and ratified. Caesar entered upon the dictatorship at once, although he was outside of Italy, and chose Antony, although he had not yet been praetor, as his master of horse; and the consul proposed the latter's name also, although the augurs very strongly opposed him, declaring that no one might be master of the horse for more than six months. But for this course they brought upon themselves a great deal of ridicule, because, after having decided that the dictator himself should be chosen for a year, contrary to all precedent, they were now splitting hairs about the master of the horse. Marcus Caelius[1] actually lost his life because he dared to set aside the laws established by Caesar regarding loans, assuming that their author had been defeated and had perished, and because as a result he stirred up Rome and Campania. He had been among the foremost in carrying out Caesar's wishes, for which reason he had been appointed praetor; but he became angry because he had not been made praetor urbanus, and because his colleague Trebonius had been preferred before him for this office, not by lot, as had been the custom, but by Caesar's choice. Hence he opposed his colleague in everything and would not let him perform any of the duties devolving upon him. He not only would not consent to his pronouncing judgments according to Caesar's laws, but he also gave notice to such as owed anything that he would assist them against their creditors, and to all who dwelt in other people's houses that he would release them from payment of the rent. Having by this course gained a considerable following, he set B.C. 48

[1] M. Caelius Rufus.

συχνοὺς ἐπῆλθε μετ' αὐτῶν τῷ Τρεβωνίῳ, κἂν ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτὸν εἰ μὴ τήν τε ἐσθῆτα ἠλλάξατο καὶ διέφυγέ σφας ἐν τῷ ὄχλῳ. διαμαρτὼν δὲ τούτου νόμον ἰδίᾳ ἐξέθηκε, προῖκά τε πᾶσιν οἰκεῖν διδοὺς καὶ τὰ χρέα[1] ἀποκόπτων.

23 Ὁ οὖν Σερουίλιος στρατιώτας τέ τινας ἐς Γαλατίαν κατὰ τύχην παριόντας μετεπέμψατο, καὶ τὴν βουλὴν τῇ παρ' αὐτῶν φρουρᾷ συναγαγὼν προέθηκε γνώμην περὶ τῶν παρόντων, καὶ κυρωθέντος μὲν μηδενὸς (δήμαρχοι γὰρ ἐκώλυσαν) συγγραφέντος δὲ τοῦ δόξαντος ἐκέλευσε τοῖς
2 ὑπηρέταις καθελεῖν τὰ πινάκια. ἐπειδή τε ὁ Καίλιος ἐκείνους τε ἀπήλασε καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν ὕπατον ἐς θόρυβον κατέστησε, συνῆλθον αὖθις φραξάμενοι τοῖς στρατιώταις, καὶ τὴν φυλακὴν τῆς πόλεως τῷ Σερουιλίῳ, ὥσπερ ἄνω μοι πολ-
3 λάκις περὶ αὐτῆς εἴρηται, παρέδοσαν. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὐδὲν ἐκ τούτου τῷ Καιλίῳ ὡς καὶ στρατηγοῦντι πρᾶξαι ἐφῆκεν, ἀλλὰ τά τε προσήκοντα τῇ ἀρχῇ αὐτοῦ ἄλλῳ τῳ τῶν στρατηγῶν προσέταξε, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον τοῦ τε συνεδρίου εἶρξε καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος καταβοῶντά τι κατέσπασε, τόν τε
24 δίφρον αὐτοῦ συνέτριψεν· ὁ δὲ ὀργὴν μὲν πολλὴν[2] καθ' ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἐποιεῖτο, δεδιὼς δὲ μὴ καὶ κολασθῇ (δύναμιν γὰρ ἀξιόμαχον ἐν τῇ πόλει εἶχεν) ἐς Καμπανίαν πρὸς Μίλωνα νεωτερίζοντά
2 τι ἀπᾶραι ἔγνω. ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἐπειδὴ μόνος τῶν φευγόντων οὐ κατήχθη πρὸς τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἔς τε τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀφίκετο, καὶ πολλοὺς ἀνθρώπους, τοὺς μὲν βίου δεομένους τοὺς δὲ καὶ τιμωρίαν τινὰ δεδιότας, συλλέξας τήν τε χώραν ἐκακούργει

[1] χρέα Xyl., χρύσεα L. [2] πολλὴν R. Steph., πολὺ L.

upon Trebonius with their aid and would have slain him, had the other not managed to change his dress and escape in the crowd. After this failure Caelius privately issued a law in which he granted everybody the use of houses free of rent and annulled all debts. B.C. 48

Servilius consequently sent for some soldiers who chanced to be going by on the way to Gaul, and after convening the senate under their protection he proposed a measure in regard to the situation. No action was taken, since the tribunes prevented it, but the sense of the meeting was recorded and Servilius then ordered the court officers to take down the offending tablets. When Caelius drove these men away and even involved the consul himself in a tumult, they convened again, still protected by the soldiers, and entrusted to Servilius the guarding of the city, a procedure concerning which I have often spoken before. After this he would not permit Caelius to do anything in his capacity as praetor, but assigned the duties pertaining to his office to another praetor, debarred him from the senate, dragged him from the rostra while he was delivering some tirade or other, and broke his chair in pieces. Caelius was very angry with him for each of these acts, but since Servilius had a body of troops in town that matched his own, he was afraid that he might be punished, and so decided to set out for Campania to join Milo, who was beginning a rebellion. For Milo, when he alone of the exiles was not restored by Caesar, had come to Italy, where he gathered a large crowd of men, some in want of a livelihood and others who feared

καὶ ταῖς πόλεσι ταῖς τε ἄλλαις καὶ τῇ Καπύῃ
3 προσέβαλλε. πρὸς οὖν τοῦτον ὁ Καίλιος ἀφορ-
μῆσαι ἐθελήσας ὡς[1] μετ' αὐτοῦ πᾶν ὅ τι δύναιτο
τὸν Καίσαρα λυπήσῃ, ἔπειτ' ἐπειδὴ μήτε ἐκ τοῦ
προφανοῦς ἐκδημῆσαι ἐδύνατο (παρετηρεῖτο γάρ)
μήτ' αὖ ἐκδρᾶναι ἐτόλμα διά τε τἆλλα καὶ ὅτι
πολλῷ πλείω ἔν τε τῷ σχήματι καὶ ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι
τῷ τῆς στρατηγίας ὧν καταπράξειν ἤλπιζε, τῷ
τε ὑπάτῳ προσῆλθε καὶ παρῃτεῖτο αὐτόν, λέγων
καὶ πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ἀπελθεῖν βούλεσθαι.
4 ὑποτοπήσας οὖν ἐκεῖνος τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτοῦ
ἐπέτρεψε μέν οἱ τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, ἄλλως τε καὶ
ὅτι πολὺς ἐνέκειτο τό τε τοῦ Καίσαρος ὄνομα
ἐπικαλούμενος καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀπολογίαν δὴ
ἐπείγεσθαι σκηπτόμενος, συνέπεμψε δὲ αὐτῷ
δήμαρχόν τινα, ἵν' εἴ τι νεοχμῶσαι τολμήσειε
25 κωλυθείη. ὡς δὲ ἐν τῇ Καμπανίᾳ ἐγένοντο, καὶ ὅ
τε Μίλων πταίσας πρὸς τῇ Καπύῃ ἐς τὰ
Τιφατῖνα[2] ὄρη κατεπεφεύγει καὶ ὁ Καίλιος οὐκέτι
περαιτέρω προυχώρει, δείσας ὁ δήμαρχος οἴκαδε
2 ἐπαναγαγεῖν αὐτὸν ἠθέλησε. προπυθόμενος οὖν
ταῦθ' ὁ Σερουίλιος τῷ μὲν Μίλωνι πόλεμον ἐν τῇ
βουλῇ ἐπήγγειλε, τὸν δὲ δὴ Καίλιον ὑπομεῖναι
μὲν ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ, μὴ καὶ ταράξῃ τι, ἐκέ-
λευσεν, οὐ μέντοι διὰ φυλακῆς ἀκριβοῦς ἅτε καὶ
στρατηγοῦντα ἐποιήσατο. ἀπέδρα τε οὖν καὶ
3 πρὸς τὸν Μίλωνα ἠπείγετο. κἂν ἔπραξέ τι
ταραχῶδες, εἰ ζῶντα αὐτὸν εὑρήκει. νῦν δὲ ἐκ
τῆς Καμπανίας ἐκπεσόντος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν Ἀπουλίᾳ
φθαρέντος, ἔς τε τὴν Βρεττίαν[3] ἦλθεν ὡς ἐνταῦθα

[1] ὡς Dind., ὥστε L. [2] Τιφατῖνα Dind., τιφατνινὰ L.
[3] Βρεττίαν Xyl., βρεττανίαν L.

some punishment, and proceeded to ravage the country, assailing Capua and other cities. To him, then, Caelius wished to betake himself, in order that with his aid he might do Caesar all possible harm. He was watched, however, and could not leave the city openly; and he did not venture to escape secretly because, among other reasons, he expected to accomplish a great deal more by using the dress and the title of his praetorship. At last, therefore, he approached the consul and asked him for leave of absence, even saying that he wished to proceed to Caesar. The other, though he suspected his intention, still allowed him to do this, particularly because he was very insistent, invoking Caesar's name and pretending that he was eager to submit his defence; but he sent a tribune with him, so that if he should attempt any rebellious act he might be held in check. When they reached Campania, and found that Milo, after a defeat near Capua, had taken refuge on Mount Tifata, and Caelius gave up his plan of going farther, the tribune was alarmed and wished to bring him back home. Servilius, learning of this in time, declared war upon Milo in the senate and gave orders that Caelius should remain in the suburbs, so that he might not stir up any trouble; nevertheless, he did not keep him under strict surveillance, because the man was a praetor. Thus Caelius made his escape and hastened to Milo, and he would certainly have created some disturbance had he found him alive; but as it was, Milo had been driven from Campania and had perished in Apulia. Caelius, therefore, went to Bruttium, hoping to form some league in B.C. 48

γέ τι συστήσων, καὶ ἐκεῖ πρὶν ποιῆσαί τι λόγου
ἄξιον ἀπώλετο· συστραφέντες γὰρ οἱ τὰ τοῦ
Καίσαρος πράττοντες ἀπέκτειναν αὐτόν.
26 Καὶ οἱ μὲν οὕτως ἀπέθανον, οὐ μέντοι καὶ
ἡσυχία παρὰ τοῦτο ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐγένετο, ἀλλὰ
πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ συνηνέχθη, ὥσπερ που καὶ τὰ
τέρατα προεδήλωσεν. ἐκείνῳ τε γὰρ τῷ ἔτει
τελευτῶντι ἄλλα τέ τινα συνέβη, καὶ μέλισσαι ἐν
τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ παρὰ τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἱδρύθησαν.
2 καὶ[1] (ἐτύγχανε γὰρ ἱερὰ Ἴσιδι ἐνταῦθα τότε
γιγνόμενα) ἔδοξε γνώμῃ τῶν μάντεων πάντα
αὖθις τά τε ἐκείνης καὶ τὰ τοῦ Σαράπιδος τε-
μενίσματα κατασκάψαι· γενομένου δὲ τούτου
καὶ Ἐνυεῖόν τι[2] λαθόν σφας προσκαθῃρέθη, καὶ
ἐν αὐτῷ κεράμια ἀνθρωπείων σαρκῶν μεστὰ
3 εὑρέθη. τῷ τε ἐχομένῳ σεισμός τε ἰσχυρὸς
ἐγένετο καὶ βύας ὤφθη, κεραυνοί τε ἔς τε τὸ
Καπιτώλιον καὶ ἐς τὸν τῆς Τύχης τῆς δημοσίας
καλουμένης ναὸν ἔς τε τοὺς τοῦ Καίσαρος κήπους
κατέσκηψαν, κἀνταῦθα ἵππος τις τῶν οὐκ ἠμελη-
4 μένων ἀπέθανεν ὑπ' αὐτῶν, καὶ τὸ Τυχαῖον
αὐτόματον ἀνεῴχθη. πρὸς δὲ τούτοις αἷμά τε ἐξ
ἐργαστηρίου σιτοποιοῦ προχυθὲν ἀφίκετο πρὸς
νεὼν ἕτερον Τύχης, ἣν ἐκ τοῦ πάντα τά τε ἐν τοῖς
ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ τὰ κατόπιν καὶ ἐφορᾶν καὶ
ἐκλογίζεσθαι χρῆναί τινα, μηδὲ ἐπιλανθάνεσθαι
ἐξ οἵων οἷος ἐγένετο, καὶ ἱδρύσαντο καὶ ἐπε-
κάλεσαν τρόπον τινὰ οὐκ εὐαφήγητον Ἕλλησι·
5 καὶ βρέφη τινὰ τὰς ἀριστερὰς ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς
χεῖρας ἔχοντα ἐγεννήθη, ὥστε ἔκ τε τῶν ἄλλων

[1] καὶ supplied by Reim.
[2] Ἐνυεῖόν τι R. Steph., ἐνυιόντι L.

that district at any rate, and there he perished before accomplishing anything of importance; for those who favoured Caesar banded together and killed him. B.C. 48

So these men died, but that did not bring quiet to Rome. On the contrary, many dreadful events took place, as, indeed, omens had indicated beforehand. Among other things that happened toward the end of that year bees settled on the Capitol beside the statue of Hercules. Sacrifices to Isis chanced to be going on there at the time, and the soothsayers gave their opinion to the effect that all precincts of that goddess and of Serapis should be razed to the ground once more. In the course of their demolition a shrine of Bellona was unwittingly destroyed and in it were found jars full of human flesh. The following year a violent earthquake occurred, an owl was seen, thunderbolts descended upon the Capitol and upon the temple of the Public Fortune, as it was called, and into the gardens of Caesar, where a horse of no small value was destroyed by them, and the temple of Fortune opened of its own accord. In addition to this, blood issued from a bake-shop and flowed to another temple of Fortune—that Fortune whose statue, on account of the fact that a man must needs observe and consider everything that lies before his eyes as well as behind him and must not forget from what beginnings he has become what he is, they had set up and named in a way not easy to describe to Greeks.[1] Also some infants were born holding their left hands to their heads, so that while

[1] The reference is to Fortuna Respiciens. For her many different attributes see Roscher, *Lex. der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, i. p. 1513. Plutarch called her τύχη ἐπιστρεφομένη, a name apparently unknown to Dio.

μηδὲν ὑγιὲς ὑποπτεύεσθαι, καὶ ἐκ τούτων μάλιστα
τὴν τῶν ὑποδεεστέρων κατὰ τῶν προτετιμημένων
ἐπανάστασιν τούς τε μάντεις προειπεῖν καὶ τὸν
δῆμον προσδέχεσθαι.
27 Ταῦτα μὲν οὕτως ὑπὸ τοῦ δαιμονίου προδει-
χθέντα ἐτάραττεν αὐτούς· συνεπελάβετο δέ σφισι
τοῦ φόβου καὶ ἡ ὄψις αὐτὴ τῆς πόλεως καὶ δεινὴ
καὶ ἀήθης ἔν τε τῇ νουμηνίᾳ καὶ ἔπειτα ἐπὶ πολὺ
2 γενομένη. ὕπατος μὲν γὰρ οὐδεὶς οὐδὲ στρατηγὸς
οὐδέπω ἦν, ὁ δὲ δὴ Ἀντώνιος τῆς[1] μὲν ἐσθῆτος
ἕνεκα (τῇ γὰρ περιπορφύρῳ ἐχρῆτο) καὶ ῥαβδού-
χων (τοὺς γὰρ ἓξ μόνους εἶχε) τοῦ τε τὴν βουλὴν
ἀθροίζειν εἰκόνα τινὰ τῆς δημοκρατίας παρείχετο,
τῷ δὲ δὴ ξίφει ὃ[2] παρέζωστο καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν
συνόντων οἱ στρατιωτῶν τοῖς τε ἔργοις αὐτοῖς ὅτι
3 μάλιστα τὴν μοναρχίαν ἐνεδείκνυτο· καὶ γὰρ
ἁρπαγαὶ καὶ ὕβρεις καὶ σφαγαὶ πολλαὶ ἐγίγνοντο.
καὶ ἦν οὐ τὸ παρὸν μόνον τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις χαλεπώ-
τατον, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα πολὺ πλείω
καὶ δεινότερα ὑπωπτεύετο· ὅπου γὰρ ὁ ἵππαρχος
οὐδὲ ἐν ταῖς πανηγύρεσι τὸ ξίφος κατετίθετο (τὰς
γὰρ πλείους ταῖς τοῦ Καίσαρος παρασκευαῖς
4 ἐπετέλεσεν· ὀλίγας γάρ τινας καὶ οἱ δήμαρχοι
ἐποίησαν), τίς οὐκ ἂν αὐτὸν τὸν δικτάτορα
ὑπετόπησεν; εἰ γάρ τις καὶ τὴν χρηστότητα
αὐτοῦ, ὑφ' ἧς πολλῶν καὶ ἀντιπολεμησάντων οἱ
ἐπέφειστο, ἐνενόει, ἀλλ' οὗτοι καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμοίων
τούς τε ἐφιεμένους ἀρχῆς καὶ τοὺς καταπράξαν-
τας αὐτὴν μένοντας ἰδόντες καὶ ἐκεῖνον ἀλλοιω-
28 θήσεσθαι προσεδόκων. ἐλυποῦντό τε οὖν, καὶ

[1] τῆς Turn., οὐδέπω L. [2] ὃ Reim., ὧι L.

no good was looked for from the other signs, from this especially an uprising of inferiors against superiors was both foretold by the soothsayers and expected by the people. B.C. 48

These portents, thus revealed by Heaven, disturbed them; and their fear was augmented by the very appearance of the city, which had become strange and unfamiliar at the beginning of the year and continued so for a long time. For there was as yet no consul or praetor, and while Antony, in so far as his costume went, which was the purple-bordered toga, and his lictors, of whom he had only the usual six, and his convening of the senate, furnished some semblance of the republic, yet the sword with which he was girded, and the throng of soldiers that accompanied him, and his very actions in particular indicated the existence of a monarchy. In fact many robberies, outrages, and murders took place. And not only was the existing situation most distressing to the Romans, but they suspected Caesar of intending far more and greater deeds of violence. For when the master of the horse never laid aside his sword even at the festivals, who would not have been suspicious of the dictator himself? Most of these festivals, by the way, Antony gave at Caesar's expense, although the tribunes also gave a few. Even if any one stopped to think of Caesar's goodness, which had led him to spare many enemies, even such as had opposed him in battle, nevertheless, seeing that men who have gained an office do not stick to the principles that guided them when striving for it, they expected that he, too, would change his course. They were distressed, therefore, and discussed the

πολλὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους, οἷς γε καὶ ἀσφάλειά τις ἦν, διελάλουν. οὐ γάρ που καὶ πᾶσιν ἀδεῶς συγγίγνεσθαι ἐδύναντο· καὶ γὰρ οἱ πάνυ φίλοι δοκοῦντές[1] τινων εἶναι, συγγενεῖς τε ἕτεροι, διέβαλλόν[2] σφας, τὰ μὲν παρατρέποντες τὰ δὲ καὶ
2 παντάπασι καταψευδόμενοι. ὅθεν οἱ λοιποὶ καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐκακοπάθουν, ὅτι μήτε προσολοφύρασθαι μήτ' ἐπικοινῶσαι ἔχοντες οὐδ'[3] ἀπαλλαγῆναί ποτε αὐτοῦ ἐδύναντο. ἡ μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς ὁμοπαθεῖς συνουσία ἔφερέ τινα αὐτοῖς
3 κούφισιν, καί τις ἀσφαλῶς ἐκλαλήσας τέ τι καὶ ἀντακούσας οἷα ἔπασχον ῥᾴων ἐγίγνετο· ἡ δὲ δὴ πρὸς τοὺς οὐχ ὁμοήθεις ἀπιστία καθεῖργνυ τε ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς αὐτῶν τὴν ἀνίαν καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖον αὐτὰς ἐξέκαε, μήτ' ἀποφυγὴν[4] μήτ' ἀνάπαυσίν τινα
4 λαμβανούσας. πρὸς γὰρ τῷ κατεχόμενα ἔνδον τὰ παθήματά σφας τηρεῖν, καὶ εὐλογεῖν αὐτὰ καὶ θαυμάζειν, ἑορτάζειν τε καὶ βουθυτεῖν εὐθυμεῖσθαί τε ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἠναγκάζοντο.

29 Οὕτω μὲν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει τότε ὄντες διετίθεντο· ὥσπερ δὲ οὐκ ἀποχρῶν αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου κακοῦσθαι, Λούκιός τέ τις Τρεβέλλιος καὶ Πούπλιος Κορνήλιος Δολοβέλλας δήμαρχοι ἐστασίασαν. οὗτος μὲν γὰρ τοῖς ὀφείλουσιν, ἐξ ὧν καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν, διὸ[5] καὶ ἐκ τῶν εὐπατριδῶν ἐς τὸ πλῆθος ἐπὶ τῇ δημαρχίᾳ
2 μετέστη, συνηγωνίζετο· ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἔλεγε μὲν τῶν ἀμεινόνων προΐστασθαι,[6] ἐκ δὲ δὴ τοῦ ὁμοίου

[1] καὶ γὰρ οἱ πάνυ φίλοι δοκοῦντες Bs., κἂν γὰρ πάνυ φίλοι ἐδόκουν L. [2] διέβαλλόν R. Steph., διέβαλόν L.
[3] οὐδ' Pflugk, οὔτ' L.
[4] μήτ' ἀποφυγὴν Cary, μηταποραην L. [5] διὸ Rk., καὶ διὸ L.
[6] προΐστασθαι H. Steph., προσίστασθαι L.

matter with one another at length, at least those B.C. 48
who were safe in so doing, for they could not be intimate with any and every one with impunity. For those who seemed to be one's very good friends and others who were relatives would slander one, perverting some statements and telling downright lies on other points. And so it was that the rest found herein the chief cause of their distress, that, since they were unable either to lament or to share their views with others, they could not so much as give their feelings vent. For, while it is true that intercourse with those similarly afflicted lightened their burden somewhat, and the man who could safely utter and hear in return something of what the citizens were undergoing felt easier, yet their distrust of such as were not of like habits with themselves confined their vexation within their own hearts and inflamed them the more, as they could obtain neither escape nor relief. Indeed, in addition to having to keep their sufferings shut up within their own breasts, they were compelled to praise and admire their treatment, as also to celebrate festivals, perform sacrifices, and appear happy over it all.

This was the condition of the Romans in the city at that time. And, as if it were not sufficient for them to be abused by Antony, one Lucius Trebellius and Publius Cornelius Dolabella, tribunes, fell to quarrelling. The latter championed the cause of the debtors, to which class he belonged, and had therefore changed from the ranks of the patricians to the plebs, in order to secure the tribuneship. The former claimed to represent the nobles, but issued

αὐτῷ καὶ γράμματα ἐξετίθει καὶ σφαγαῖς ἐχρῆτο.[1] ταραχή τε οὖν καὶ ἐκ τούτων πολλὴ ἐγίγνετο, καὶ ὅπλα πολλὰ καὶ πανταχοῦ ἑωρᾶτο, καίτοι τῶν τε βουλευτῶν ἀπαγορευσάντων μηδὲν πρὸ τῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀφίξεως καινοτομηθῆναι, καὶ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου μηδένα ἐν τῷ ἄστει ἰδιώτην ὁπλοφορεῖν.
3 καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἐσήκουον, ἀλλὰ πάντα δὴ πάντως καὶ ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις καὶ ἐπ' ἐκείνοις ἐποίουν, τρίτη στάσις τοῦ τε Ἀντωνίου καὶ τῆς γερουσίας ἐγένετο· ἵνα γὰρ καὶ παρ' αὐτῆς τά τε ὅπλα καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τὴν ἀπ'[2] αὐτῶν, ᾗ φθάσας ἐχρῆτο, προστεθεῖσθαι νομισθείη, στρατιώτας τε ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους τρέφειν καὶ τὴν πόλιν διὰ φυλακῆς μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων
4 δημάρχων ποιεῖσθαι ἔλαβε. κἀκ τούτου Ἀντώνιος μὲν ἐν νόμῳ δή τινι πάνθ' ὅσα ἐπεθύμει ἔδρα, Δολοβέλλας δὲ καὶ Τρεβέλλιος ὄνομα μὲν βιαίου πράξεως εἶχον, ἀντηγωνίζοντο δὲ ὑπό τε τῆς θρασύτητος καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς παρασκευῆς καὶ ἀλλήλοις καὶ ἐκείνῳ, ὥσπερ τινὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ ἡγεμονίαν παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς εἰληφότες.

30 Κἀν τούτῳ Ἀντώνιος πυθόμενος τὰ στρατόπεδα, ἃ μετὰ τὴν μάχην ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ὡς καὶ ἐφεψόμενός σφισι προέπεμψε,[3] μηδὲν ὑγιὲς δρᾶν, καὶ φοβηθεὶς μή τι νεωτερίσωσι, τὸ μὲν ἄστυ τῷ Καίσαρι τῷ Λουκίῳ ἐπέτρεψε, πολίαρχον αὐτὸν ἀποδείξας, ὃ μηπώποτε πρὸς ἱππάρχου ἐγεγόνει, αὐτὸς δὲ πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας
2 ἐξώρμησεν. οἱ οὖν δήμαρχοι οἱ ἀντιστασιάζοντές σφισι τοῦ τε Λουκίου διὰ τὸ γῆρας κατεφρόνησαν, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ δεινά, μέχρις οὗ τὸν Καίσαρα τά

[1] ἐχρῆτο R Steph., ἐχρᾶτο L [2] ἀπ' Rk., ἐπ' L.
[3] προέπεμψε R. Steph., προσέπεμψε L.

edicts and had recourse to murders no less than the other. This, too, naturally resulted in great turmoil and many weapons were everywhere to be seen, although the senators had commanded that no changes should be made before Caesar's arrival, and Antony that no private individual in the city should carry arms. As the tribunes, however, paid no attention to these orders, but resorted to absolutely every sort of measure against each other and against the men just mentioned, a third party arose, consisting of Antony and the senate. For in order to let it be thought that his weapons and the authority that resulted from their possession, an authority which he had already usurped, had been granted by that body, he got the privilege of keeping soldiers within the walls and of helping the other tribunes to guard the city. After this Antony did whatever he desired with a kind of legal right, while Dolabella and Trebellius were nominally guilty of violence; but their effrontery and resources led them to resist both each other and him, as if they too had received some position of command from the senate. B.C. 48

Meanwhile Antony learned that the legions which Caesar after the battle had sent ahead into Italy, with the intention of following them later, were engaged in questionable proceedings; and fearing that they might begin some rebellion, he turned over the charge of the city to Lucius Caesar, appointing him city prefect, an office never before conferred by a master of the horse, and then set out himself to join the soldiers. The tribunes who were at variance with each other despised Lucius because of his advanced age and inflicted many outrages upon one another

τε ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ διῳκηκότα καὶ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ὡρμηκότα ἐπύθοντο, καὶ ἑαυτοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους
3 ἐξειργάσαντο. ὡς γὰρ οὐκέτ' αὐτοῦ ἐπανήξοντος, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖ που πρὸς τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, ὥσπερ που ἤκουον, ἀπολουμένου, διεφέροντο. τότε δὲ χρόνον μέν τινα ἐμετρίασαν, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Φαρνάκην ἐκεῖνος πρότερον ἐπεστράτευσεν, ἐστασίασαν αὖ-
31 θις. ὁ οὖν Ἀντώνιος μήτε ἐπισχεῖν αὐτοὺς δυνάμενος, καὶ τῷ πλήθει διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν Δολοβέλλαν ἐναντίωσιν προσκρούων, τὰ μὲν πρῶτα τούτῳ προσέθετο, καὶ τὸν Τρεβέλλιον ἄλλα τε ἐπῃτιᾶτο καὶ ὅτι τοὺς στρατιώτας σφε-
2 τερίζοιτο· ἔπειτα δὲ αἰσθόμενος τὸν ὅμιλον ἑαυτοῦ μὲν μηδὲν προτιμῶντα τῷ δὲ Δολοβέλλᾳ μόνῳ προσκείμενον, ἠχθέσθη καὶ μετεβάλετο,[1] ἄλλως τε καὶ ὅτι τῆς μὲν παρὰ τοῦ πλήθους χάριτος οὐκ[2] ἐκοινώνει οἱ, τῆς δὲ παρὰ τῶν βουλευτῶν
3 αἰτίας τὸ πλεῖστον μετελάμβανε. καὶ τῷ μὲν λόγῳ ἐν μέσῳ ἀμφοῖν ἔστη, τῷ δὲ ἔργῳ τὸν Τρεβέλλιον κρύφα ἀνθείλετο, καὶ τά τε ἄλλα αὐτῷ συνηγωνίζετο καὶ στρατιώτας λαβεῖν ἐπέτρεψεν. καὶ ὁ μὲν θεατὴς ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἀγωνοθέτης αὐτῶν ἐγίγνετο, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ ἐμάχοντο, καὶ τῆς τε πόλεως τὰ ἐπικαιρότατα ἀντικατελάμβανον καὶ φόνους τε καὶ ἐμπρήσεις[3] ἐποίουν, ὥστε καὶ τὰ ἱερά ποτε ἐκ τοῦ Ἑστιαίου ὑπὸ τῶν
32 ἀειπαρθένων ἐκκομισθῆναι. αὖθίς τε οὖν φυλακὴν οἱ βουλευταὶ τῆς πόλεως ἀκριβεστέραν

[1] μετεβάλετο Bk., μετεβάλλετο L.
[2] οὐκ supplied by Reim.
[3] ἐμπρήσεις R. Steph., ἐμπρήσεις τε L.

and upon the rest, until they learned that Caesar having settled affairs in Egypt, had set out for Rome. For they were carrying on their quarrel upon the assumption that he would never return again but would of course perish there at the hands of the Egyptians, as, indeed, they kept hearing was the case. When, however, his coming was reported, they moderated their conduct for a time; but as soon as he set out against Pharnaces first, they fell to quarrelling once more. Accordingly Antony, seeing that he was unable to restrain them and that his opposition to Dolabella was obnoxious to the populace, at first joined himself to that tribune and brought various charges against Trebellius, among them one to the effect that he was appropriating the soldiers to his own use. Later, when he perceived that he himself was not held in any esteem by the multitude, which was attached only to Dolabella, he became vexed and changed sides, the more so because, while not sharing with the plebeian leader the favour of the people, he nevertheless received the greatest share of blame from the senators. So nominally he adopted a neutral attitude toward the two, but in fact secretly preferred the cause of Trebellius, and coöperated with him in various ways, particularly by allowing him to obtain soldiers. Thenceforward he became merely a spectator and director of their contest, while they fought, seized in turn the most advantageous points in the city, and entered upon a career of murder and arson, to such an extent that on one occasion the holy vessels were carried by the virgins out of the temple of Vesta. So the senators once more voted that the master of the horse should keep the B.C. 48

τῷ ἱππάρχῳ ἐψηφίσαντο, καὶ στρατιωτῶν ἅπασα
2 ὡς εἰπεῖν ἡ πόλις ἐπληρώθη. οὐ μέντοι καὶ παῦλά τις ἐγένετο. ὁ γὰρ Δολοβέλλας ἀπογνοὺς συγγνώμης τινὸς παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος τεύξεσθαι,[1] μέγα τι κακὸν ἐπεθύμει δράσας ἀπολέσθαι ὡς καὶ ὄνομα ἐκ τούτου ἐς ἀεὶ σχήσων· ἤδη γάρ τινες καὶ τῶν κακίστων ἔργων ἐρασταὶ ἐπὶ τῇ φήμῃ γίγνονται. ὑφ' οὗπερ καὶ ἐκεῖνος τά τε ἄλλα ἐτάραττε, καὶ τοὺς νόμους, τόν τε περὶ τῶν χρεῶν καὶ τὸν περὶ τῶν ἐνοικίων, ἐν ῥητῇ τινι ἡμέρᾳ
3 θήσειν ὑπέσχετο. ὡς οὖν τοῦτό τε προεπήγγελτο[2] καὶ ὁ ὄχλος τά τε περὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν ἀποφράξας καὶ πύργους ἔστιν ᾗ ξυλίνους ἐπικαταστήσας[3] ἕτοιμος παντὶ τῷ ἐναντιωθησομένῳ σφίσιν ἐπιχειρῆσαι ἐγένετο, ἐνταῦθ' ὁ Ἀντώνιος στρατιώτας ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ πολλοὺς ἐκ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου καταγαγὼν τάς τε σανίδας τῶν νόμων κατέκοψε, καί τινας καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ταραχώδεις ἀπ'[4] αὐτοῦ τοῦ Καπιτωλίου κατεκρήμνισεν.

33 Οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπαύσαντο διὰ τοῦτο[5] στασιάζοντες, ἀλλ' ὅσῳ πλείους αὐτῶν ἀπώλλυντο, τόσῳ μᾶλλον οἱ περιλιπεῖς ἐθορύβουν, νομίζοντες τὸν Καίσαρα μεγίστῳ τε καὶ δυσχερεστάτῳ πολέμῳ συμπεπλέχθαι. οὐδὲ ἐπέσχον πρὶν αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον
2 ἐξαπιναίως σφίσιν ὀφθῆναι. οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἄκοντες ἡσύχασαν. καὶ οἱ μὲν πᾶν ὅ τι ποτὲ ἐνεδέχετο πείσεσθαι προσεδόκων, λόγος τε ἐπ' αὐτοῖς κατὰ πᾶσαν ὁμοίως τὴν πόλιν ἦν,[6] τῶν μὲν τά, τῶν δὲ τὰ

[1] τεύξεσθαι Reim., τεύξασθαι L.
[2] προεπήγγελτο Bk., προεπηγγέλλετο L.
[3] ἐπικαταστήσας Rk., ἀποκαταστήσας L.
[4] ἀπ' Rk., ἐπ' L. [5] τοῦτο R. Steph., τούτου L.
[6] ἦν supplied by Xyl.

city under stricter guard, and practically the whole city was filled with soldiers. Yet there was no respite. For Dolabella, in despair of obtaining any pardon from Caesar, desired to accomplish some terrible deed before perishing, hoping thus to gain lasting renown; thus there are actually some men who become infatuated with the basest deeds for the sake of fame! From this motive he, too, caused confusion generally, even promising that on a certain specified day he would enact his laws in regard to debts and house-rents. On receipt of these announcements the crowd erected barricades round the Forum, setting up wooden towers at some points, and put itself in readiness to cope with any force that might oppose it. At that, Antony led down from the Capitol at dawn a large body of soldiers, cut down the tablets containing Dolabella's laws and afterwards hurled some of the disturbers from the very cliffs of the Capitoline. B.C. 48

However, even this did not stop their quarrelling. Instead, the greater the number of those who perished, the greater disturbance did the survivors make, thinking that Caesar had become involved in a very great and difficult war. And they did not cease until he himself suddenly appeared before them; then they reluctantly quieted down. They were expecting to suffer every conceivable ill fate, and there was talk about them all through the city, some judging one way and others another; but

δικαιούντων· ὁ δὲ δὴ Καῖσαρ τῷ συνήθει οἱ τρόπῳ καὶ τότε ἐχρήσατο. τῇ τε γὰρ παρούσῃ αὐτῶν καταστάσει ἠρκέσθη, καὶ οὐδὲν τῶν προγενομένων ἐπολυπραγμόνησεν, ἀλλὰ πάντων τε ἐφείσατο καί τινας αὐτῶν καὶ ἐτίμησεν, ἄλλους
3 τε καὶ τὸν Δολοβέλλαν. εὐεργεσίαν γάρ τινα αὐτῷ ὀφείλων οὐκ ἠξίωσεν αὐτῆς ἐκλαθέσθαι· οὐ γὰρ ὅτι ἠδικήθη, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐκείνης ὠλιγώρησεν, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὧν εὖ ἐπεπόνθει, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ οἱ συνέγνω, καὶ τά τε ἄλλα αὐτὸν ἐν τιμῇ ἤγαγεν, καὶ ὕπατον οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον μηδὲ στρατηγήσαντα ἀπέδειξε.

34 Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ παρὰ τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀπουσίαν ἐγένετο· χρόνιος δὲ ἐπ' αὐτήν, καὶ οὐκ εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ Πομπηίου θανάτῳ, ἦλθε διὰ τάδε. οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι ταῖς τῶν χρημάτων ἐσπράξεσι βαρυνόμενοι, καὶ δεινῶς φέροντες ὅτι
2 μηδὲ τῶν ιερῶν τις ἀπείχετο (θρησκεύουσί τε γὰρ πολλὰ περισσότατα ἀνθρώπων, καὶ πολέμους ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἅτε μὴ καθ' ἓν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντιωτάτου καὶ αὑτοῖς[1] τιμῶντές τινα, ἀναιροῦνται), τούτοις τε οὖν ἀγανακτήσαντες, καὶ προσέτι φοβηθέντες μὴ τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ ἅτε μέγα παρὰ τῷ Καίσαρι δυναμένῃ
3 παραδοθῶσιν, ἐταράχθησαν. ἐκείνη τε γὰρ τέως μὲν δι' ἑτέρων παρ' αὐτῷ διὰ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐδικάζετο, ἔπειτα δὲ ὡς τάχιστα τὴν φύσιν αὐτοῦ κατέμαθεν (ἦν γὰρ ἐρωτικώτατος, καὶ πλείσταις καὶ ἄλλαις, ὅσαις που περιτύχοι, συνεγίγνετο),

[1] αὑτοῖς R. Steph., αὐτοῖς L.

Caesar even at this juncture followed his usual practice. Accepting their attitude of the moment as satisfactory and not concerning himself with their past conduct, he spared them all, and even honoured some of them, including Dolabella. For he owed the latter some kindness, which he did not see fit to forget; in other words, in place of overlooking that favour because he had been wronged, he pardoned him in consideration of the benefit he had received, and besides honouring him in other ways he not long afterward appointed him consul, though he had not even served as praetor. B.C. 48

These were the events which occurred in Rome during Caesar's absence. Now the reasons why he was so long in coming there and did not arrive immediately after Pompey's death were as follows. The Egyptians were discontented at the levies of money and indignant because not even their temples were left untouched. For they are the most religious people on earth in many respects and wage wars even against one another on account of their beliefs, since they are not all agreed in their worship, but are diametrically opposed to each other in some matters. As a result, then, of their vexation at this and, further, of their fear that they might be surrendered to Cleopatra, who had great influence with Caesar, they began a disturbance. Cleopatra, it seems, had at first urged with Caesar her claim against her brother by means of agents, but as soon as she discovered his disposition (which was very susceptible, to such an extent that he had his intrigues with ever so many other women—with all, doubtless, who chanced to come in his way) she sent

πέμπει πρὸς αὐτὸν[1] προδίδοσθαί τε ὑπὸ τῶν
φίλων λέγουσα καὶ ἀξιοῦσα αὐτὴ δι' ἑαυτῆς
4 ἀγωνίσασθαι. ἄλλως τε γὰρ περικαλλεστάτη
γυναικῶν ἐγένετο, καὶ τότε τῇ τῆς ὥρας ἀκμῇ
πολὺ διέπρεπε, τό τε φθέγμα ἀστειότατον εἶχε,
5 καὶ προσομιλῆσαι παντί τῳ διὰ χαρίτων ἠπί-
στατο, ὥστε λαμπρά τε ἰδεῖν καὶ ἀκουσθῆναι
οὖσα, κἀκ τούτου πάντα τινὰ καὶ δυσέρωτα καὶ
ἀφηλικέστερον ἐξεργάσασθαι δυναμένη, πρὸς τρό-
που τε ἐνόμισε τῷ Καίσαρι ἐντεύξεσθαι, καὶ
6 πάντα ἐν τῷ κάλλει τὰ δικαιώματα ἔθετο. ᾐτή-
σατό τε οὖν ἐς ὄψιν αὐτοῦ ἐλθεῖν, καὶ τυχοῦσα
κατεκόσμησέ τε ἑαυτὴν καὶ ἐξήσκησεν ὥστε
σεμνοπρεπεστάτη καὶ οἰκτροτάτη αὐτῷ ὀφθῆναι.
καὶ ἡ μὲν ταῦτα μηχανησαμένη ἔς τε τὴν πόλιν
ἅμα (ἔξω γὰρ καὶ ἐκείνης ἦν) καὶ ἐς τὰ βασίλεια
35 λάθρᾳ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου νυκτὸς ἐσῆλθεν· ὁ δὲ δὴ
Καῖσαρ ἰδών τε αὐτὴν καί τι φθεγξαμένης ἀκού-
σας οὕτως εὐθὺς ἐδουλώθη ὥστε αὐτίκα ὑπό τε
τὴν ἕω τόν τε Πτολεμαῖον μεταπέμψασθαι καὶ
συναλλάξαι σφᾶς ἐπιχειρῆσαι· ἧς γὰρ δικαστὴς
πρότερον ἠξιοῦτο εἶναι, τότε ταύτῃ συνεδίκει.
2 ὁ οὖν παῖς, διά τε τοῦτο καὶ ὅτι τὴν ἀδελφὴν
αἰφνιδίως εἶδεν ἔνδον οὖσαν, ὀργῆς τε ἐπληρώθη,
καὶ ἐκπηδήσας ἐς τὸ πλῆθος ἐβόα λέγων προδί-
δοσθαι, καὶ τέλος τὸ διάδημα ἀπὸ τῆς κεφαλῆς
περισπάσας ἔρριψε. θορύβου δὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ
μεγάλου συμβάντος ἐκεῖνον μὲν οἱ Καισάρειοι
στρατιῶται συνήρπασαν, τὸ δὲ δὴ Αἰγύπτιον
3 ἐταράττετο· κἂν αὐτοβοεὶ τὰ βασίλεια καὶ ἐκ

[1] αὐτὸν Leuncl., αὐτὸν καὶ L.

word to him that she was being betrayed by her friends and asked that she be allowed to plead her case in person. For she was a woman of surpassing beauty, and at that time, when she was in the prime of her youth, she was most striking; she also possessed a most charming voice and a knowledge of how to make herself agreeable to every one. Being brilliant to look upon and to listen to, with the power to subjugate every one, even a love-sated man already past his prime, she thought that it would be in keeping with her rôle to meet Caesar, and she reposed in her beauty all her claims to the throne. She asked therefore for admission to his presence, and on obtaining permission adorned and beautified herself so as to appear before him in the most majestic and at the same time pity-inspiring guise. When she had perfected her schemes she entered the city (for she had been living outside of it), and by night without Ptolemy's knowledge went into the palace. Caesar, upon seeing her and hearing her speak a few words was forthwith so completely captivated that he at once, before dawn, sent for Ptolemy and tried to reconcile them, thus acting as advocate for the very woman whose judge he had previously assumed to be. For this reason, and because the sight of his sister within the palace was so unexpected, the boy was filled with wrath and rushed out among the people crying out that he was being betrayed, and at last he tore the diadem from his head and cast it away. In the great tumult which thereupon arose Caesar's troops seized the person of the prince and the Egyptian populace continued to be in an uproar. They assaulted B.C. 48

τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης ἅμα προσβαλόντες[1]
εἷλον (τοῖς γὰρ Ῥωμαίοις οὐδὲν ἀξιόμαχον, ἅτε
καὶ φίλων σφῶν δοκούντων εἶναι, παρῆν), εἰ μὴ
φοβηθεὶς ὁ Καῖσαρ προῆλθέ τε ἐς αὐτούς, καὶ ἐν
τῷ ἀσφαλεῖ στὰς πάντα σφίσιν, ὅσα ἂν ἐθελή-
4 σωσι, πράξειν ὑπέσχετο. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐς
ἐκκλησίαν ἐσελθὼν τόν τε Πτολεμαῖον καὶ τὴν
Κλεοπάτραν παρεστήσατο, καὶ τὰς διαθήκας τοῦ
πατρὸς αὐτῶν ἀνέγνω, ἐν αἷς ἐκείνους μὲν συνοι-
κῆσαί τε ἀλλήλοις κατὰ τὰ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων
πάτρια καὶ βασιλεύειν ἅμα,[2] τὸν δὲ δὴ τῶν Ῥω-
μαίων δῆμον τὴν ἐπιτροπείαν σφῶν ἔχειν ἐγέ-
5 γραπτο. πράξας δὲ τοῦτο, καὶ ἐπειπὼν ὅτι
ἑαυτῷ, δικτάτορι ὄντι καὶ πᾶν τὸ τοῦ δήμου
κράτος ἔχοντι, τήν τε ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν παίδων
ποιεῖσθαι καὶ τὰ δόξαντα τῷ πατρὶ αὐτῶν ἐπι-
τελεῖν προσήκει, ἐκείνοις τε τὴν βασιλείαν ἀμφο-
τέροις ἔδωκε, καὶ τῇ Ἀρσινόῃ τῷ τε Πτολεμαίῳ
τῷ νεωτέρῳ, τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς σφων, Κύπρον ἐχαρί-
6 σατο. τοσοῦτον γάρ που δέος αὐτὸν ἔσχεν ὥστε
μὴ μόνον μηδὲν τῶν τῆς Αἰγύπτου προσλαβεῖν,
ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν οἰκείων τι αὐτοῖς προσδοῦναι.

36 Τότε μὲν οὕτως ἐπαύσαντο, αὖθις δὲ οὐ
πολλῷ ὕστερον ἐκινήθησαν ὥστε καὶ πολεμῆ-
σαι. ὁ γὰρ Ποθεινὸς ὁ τὴν διοίκησιν τῶν τοῦ
Πτολεμαίου χρημάτων προστεταγμένος (εὐνοῦχος
δὲ ἦν καὶ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα
2 συνετεταράχει), δείσας μὴ καὶ δίκην ποτὲ ἐπὶ
τούτῳ δῷ, πέμπει κρύφα πρὸς τὸν Ἀχιλλᾶν
περὶ τὸ Πηλούσιον ἔτι καὶ τότε ὄντα, καὶ αὐτὸν

[1] προσβαλόντες cod. Peir., προσβάλλοντες L.
[2] ἅμα Rk., ἀλλὰ L.

the palace by land and sea at the same time and might have taken it without a blow, since the Romans had no adequate force present, owing to the apparent friendship of the natives; but Caesar in alarm came out before them, and standing in a safe place, promised to do for them whatever they wished. Afterward he entered an assembly of theirs, and producing Ptolemy and Cleopatra, read their father's will, in which it was directed that they should live together according to the custom of the Egyptians and rule in common, and that the Roman people should exercise a guardianship over them. When he had done this and had added that it belonged to him as dictator, holding all the power of the people, to have an oversight of the children and to fulfil their father's wishes, he bestowed the kingdom upon them both and granted Cyprus to Arsinoë and Ptolemy the Younger, a sister and a brother of theirs. For so great fear possessed him, it would seem, that he not only laid hold on none of the Egyptian domain, but actually gave them some of his own besides. B.C. 48

By this action they were temporarily calmed, but not long afterward were roused even to the point of making war. For Pothinus, a eunuch who was charged with the management of Ptolemy's funds and who had taken a leading part in stirring up the Egyptians, became afraid that he might some time have to pay the penalty for his conduct, and he accordingly sent secretly to Achillas, who was still at this time near Pelusium, and by frightening him and

ἐκφοβήσας τε ἅμα καὶ ἐπελπίσας προσηταιρίσατο, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς
3 τὰ ὅπλα ἔχοντας ᾠκειώσατο. πᾶσί τε γὰρ ὁμοίως δεινὸν ἐδόκει εἶναι ὑπὸ γυναικὸς ἄρχεσθαι, ὑποψίᾳ τοῦ τὸν Καίσαρα τότε μὲν ἐπὶ τῇ καταστάσει σφῶν ἀμφοτέροις δῆθεν αὐτοῖς τὴν βασιλείαν δεδωκέναι, προϊόντος δὲ δὴ τοῦ χρόνου
4 μόνῃ τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ αὐτὴν προσθήσειν· καὶ ἀντίπαλοι τῷ τότε παρόντι αὐτοῦ στρατῷ ἐνόμιζον εἶναι. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάν-
37 δρειαν εὐθὺς ἄραντες ἤλασαν·[1] πυθόμενος δὲ τοῦτο ὁ Καῖσαρ, καὶ καταδείσας τό τε πλῆθος αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς τόλμας, ἔπεμψέ τινας πρὸς τὸν Ἀχιλλᾶν, οὔτι γε τῷ αὑτοῦ ἀλλὰ τῷ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου ὀνόματι, κελεύοντος αὐτῷ τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν. καὶ ὃς συνιεὶς ὅτι οὐ τοῦ παιδὸς ἀλλ' ἐκείνου ἡ πρόσταξις ἦν, οὐχ ὅπως οὐκ
2 ἐπήκουσεν αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσκαταφρονήσας ὡς καὶ φοβουμένου τούς τε στρατιώτας συνήγαγε, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου πολλὰ δὲ καὶ κατὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος τῆς τε Κλεοπάτρας εἰπών, τέλος καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς πεμφθέντας καίπερ Αἰγυπτίους ὄντας παρώξυνεν αὐτούς, ὅπως τοῦ τε φόνου σφῶν ἀναπλησθῶσι καὶ ἐς ἀνάγκην
3 ἀσπείστου πολέμου καταστῶσι. μαθὼν οὖν ταῦτα ὁ Καῖσαρ τούς τε ἐκ τῆς Συρίας στρατιώτας μετεπέμψατο, καὶ τὰ βασίλεια τά τε ἄλλα τὰ πλησίον αὐτῶν οἰκοδομήματα διετάφρευσε
38 καὶ ἀπετείχισε μέχρι τῆς θαλάσσης. κἀν τούτῳ καὶ ὁ Ἀχιλλᾶς μετά τε τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Γαβινίου σὺν τῷ

[1] ἤλασαν Wakefield, ἤμυνον L.

at the same time inspiring him with hopes he made B.C. 48 him his associate, and next won over also all the rest who bore arms. To all of them alike it seemed a shame to be ruled by a woman—for they suspected that Caesar on the occasion mentioned had given the kingdom ostensibly to both the children merely to quiet the people, and that in the course of time he would offer it to Cleopatra alone—and they thought themselves a match for the army he then had present. So they set out at once and proceeded toward Alexandria. Caesar, learning of this and feeling afraid of their numbers and daring, sent some men to Achillas, not in his own, but in Ptolemy's name, bidding him keep the peace. Achillas, however, realizing that this was not the boy's command, but Caesar's, so far from giving it any attention, was filled with contempt for the sender, believing him afraid. So he called his soldiers together and by haranguing them at length in favour of Ptolemy and against Caesar and Cleopatra he finally roused their anger against the messengers, though these were Egyptians, so that they should defile themselves with their murder and thus be forced into a relentless war. Caesar, apprised of this, summoned his soldiers from Syria and fortified the palace and the other buildings near it by a moat and wall reaching to the sea. Meanwhile Achillas arrived with the Romans and the others who had been left behind with Septimius

Σεπτιμίῳ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ Πτολεμαίου φρουρὰν
καταλειφθέντων ἐπελθών (ἐκ γὰρ δὴ τῆς ἐκεῖ
διατριβῆς καὶ τοὺς τρόπους ἐς τὸ ἐπιχώριον
μετεβεβλήκεσαν) τῶν τε Ἀλεξανδρέων τὸ πλεῖ-
στον εὐθὺς προσεποιήσατο καὶ τὰ ἐπικαιρότατα
2 ἐκρατύνατο. κἀκ τούτου πολλαὶ μὲν μάχαι
καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ αὐτοῖς ἐγίγνοντο,
πολλὰ δὲ καὶ κατεπίμπρατο,[1] ὥστε ἄλλα τε
καὶ τὸ νεώριον τάς τε ἀποθήκας καὶ τοῦ σίτου
καὶ τῶν βίβλων, πλείστων δὴ καὶ ἀρίστων, ὥς
φασι, γενομένων, καυθῆναι. ἐκράτει δὲ τῆς μὲν
ἠπείρου ὁ Ἀχιλλᾶς, χωρὶς ὧν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐνετε-
τείχιστο, τῆς δὲ δὴ θαλάσσης ἐκεῖνος, ἄνευ
3 τοῦ λιμένος. καὶ ναυμαχίᾳ τε ἐνίκησε, καὶ
ἐπειδὴ διὰ τοῦτο φοβηθέντες οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι μὴ
ἐς τὸν λιμένα σφῶν ἐπεσπλεύσῃ, τὸ στόμα
αὐτοῦ πλὴν βραχέος ἔχωσαν, καὶ ἐκεῖνο προσ-
απέφραξεν, ὁλκάδας λίθων πλήρεις καταπον-
τώσας,[2] ὥστ' αὐτοὺς μηδ' εἰ πάνυ τι βούλοιντο
4 ἐκπλεῦσαι, δυνηθῆναί ποι ἀπᾶραι. ποιήσας δὲ
τοῦτο ῥᾷον τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τά τε ἄλλα καὶ ὕδωρ
ἐπήγετο· τὴν γὰρ αὐτόθεν ὑδρείαν ὁ Ἀχιλλᾶς
σφας ἀφῄρητο,[3] τοὺς ὀχετοὺς διακόψας.
39 Τούτων δὲ οὕτω πραττομένων Γανυμήδης τις
εὐνοῦχος τὴν Ἀρσινόην οὐ πάνυ φρουρουμένην
ἐς τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ὑπεξήγαγε· καὶ ταύτην ἐκεῖνοι
βασιλίδα ἀποδείξαντες προθυμότερον τοῦ πολέ-
μου, ὡς καὶ προστάτιν τινὰ ἐκ τοῦ τῶν Πτολε-
2 μαιων γένους ἔχοντες, ἀντελάβοντο. ὁ οὖν

[1] κατεπίμπρατο St., κατεπίμπραντο L.
[2] καταποντώσας Bk., προσκαταποντώσας L.
[3] ἀφῄρητο R. Steph., ἀφηίρετο L.

by Gabinius to keep guard over Ptolemy; for these B.C. 48 troops as a result of their stay there had changed their habits and had adopted those of the natives. And he immediately won over the larger part of the Alexandrines and made himself master of the most advantageous positions. After this many battles occurred between the two forces both by day and by night, and many places were set on fire, with the result that the docks and the storehouses of grain among other buildings were burned, and also the library, whose volumes, it is said, were of the greatest number and excellence. Achillas was in possession of the mainland, with the exception of what Caesar had walled off, and the latter of the sea except the harbour. Caesar, indeed, was victorious in a sea-fight, and when the Egyptians, consequently, fearing that he would sail into their harbour, had blocked up the entrance with the exception of a narrow passage, he cut off that outlet also by sinking freight ships loaded with stones; so they were unable to stir, no matter how much they might desire to sail out. After this achievement provisions, and water in particular, were brought in more easily; for Achillas had deprived them of the local water-supply by cutting the pipes.

While these events were taking place, one Ganymedes, a eunuch, secretly brought Arsinoë to the Egyptians, as she was not very well guarded. They declared her queen and proceeded to prosecute the war more vigorously, inasmuch as they now had as leader a representative of the family of the

Καῖσαρ φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ ὁ Ποθεινὸς τὸν Πτολεμαῖον ἐκκλέψῃ, τὸν μὲν ἀπέκτεινε, τὸν δὲ οὐκέτ' ἐπικρυπτόμενος ἀκριβῶς ἐφρούρει. παροξυνθέντων δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, καὶ ἐκείνοις μὲν πλειόνων ἀεὶ προσγιγνομένων, τοῖς δὲ δὴ Ῥωμαίοις μηδέπω τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐκ τῆς Συρίας παρόντων, ἐς φιλίαν αὐτοὺς
3 ὑπαγαγέσθαι ἠθέλησε, καὶ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον ἀναβιβάσας που, ὅθεν ἐξακουσθήσεσθαι ἔμελλεν, εἰπεῖν σφισιν ἐκέλευσεν ὅτι οὔτε τι κακὸν ἔχοι οὔτε πολεμεῖν δέοιτο· πρός τε τὰς σπονδὰς αὐτοὺς παρεκάλει, καὶ προσυπισχνεῖτο διαπρά-
4 ξειν αὐτάς. καὶ εἴγε ἑκὼν ταῦτα οὕτω διείλεκτο, ἔπεισεν ἂν σφας καταλύσασθαι· νῦν δ' ὑποτοπήσαντες αὐτὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος κατεσκευάσθαι οὐκ ἐνέδοσαν.

40 Προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου στάσις τοῖς περὶ τὴν Ἀρσινόην οὖσιν ἐνέπεσε, καὶ αὐτὴν ὁ Γανυμήδης ἔπεισε τὸν Ἀχιλλᾶν ὡς καὶ τὸ ναυτικὸν προδώσοντα[1] ἀποκτεῖναι. γενομένου δὲ τούτου τήν τε ἡγεμονίαν τῶν στρατιωτῶν παρέλαβε, καὶ τὰ πλοῖα ὅσα ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ καὶ ἐν τῇ λίμνῃ
2 ἦν συνήγαγεν, ἄλλα τε προσκατεσκεύασε, καὶ πάντα αὐτὰ ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν διὰ τῶν διωρύχων κομίσας τοῖς τε Ῥωμαίοις μὴ προσδεχομένοις προσέβαλε, καὶ τὰς μὲν κατέπρησε τῶν ὁλκάδων αὐτῶν τὰς δὲ ἀνεδήσατο, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τόν τε ἔσπλουν τοῦ λιμένος ἐξεκάθηρε, κἀνταῦθα
3 ναυλοχῶν[2] πολλά σφας ἐλύπει. τηρήσας οὖν ποτε αὐτοὺς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀμελῶς ὑπὸ τοῦ κρατεῖν

[1] προδώσοντα Reim., προδοῦσαν L.
[2] ναυλοχῶν Xyl., ναυλομαχῶν L.

Ptolemies. Caesar, therefore, in fear that Pothinus might kidnap Ptolemy, put the former to death and guarded the latter strictly without any further dissimulation. This served still more to incense the Egyptians, to whose party numbers were being added continually, whereas the Roman soldiers from Syria were not yet present. Caesar was therefore anxious to win the people's friendship, and so he led Ptolemy up to a place from which they could hear his voice, and then bade him say to them that he was unharmed and did not desire war; and he urged them toward peace, and moreover promised to arrange it for them. Now if he had talked to them thus of his own accord, he might have persuaded them to become reconciled; but as it was, they suspected that it was all prearranged by Caesar, and so did not yield. B.C. 48

As time went on a dispute arose among the followers of Arsinoë, and Ganymedes prevailed upon her to put Achillas to death, on the ground that he was going to betray the fleet. When this had been done, he assumed command of the soldiers and gathered all the boats that were in the river and the lake, besides constructing others; and he conveyed them all through the canals to the sea, where he attacked the Romans while off their guard, burned some of their freight ships to the water's edge and towed others away. Then he cleared out the entrance to the harbour and by lying in wait for vessels there he caused the Romans great annoyance. So Caesar, having waited for a time when they were acting carelessly by reason of their success, suddenly

ἔχοντας ἔς τε τὸν λιμένα αἰφνιδίως ἐπεσέπλευσε,
καὶ συχνὰ πλοῖα καύσας ἔς τε τὴν Φάρον ἀπέβη
καὶ τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας ἐν αὐτῇ ἐφόνευσεν. ἰδόντες
δὲ τοῦτο οἱ ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ Αἰγύπτιοι κατά τε
τὰς γεφύρας ἐπεβοήθησαν αὐτοῖς, καὶ συχνοὺς
τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀνταποκτείναντες τοὺς λοιποὺς
4 ἐς τὰς ναῦς ἐσήραξαν. καὶ αὐτῶν ὁπουδήποτε
καὶ ἀθρόως ἐσβιαζομένων ἐς αὐτὰς ἄλλοι τε
πολλοὶ ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐξέπεσον καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ.
κἂν διέφθαρτο κακῶς, ὑπό τε τῶν ἱματίων
βαρυνόμενος καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βαλλόμενος
(ἁλουργῶν γὰρ αὐτῶν ὄντων ἐστοχάζοντο), εἰ
μὴ καὶ ἐκεῖνα ἀπερρίφει καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο διανεύ-
5 σας πῃ ἐς ἀκάτιον ἐσεβεβήκει. καὶ ὁ μὲν
οὕτως ἐσώθη, μηδὲν τῶν γραμμάτων βρέξας ἃ
πολλὰ ἐν τῇ ἀριστερᾷ χειρὶ ἀνέχων ἐνήξατο· τὴν
δὲ δὴ ἐσθῆτα αὐτοῦ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι λαβόντες πρὸς τὸ
τρόπαιον, ὃ ἔστησαν τῆς τροπῆς ταύτης, ἀνεκρέ-
μασαν ὡς καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνον ᾑρηκότες. καὶ ἤδη
γὰρ καὶ τὰ στρατεύματα ἃ ἀπὸ τῆς Συρίας μετεπέ-
πεμπτο[1] ἐπλησίασε, τάς τε κατάρσεις ἐτήρουν
6 καὶ πολλὰ αὐτοὺς ἔβλαπτον. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ[2]
πρὸς τὴν Λιβύην σφῶν προσπίπτουσιν ὁ Καῖσαρ
τρόπον τινὰ ἤμυνε· συχνοὺς δὲ δὴ περὶ τὰς τοῦ
Νείλου ἐκβολὰς πυρσοῖς ὡς καὶ Ῥωμαῖοι ὄντες
ἠπάτων τε καὶ συνελάμβανον, ὥστε τοὺς
λοιποὺς μηκέτι τολμᾶν παρακομίζεσθαι, μέχρις
οὗ Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Νέρων ἐς αὐτὸν τότε τὸν
ποταμὸν ἀναπλεύσας ἐκείνους τε μάχῃ ἐκράτησε
καὶ τοῖς σφετέροις ἀδεέστερον τὸν πρόσπλουν
ἐποίησε.

[1] μετεπέπεμπτο Dind., μετεπέμπετο L. [2] γὰρ supplied by Rk.

sailed into the harbour, burned a large number of vessels, and disembarking on Pharos, slew the inhabitants of the island. When the Egyptians on the mainland saw this, they rushed over the bridges to the aid of their friends, and after killing many of the Romans in turn drove the remainder back to the ships. While the fugitives were forcing their way into these in crowds anywhere they could, Caesar and many others fell into the sea. He would have perished miserably, being weighted down by his robes and pelted by the Egyptians (for his garments, being of purple, offered a good mark), had he not thrown off his clothing and then succeeded in swimming out to where a skiff lay, which he boarded. In this way he was saved, and that, too, without wetting one of the documents of which he held up a large number in his left hand as he swam. The Egyptians took his clothing and hung it upon the trophy which they set up to commemorate this rout, just as if they had captured him himself. They also kept a close watch upon the landings, since the legions which had been sent for from Syria were already drawing near, and were doing the Romans much injury. For while Caesar could defend in a fashion those of them who came ashore on the Libyan side, yet near the mouth of the Nile the Egyptians deceived many of his men by means of signal fires, as if they too were Romans, and thus captured them, so that the rest no longer ventured to come to land, until Tiberius Claudius Nero at this time sailed up the river itself, conquered the foe in battle, and made it safer for his followers to come to land. B.C. 48

41 Κἀν τούτῳ Μιθριδάτης ὁ Περγαμηνὸς ἐπικληθεὶς ἐπεχείρησε μὲν ἐς τὸ στόμα τοῦ Νείλου τὸ κατὰ Πηλούσιον ταῖς ναυσὶν ἀναβῆναι, ἀποφραξάντων δὲ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων τοῖς πλοίοις τὸν ἔσπλουν προσεκομίσθη νυκτὸς ἐπὶ τὴν διώρυχα,
2 καὶ ναῦς ἐς αὐτὴν ὑπερενεγκών (οὐ γὰρ ἐξίησιν ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν) οὕτω διὰ ταύτης ἐς τὸν Νεῖλον ἀνέπλευσε, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο αἰφνίδιον ἔκ τε τῆς θαλάσσης καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἅμα τοῖς φρουροῦσι τὸ στόμα αὐτοῦ προσμίξας τήν τε ἀπόκλεισίν[1]
3 σφων ἔλυσε, καὶ τὸ Πηλούσιον τῷ τε πεζῷ ἅμα καὶ τῷ ναυτικῷ προσβαλὼν εἷλε. προχωρῶν τε ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν, καὶ πυθόμενος Διοσκουρίδην τινὰ ἀπαντήσειν σφίσιν, ἐνήδρευσέ τε αὐτὸν καὶ κατειργάσατο.

42 Αἰσθόμενοι δὲ ταῦθ' οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι τὸν μὲν[2] πόλεμον οὐδ' ὣς κατελύσαντο, ἀχθεσθέντες[3] δὲ τῇ τοῦ εὐνούχου καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς ἀρχῇ, καὶ νομίσαντες, ἂν τὸν Πτολεμαῖον προστήσωνται,
2 καθυπέρτεροι τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἔσεσθαι, ἔπειτ' ἐπειδὴ οὐδένα τρόπον ἐξαρπάσαι αὐτὸν ἠδυνήθησαν (δεινῶς γὰρ ἐφυλάσσετο), ἐπλάσαντο ταῖς τε συμφοραῖς πεπονῆσθαι καὶ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐπιθυμεῖν, καὶ ἔπεμψαν πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ἐπικηρυκευόμενοί τε καὶ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον αἰτοῦντες, ὅπως δὴ σὺν αὐτῷ περὶ τῶν σπονδῶν, ἐφ' οἷς γενήσοιντο,
3 βουλεύσωνται. ὁ οὖν Καῖσαρ ἐνόμισε μὲν καὶ ὡς ἀληθῶς αὐτοὺς μεταβεβλῆσθαι (ἄλλως τε γὰρ καὶ δειλοὺς καὶ ὀξυρρόπους ὄντας ἤκουε, καὶ τότε

[1] ἀπόκλεισίν R. Steph., ἀπόκλισίν L.
[2] μὲν supplied by Bk.
[3] ἀχθεσθέντες R. Steph., ἀχθέντες L.

Thereupon Mithridates, called the Pergamenian, undertook to go up with his ships into the mouth of the Nile opposite Pelusium; but when the Egyptians barred his entrance with their vessels, he betook himself by night to the canal, hauled the ships over into it, since it does not empty into the sea, and through it sailed up into the Nile. After that he suddenly attacked, from both sea and river at once, those who were guarding the mouth of the river, and thus breaking up their blockade, he assaulted Pelusium with his infantry and his fleet simultaneously and captured it. Advancing then toward Alexandria, and learning that a certain Dioscorides was coming to confront them, he ambushed and destroyed him. B.C. 47

But the Egyptians on receiving the news would not end the war even then; yet they were irritated at the rule of the eunuch and of the woman and thought that if they could put Ptolemy at their head they would be superior to the Romans. So then, finding themselves unable to seize him in any way, inasmuch as he was skilfully guarded, they pretended that they were worn out by their disasters and desired peace; and they sent to Caesar, making overtures and asking for Ptolemy, in order, as they claimed, that they might consult with him about the terms on which a truce could be effected. Now Caesar believed that they had in very truth changed their mind, since he heard that they were cowardly and fickle in general and perceived that at this

πρὸς τὰ πταίσματα καταπεπληγμένους ᾔσθετο) εἰ δὲ δὴ καὶ τεχνάζοιντό τι, ἀλλ' ὅπως μὴ διὰ τοῦτ' ἐμποδίζων τὴν εἰρήνην νομισθῇ, συνεπαινεῖν τέ σφισιν ἔφη καὶ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον ἔπεμψεν.
4 οὔτε[1] γὰρ ἐν ἐκείνῳ τι ἰσχυρὸν ἔκ τε τῆς ἡλικίας καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἀπαιδευσίας ἐνεώρα ὄν, καὶ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἤτοι συναλλαγήσεσθαί οἱ ἐφ' οἷς ἐβούλετο ἢ δικαιότερον καὶ καταπολεμηθήσεσθαι καὶ καταστραφήσεσθαι ἤλπισεν, ὥστε ἀπ' εὐλόγου δή τινος προφάσεως τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ παραδοθῆναι·
5 οὐ γάρ που καὶ ἡττηθήσεσθαί ποτε ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ἄλλως τε καὶ τῆς δυνάμεώς οἱ προσγεγενημένης,
43 προσεδόκησε. παραλαβόντες δὲ τὸ παιδάριον οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι τῶν μὲν σπονδῶν οὐδὲν ἐφρόντισαν, ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν Μιθριδάτην παραχρῆμα ὥρμησαν ὡς δὴ καὶ μέγα[2] τι ἔν τε τῷ ὀνόματι καὶ ἐν τῷ γένει τῷ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου κατορθώσοντες· καὶ αὐτὸν πρὸς τῇ λίμνῃ ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ τε ποταμοῦ καὶ τῶν
2 ἑλῶν ἀπολαβόντες ἐθορύβουν. ὁ οὖν Καῖσαρ ἐκείνους μὲν οὐκ ἐπεδίωξεν, δεδιὼς μὴ λοχισθείη· ἀναχθεὶς δὲ νυκτὸς ὡς πρὸς ἐκβολήν τινα τοῦ Νείλου ἐπειγόμενος, καὶ φῶς, ὅπως ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ταύτῃ προϊέναι νομισθῇ, πάμπολυ καθ' ἑκάστην ναῦν ἀνάψας, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐπιπλεῖν ὥρμητο,
3 ἔπειτα δὲ ἀποσβέσας αὐτὸ ἀνεκομίσθη, καὶ παραπλεύσας τὴν πόλιν πρός τε τὴν χερρόνησον τὴν πρὸς τῇ Λιβύῃ οὖσαν κατῆρε, κἀνταῦθα τοὺς στρατιώτας ἐκβιβάσας περιῆλθέ τε τὴν λίμνην, καὶ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ἀπροσδόκητος ὑπὸ[3] τὴν ἕω προυπεσὼν εὐθύς τε αὐτοὺς κατέπληξεν ὥστε

[1] οὔτε Bk., οὐδὲ L. [2] δὴ καὶ μέγα Bk., καὶ δὴ μέγα L.
[3] ὑπὸ Reim., ἐπὶ L.

time they were terrified in the face of their defeats; B.C. 47
but even in case they should be planning some trick, in order that he might not be regarded as hindering peace, he said that he approved their request, and sent them Ptolemy. For he saw no source of strength in the lad, in view of his youth and lack of education, and hoped that the Egyptians would either become reconciled with him on the terms he wished or else would more justly deserve to be warred upon and subjugated, so that there might be some reasonable excuse for delivering them over to Cleopatra; for of course he had no idea that he would be defeated by them, particularly now that his troops had joined him. But the Egyptians, when they secured the lad, took not a thought for peace, but straightway set out against Mithridates, as if they were sure to accomplish some great achievement by the name and by the family of Ptolemy; and they surrounded Mithridates near the lake, between the river and the marshes, and routed his forces. Now Caesar did not pursue them, through fear of being ambushed, but at night he set sail as if he were hurrying to some outlet of the Nile, and kindled an enormous fire on each vessel, so that it might be widely believed that he was going thither. He started at first, then, to sail away, but afterwards extinguished the fires, returned, and passed alongside the city to the peninsula on the Libyan side, where he came to land; and there he disembarked the soldiers, went around the lake, and fell upon the Egyptians unexpectedly about dawn. They were immediately so dismayed that they made overtures for peace, but since he would not listen to

4 καὶ ἐπικηρυκεύσασθαι, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο (τὴν γὰρ ἱκετείαν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἐδέξατο) μάχῃ τε ὀξείᾳ κατεκράτησε καὶ παμπληθεῖς ἐφόνευσε· καί τινες καὶ ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ μετὰ τοῦ Πτολεμαίου, σπουδῇ δι' αὐτοῦ φυγόντες, ἐφθάρησαν.

44 Οὕτω μὲν τὴν Αἴγυπτον ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐχειρώσατο, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ὑπήκοον αὐτὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐποιήσατο, ἀλλὰ τῇ Κλεοπάτρᾳ, ἧσπερ ἕνεκα καὶ
2 ἐπεπολεμήκει, ἐχαρίσατο. φοβηθεὶς μέντοι μὴ οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι νεωτερίσωσιν αὖθις γυναικὶ ἄρχειν παραδοθέντες, καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι διά τε τοῦτο καὶ ὅτι καὶ συνῆν αὐτῷ χαλεπήνωσι, τῷ τε ἑτέρῳ ἀδελφῷ συνοικῆσαι δῆθεν αὐτὴν ἐκέλευσε, καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀμφοτέροις σφίσιν, ὥς γε καὶ λόγῳ
3 εἰπεῖν, ἔδωκε. τῷ γὰρ ἔργῳ ἡ Κλεοπάτρα μόνη πᾶν τὸ κράτος σχήσειν ἔμελλεν· ὅ τε γὰρ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς παιδίον ἔτι ἦν, καὶ ἐκείνη πρὸς τὴν παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος εὔνοιαν οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐκ ἐδύνατο,
4 ὥστε πρόσχημα μὲν ὡς καὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ συνοικοῦσα καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπίκοινον αὐτῷ ἔχουσα ἐκέκτητο, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς μόνη τε ἐβασίλευε καὶ τῷ Καίσαρι συνδιητᾶτο.

45 Καὶ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ[1] πλεῖον ἂν ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ κατέσχεν, ἢ καὶ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην εὐθὺς αὐτῷ συναπῆρεν, εἰ μήπερ ὁ Φαρνάκης καὶ ἐκεῖθεν πάνυ ἄκοντα τὸν Καίσαρα ἐξήγαγε καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν
2 ἐπειχθῆναι ἐκώλυσεν. οὗτος γὰρ παῖς μὲν[2] τοῦ Μιθριδάτου ἦν καὶ τοῦ Βοσπόρου τοῦ Κιμμερίου ἦρχεν, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, ἐπιθυμήσας δὲ πᾶσαν τὴν πατρῴαν βασιλείαν ἀνακτήσασθαι ἐπανέστη κατ' αὐτὴν τήν τε τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ τὴν τοῦ Πομπηίου

[1] ἐπὶ Rk., ἔτι L. [2] γὰρ παῖς μὲν Bk., μὲν γὰρ παῖς L.

their entreaty, a fierce battle later took place in which he was victorious and slew great numbers of the enemy. Ptolemy and some others tried in their haste to escape across the river, and perished in it. B.C. 47

In this way Caesar overcame Egypt. He did not, however, make it subject to the Romans, but bestowed it upon Cleopatra, for whose sake he had waged the conflict. Yet, being afraid that the Egyptians might rebel again, because they were delivered over to a woman to rule, and that the Romans might be angry, both on this account and because he was living with the woman, he commanded her to "marry" her other brother, and gave the kingdom to both of them, at least nominally. For in reality Cleopatra was to hold all the power alone, since her husband was still a boy, and in view of Caesar's favour there was nothing that she could not do. Hence her living with her brother and sharing the rule with him was a mere pretence which she accepted, whereas in truth she ruled alone and spent her time in Caesar's company.

She would have detained him even longer in Egypt or else would have set out with him at once for Rome, had not Pharnaces not only drawn Caesar away from Egypt, very much against his will, but also hindered him from hurrying to Italy. This king was a son of Mithridates and ruled the Cimmerian Bosporus, as has been stated[1]; he conceived the desire to win back again the entire kingdom of his ancestors, and so he revolted just at the time of the quarrel between Caesar and

[1] xxxvii. 12–14, xlii. 9.

στάσιν, καὶ οἷα τῶν Ῥωμαίων τότε μὲν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀσχόλων γενομένων, αὖθις δὲ ἐν τῇ
3 Αἰγύπτῳ κατασχεθέντων, τήν τε Κολχίδα ἀκονιτὶ προσηγάγετο καὶ τὴν Ἀρμενίαν ἀπόντος τοῦ Δηιοτάρου πᾶσαν, τῆς τε Καππαδοκίας[1] καὶ τῶν τοῦ Πόντου πόλεών τινας, αἳ τῷ τῆς Βιθυνίας νομῷ
46 προσετετάχατο, κατεστρέψατο. πράσσοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτὸς μὲν οὐκ ἐκινήθη (οὔτε γὰρ ἡ Αἴγυπτός πω καθειστήκει,[2] καὶ ἐλπίδος τι[3] εἶχε δι' ἑτέρων αὐτὸν χειρώσεσθαι), Γναῖον δὲ Δομίτιον Καλουῖνον ἔπεμψε, τήν τε Ἀσίαν οἱ καὶ . . . . .[4] στρατόπεδα προστάξας.
2 καὶ ὃς τὸν Δηιόταρον καὶ τὸν Ἀριοβαρζάνην προσλαβὼν ἤλασεν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸν Φαρνάκην ἐν τῇ Νικοπόλει ὄντα (καὶ γὰρ ταύτην προκατειλήφει), καὶ καταφρονήσας, ἐπειδὴ ἐκεῖνος τὴν παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ φοβηθεὶς ἀνοχὴν ἐπὶ πρεσβεύσει ἑτοίμως ἔσχε ποιήσασθαι,[5] οὔτε ἐσπείσατο αὐτῷ καὶ
3 συμβαλὼν ἡττήθη. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐκ τούτου ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν, ἐπειδὴ μήτε ἀξιόμαχός οἱ ἦν καὶ ὁ χειμὼν προσῄει, ἀνεχώρησεν· Φαρνάκης δὲ μεγάλα δὴ φρονῶν τά τε ἄλλα τὰ ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ προσκατεκτήσατο,[6] καὶ Ἀμισὸν καίπερ ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἀντισχοῦσαν εἷλέ τε καὶ διήρπασε, τούς τε ἡβῶντας ἐν αὐτῇ πάντας ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ ἐς τὴν Βιθυνίαν τήν τε Ἀσίαν ἐπὶ ταῖς αὐταῖς τῷ πατρὶ
4 ἐλπίσιν ἠπείγετο. κἂν τούτῳ μαθὼν τὸν Ἄσανδρον, ὃν ἐπίτροπον τοῦ Βοσπόρου κατελε-

[1] Some word like μέρος or τὸ πλεῖστον seems to have fallen out here. [2] καθειστήκει R. Steph., καθειστήκη L.
[3] τι Dind., τε L. [4] Lacuna recognized by Dind.
[5] ποιήσασθαι v. Herw., ποιήσεσθαι L.
[6] προσκατεκτήσατο Pflugk, προσκατεστήσατο L.

Pompey, and, as the Romans were at that time occupied with one another and afterward were detained in Egypt, he got possession of Colchis without any difficulty, and in the absence of Deiotarus subjugated all Armenia, and [part ?] of Cappadocia, and some cities of Pontus that had been assigned to the district of Bithynia. While he was thus engaged, Caesar himself did not stir, inasmuch as Egypt was not yet in a settled state and he had some hope of overcoming Pharnaces through others; but he sent Gnaeus Domitius Calvinus, assigning him charge of Asia and of . . . legions. This officer added to his forces Deiotarus and Ariobarzanes and marched straight against Pharnaces, who was at Nicopolis, which he had already seized; and feeling contempt for his enemy, because the latter in dread of his arrival was ready through an embassy to agree to an armistice, he did not conclude a truce with him, but attacked him and was defeated. After that he retired to Asia, since he was no match for his conqueror and winter was approaching. Pharnaces was greatly elated, and after acquiring all the rest of Pontus, captured Amisus also, though it long held out against him; and he plundered the city and put to the sword all the men of military age there. He then hastened into Bithynia and Asia with the same hopes as his father had cherished. Meanwhile, learning that Asander, whom he had left as governor of Bosporus, had B.C. 47

λοιπει, νενεοχμωκότα, οὐκέτι περαιτέρω[1] προεχώρησεν· ἐκεῖνος γάρ, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα πόρρω τε ὁ Φαρνάκης ἀπ' αὐτοῦ προϊὼν ἠγγέλθη, καὶ ἐδόκει, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἔν γε τῷ παρόντι ἀνθοῖ,[2] ἀλλ' οὔτι γε καὶ ἔπειτα καλῶς ἀπαλλάξειν, ἐπανέστη αὐτῷ ὡς καὶ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τι χαριούμενος τήν τε δυναστείαν τοῦ Βοσπόρου παρ' αὐτῶν ληψόμενος.

47 Τοῦτ' οὖν ὁ Φαρνάκης ἀκούσας ὥρμησεν ἐπ' αὐτὸν μάτην· τὸν γὰρ Καίσαρα ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ εἶναι καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν ἐπείγεσθαι πυθόμενος ἀνέστρεψε, κἀνταῦθα αὐτῷ περὶ Ζέλαν συνέτυχεν. ὁ γὰρ Καῖσαρ τοῦ τε Πτολεμαίου τελευτήσαντος καὶ τοῦ Δομιτίου νικηθέντος οὔτε εὐπρεπῆ οὔτε λυσιτελῆ οἱ τὴν ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ διατριβὴν ἐνόμισεν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ ἀφωρμήθη, καὶ τάχει πολλῷ
2 χρησάμενος ἐς τὴν Ἀρμενίαν ἀφίκετο. ἐκπλαγεὶς οὖν ὁ βάρβαρος, καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον τὴν ὁρμὴν ἢ τὸν στρατὸν αὐτοῦ καταδείσας, προσέπεμψεν αὐτῷ πρὶν πλησιάσαι πολλάκις προκηρυκευόμενος, εἴ πως τὸ παρὸν ἐφ' ὁτῳδὴ συνθέμενος
3 ἐκφύγοι. προΐσχετο δὲ ἄλλα τε καὶ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα ὅτι οὐ συνήρατο τῷ Πομπηίῳ· καὶ ἤλπιζεν ὑπάξεσθαί τε αὐτὸν ἐς σπονδὰς ἅτε καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν τήν τε Ἀφρικὴν ἐπειγόμενον, καὶ ἀπελθόντος αὐτοῦ ῥᾳδίως αὖθις πολεμήσειν.
4 ὑποπτεύσας οὖν τοῦτο ὁ Καῖσαρ τοὺς μὲν πρώτους καὶ τοὺς δευτέρους πρέσβεις ἐφιλοφρονήσατο, ὅπως ὅτι μάλιστα ἀπροσδοκήτῳ οἱ τῇ τῆς εἰρήνης ἐλπίδι προσπέσῃ, τῶν δὲ τρίτων ἐλθόντων τά τε

[1] περαιτέρω R. Steph., περεταίρωι L.
[2] ἀνθοῖ Bk., ἂν λάθοι L.

revolted, he gave up advancing any farther. For Asander, as soon as word was brought that Pharnaces was moving far away from him, and it seemed likely that however prosperous he might be temporarily, he would not fare well later on, rose against him, thinking thus to do a favour to the Romans and to receive the sovereignty of Bosporus from them. B.C. 47

It was at the news of this that Pharnaces set out against him, but all in vain; for on ascertaining that Caesar was on the way and was hurrying into Armenia, he turned back and met him there near Zela. For now that Ptolemy was dead and Domitius vanquished, Caesar had decided that his delay in Egypt was neither creditable nor profitable to him, and had set out from there and had come with great speed into Armenia. And so the barbarian, alarmed and fearing Caesar's rapidity much more than his army, sent messengers to him before he drew near, making frequent proposals to see if he might on some terms or other escape the present danger. One of the principal pleas that he presented was that he had not coöperated with Pompey, and he hoped to induce Caesar to grant a truce, particularly since the latter was anxious to hasten to Italy and Africa; and once Caesar was gone, he hoped to wage war again at his ease. Caesar suspected this, and so treated the first and second embassies with great kindness, in order that he might fall upon his foe as unexpectedly as possible because of his hopes of peace; but when the third deputation came, he uttered various re-

ἄλλα ἐπεκάλεσεν αὐτῷ καὶ ὅτι τὸν Πομπήιον τὸν
5 εὐεργέτην ἐγκατέλιπεν. καὶ οὐκ ἀνεβάλετο,[1]
ἀλλ' εὐθὺς αὐθημερόν, ὥσπερ εἶχεν ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ,
συνέμιξε, καί τινα χρόνον ὑπό τε τῆς ἵππου καὶ
ὑπὸ τῶν δρεπανηφόρων ἐκταραχθεὶς ἔπειτα τοῖς
ὁπλίταις ἐκράτησε. καὶ ἐκεῖνον μὲν ἐκφυγόντα
ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν, καὶ ἐς[2] τὸν Βόσπορον μετὰ
τοῦτο ἐσβιαζόμενον, ὁ Ἄσανδρος εἷρξέ τε καὶ
48 ἀπέκτεινε· Καῖσαρ δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ, καίπερ οὐ
πάνυ διαπρεπεῖ γενομένῃ, πολὺ καὶ ὅσον ἐπ'
οὐδεμιᾷ ἄλλῃ ἐφρόνησεν, ὅτι ἔν τε τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ
καὶ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ὥρᾳ καὶ ἦλθε πρὸς τὸν πολέμιον
2 καὶ εἶδεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐνίκησε. καὶ τά τε λάφυρα
πάντα, καίτοι πλεῖστα γενόμενα, τοῖς στρατιώ-
ταις ἐδωρήσατο, καὶ τρόπαιον, ἐπειδήπερ ὁ Μι-
θριδάτης ἀπὸ τοῦ Τριαρίου ἐνταῦθά που ἐγηγέρκει,
ἀντανέστησε· καθελεῖν μὲν γὰρ τὸ τοῦ βαρβάρου
οὐκ ἐτόλμησεν ὡς καὶ τοῖς ἐμπολεμίοις θεοῖς
ἱερωμένον, τῇ δὲ δὴ τοῦ ἰδίου παραστάσει καὶ
ἐκεῖνο συνεσκίασε καὶ τρόπον τινὰ κατέ-
3 στρεψε. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὴν χώραν ὅσην τῶν τε
Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῶν ἐνόρκων σφίσιν ἀποτετμημένος
ὁ Φαρνάκης ἦν ἐκομίσατο, καὶ αὐτὴν πᾶσαν ὡς
ἑκάστοις τοῖς ἀπολέσασιν ἔδωκε, πλὴν μέρους
τινὸς τῆς Ἀρμενίας, ὃ τῷ Ἀριοβαρζάνει ἐχαρί-
4 σατο. τούς τε Ἀμισηνοὺς[3] ἐλευθερίᾳ ἠμείψατο,
καὶ τῷ Μιθριδάτῃ τῷ Περγαμηνῷ τετραρχίαν τε
ἐν Γαλατίᾳ καὶ βασιλείας ὄνομα ἔδωκε, πρός τε
τὸν Ἄσανδρον πολεμῆσαι ἐπέτρεψεν, ὅπως καὶ

[1] ἀνεβάλετο H. Steph., ἀνεβάλλετο L.
[2] ἐς Bk., ἐπὶ L.
[3] Ἀμισηνοὺς R. Steph., ἀμισίνους L.

proaches against him, one being that he had deserted Pompey, his benefactor. Then he no longer delayed, but immediately, that very day and just as he came from the march, joined battle. For a little while some confusion was caused him by the enemy's cavalry and scythe-bearing chariots, but after that he conquered with his heavy-armed troops. Pharnaces escaped to the sea and later tried to force his way into Bosporus, but Asander repulsed and killed him. Caesar took great pride in this victory,—more, in fact, than in any other, even though it had not been very brilliant,—because on the same day and in the same hour he had come to the enemy, had seen him, and had conquered him.[1] All the spoils, though of great magnitude, he bestowed upon the soldiers, and he set up a trophy to offset one which Mithridates had raised somewhere in that region to commemorate the defeat of Triarius.[2] He did not dare to take down that of the barbarians, because it had been dedicated to the gods of war, but by the erection of his own near it he overshadowed and in a sense overthrew the other. Next he recovered all the territory belonging to the Romans and those under treaty with them which Pharnaces had taken, and restored it all to the persons who had been dispossessed, except a portion of Armenia, which he granted to Ariobarzanes. The people of Amisus he rewarded with freedom, and to Mithridates the Pergamenian he gave a tetrarchy in Galatia and the title of king and allowed him to wage war against Asander, so that by conquering him, he might get Bosporus B.C. 47

[1] A translation of the words *Veni vidi vici*, carried in the triumphal procession.
[2] Compare xxxvi. 12–13.

τὸν Βόσπορον κρατήσας αὐτοῦ λάβῃ, ὅτι πονηρὸς ἐς τὸν φίλον ἐγένετο.

49 Πράξας δὲ ταῦτα, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῷ Δομιτίῳ καταστήσασθαι κελεύσας, ἐς τὴν Βιθυνίαν ἦλθε, κἀντεῦθεν ἔς τε τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἔπλευσε, πολλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ πάσῃ προφάσει χρήματα
2 παρὰ πάντων, ὥσπερ καὶ πρίν, ἐκλέγων. τοῦτο μὲν γάρ, ὅσα τινὲς τῷ Πομπηίῳ προϋπέσχηντο, ἐπράξατο, τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ἄλλα[1] ἔξωθεν, προσεπικαλῶν τινα, ᾔτει. τά τε ἀναθήματα τοῦ ἐν τῇ Τύρῳ Ἡρακλέους πάντα ἀνείλετο, ὅτι τήν τε γυναῖκα καὶ τὸν παῖδα τοῦ Πομπηίου ὑπεδέξαντο
3 ὅτε ἔφυγον. καὶ στεφάνους ἐπὶ ταῖς νίκαις συχνοὺς καὶ παρὰ τῶν δυναστῶν τῶν τε βασιλέων χρυσοῦς ἔλαβε. ταῦτα δὲ οὐχ ὑπὸ κακίας ἐποίει, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ ἐδαπάνα παμπληθῆ, καὶ ἀνάλωσιν πολὺ πλείω ἔς τε τὰ στρατόπεδα καὶ ἐς τὰ ἐπινίκια, τά τε ἄλλα ὅσα ἐλαμπρύνετο, ποιήσειν
4 ἔμελλε. τό τε σύμπαν εἰπεῖν, χρηματοποιὸς ἀνὴρ ἐγένετο, δύο τε εἶναι λέγων τὰ τὰς δυναστείας παρασκευάζοντα καὶ φυλάσσοντα καὶ ἐπαύξοντα, στρατιώτας καὶ χρήματα, καὶ ταῦτα
5 δι' ἀλλήλων συνεστηκέναι· τῇ τε γὰρ τροφῇ τὰ στρατεύματα συνέχεσθαι, καὶ ἐκείνην ἐκ τῶν ὅπλων συλλέγεσθαι· κἂν θάτερον ὁποτερονοῦν[2] αὐτῶν ἐνδεὲς ᾖ, καὶ τὸ ἕτερον συγκαταλυθήσεσθαι.

50 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων οὕτω καὶ ἐφρόνει ἀεὶ καὶ ἔλεγεν· ἐς δὲ δὴ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐς τὴν Ἀφρικὴν καίπερ πεπολεμωμένην οἱ, ἠπείχθη ὅτι ταραττόμενα τὰ ἐν τῷ ἄστει πυθόμενος ἐφοβήθη

[1] ἄλλα R. Steph., ἄλλας L.
[2] ὁποτερονοῦν Reim., ὁποτέρου οὖν L.

also, since Asander had proved base toward his friend. B.C. 47

After accomplishing this and ordering Domitius to arrange other matters he came to Bithynia and from there to Greece, whence he sailed for Italy, collecting along the way great sums of money from everybody, and upon every pretext, just as before. In the first place, he exacted all that any had previously promised to Pompey, and again, he asked for still more from other sources, bringing various accusations to justify his action. He removed all the votive offerings of Heracles at Tyre, because the inhabitants had received the wife and son of Pompey when they fled. He also got many golden crowns from potentates and kings in honour of his victories. All this he did, not out of malice, but because his expenditures were on a vast scale and because he was intending to lay out still more upon his legions, his triumph, and everything else that gratified his pride. In short, he showed himself a money-getter, declaring that there were two things which created, protected, and increased sovereignties,—soldiers and money,—and that these two were dependent upon each other. For it was by proper maintenance, he said, that armies were kept together, and this maintenance was secured by arms; and in case either one of them were lacking, the other also would be overthrown at the same time.

About these matters he ever thought and spoke thus. Now it was to Italy that he hurried and not to Africa, although the latter region had become hostile to him, because he learned of the disturbances in the capital and feared that they might be carried

2 μὴ καὶ ἐς ἀνήκεστον προχωρήσῃ. οὐ μέντοι καὶ κακὸν οὐδένα οὐδέν, ὥσπερ εἶπον, εἰργάσατο, πλὴν ὅτι κἀνταῦθα πολλὰ ἠργυρολόγησε, τὰ μέν τινα ἐν δωρεᾶς μέρει, στεφάνους καὶ ἀγάλματα καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τοιαῦτα, λαμβάνων, τὰ δὲ καὶ δανειζόμενος δῆθεν, οὐχ ὅτι παρὰ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν
3 ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ τῶν πόλεων. τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ ὄνομα ταῖς ἐκλογαῖς τῶν χρημάτων, ἐφ' αἷς μηδεμία ἄλλη πρόφασις εὔλογος ἦν, ἐτίθετο, ἐπεί τήν γε ἄλλως καὶ βιαίως, οὐδὲν ἧττον τῶν ὀφειλομένων, καὶ ἐκεῖνα ἐπράττετο, καὶ ἔμελλε μηδέποτε ἀποδοθήσεσθαι. ἔλεγε μὲν γὰρ ὑπὲρ[1] τοῦ δημοσίου τὰ οἰκεῖα δεδαπανηκέναι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο
4 καὶ δανείζεσθαι· ὅθενπερ καὶ χρεῶν ἀποκοπὰς ἀξιοῦντος τοῦ πλήθους γενέσθαι οὐκ ἐποίησεν, εἰπὼν ὅτι "καὶ αὐτὸς πολλὰ ὀφείλω·" εὔδηλος δὲ ἐγίγνετο καὶ τὰ ἀλλότρια τῇ δυναστείᾳ παρασπώ-
5 μενος. οἵ τε οὖν ἄλλοι διὰ τοῦτο ἤχθοντο αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ ἑταῖροι·[2] τῶν γὰρ δεδημευμένων συχνά, καὶ ὑπὲρ τὴν ἀξίαν γε ἔστιν ἅ, ἐλπίδι τοῦ προῖκα αὐτὰ ἕξειν ἀγοράσαντες, πᾶσαν τὴν τιμὴν ἀποτίνειν ἠναγκάζοντο.

51 Ἀλλὰ τούτους μὲν ἐν[3] οὐδενὶ λόγῳ ἐποιεῖτο καίτοι καὶ ἐκείνους τρόπον τινὰ ὡς ἑκάστους ἐθεράπευσε. τοῖς τε γὰρ πολλοῖς ἐχαρίσατο τόν τε τόκον τὸν ἐποφειλόμενόν σφισιν ἐξ οὗ πρὸς τὸν Πομπήιον ἐξεπολεμώθη πάντα, καὶ τὸ ἐνοίκιον ὅσον ἐς πεντακοσίας δραχμὰς ἦν ἐνιαυτοῦ ἑνὸς
2 ἀφείς, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὰς τιμήσεις τῶν κτημάτων, ἐν οἷς τὴν ἀπόδοσιν τῶν δανεισμάτων κατὰ

[1] ὑπὲρ R. Steph., ὑπὸ L. [2] ἑταῖροι R. Steph., ἕτεροι L.
[3] ἐν supplied by Leuncl.

to dangerous lengths. Nevertheless, as I have said,[1] he did no harm to any one, except that there, too, he collected large amounts, partly in the shape of crowns and statues and the like which he received as gifts, and partly by "borrowing," as he styled it, not only from individual citizens but also from cities. This term "borrowing" he applied to those levies of money for which there was no other reasonable excuse; for he exacted these sums also in a high-handed way and no less by force than he collected money actually due him, and it was his intention never to repay them. He claimed, indeed, that he had spent his private possessions for the public good and that indeed it was for that reason he was borrowing. Accordingly, when the multitude demanded an annulment of debts, he would not grant this, saying: "I, too, owe large amounts." It was easy to see that he was wresting away others' property also by his position of supremacy, and for this his associates as well as others disliked him. For these men, who had bought a great deal of the confiscated property, in some cases for more than its real value, in the hope of retaining it without paying for it, now found themselves compelled to pay the full price. B.C. 47

But to such persons he paid no attention. Nevertheless, to a certain extent he did court them, too, as individuals. For he made a present to the multitude of all the interest they were owing from the time he had gone to war with Pompey, and he released them from all rent for one year, up to the sum of two thousand sesterces; furthermore he raised the valuation on the goods, in terms of which it was required by law for loans to be paid to their

[1] Ch. 33.

τοὺς νόμους γίγνεσθαι ἔδει, πρὸς τὴν ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ ἀξίαν ἐπαναγαγών, ἐπειδὴ[1] τῷ πλήθει τῶν δε-
3 δημοσιωμένων πολὺ πάντα ἐπευώνιστο. τούτους τε οὖν ταῦτα πράξας ἀνηρτήσατο, καὶ τῶν προσεταιριστῶν τῶν τε συναγωνιστῶν τοὺς μὲν βουλευτὰς ἱερωσύναις τε καὶ ἀρχαῖς ταῖς τε ἐς τὸν λοιπὸν τοῦ ἔτους ἐκείνου χρόνον καὶ ταῖς ἐς νέωτα[2] (ἵνα γὰρ πλείους αὐτῶν ἀμείψηται, στρατηγούς τε δέκα ἐς τὸ ἐπιὸν ἔτος ἀπέδειξε[3]
4 καὶ ἱερέας ὑπὲρ τὸ νενομισμένον· τοῖς τε γὰρ ποντίφιξι καὶ τοῖς οἰωνισταῖς, ὧν καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν, τοῖς τε πεντεκαίδεκα καλουμένοις ἕνα ἑκάστοις προσένειμε, καίπερ αὐτὸς βουληθεὶς πάσας τὰς
5 ἱερωσύνας λαβεῖν ὥσπερ ἐψήφιστο), τοὺς δὲ ἱππέας τοῦ τέλους τούς τε ἑκατοντάρχους καὶ τοὺς ὑπομείονας ἄλλοις τέ τισι καὶ τῷ καὶ ἐς τὸ συνέδριόν τινας ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἀντὶ τῶν ἀπολωλότων καταλέξαι.

52 Τὰ δὲ δὴ στρατόπεδα οὐχ ἡσυχῇ αὐτὸν ἐτάραξε· πολλὰ γὰρ λήψεσθαι ἐλπίσαντες, καὶ εὑρόμενοι τῆς μὲν ἀξίας οὐκ ἐλάττω τῆς δὲ προσδοκίας καταδεέστερα, ἐθορύβησαν. ἐν Καμπανίᾳ δὲ οἱ πλείους αὐτῶν, ὡς καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀφρικὴν προπλευ-
2 σόμενοι, ἦσαν. οὗτοι οὖν τόν τε[4] Σαλούστιον παρ' ὀλίγον ἀπέκτειναν (στρατηγὸς γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ τὴν βουλείαν[5] ἀναλαβεῖν ἀπεδέδεικτο), καὶ ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐκεῖνος διαφυγὼν αὐτοὺς ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ὥρμησε, τὰ γιγνόμενά οἱ δηλώσων, ἐφέσποντό τε αὐτῷ συχνοὶ μηδενὸς φειδόμενοι,

[1] ἐπειδὴ Bk., ἐπὶ δὲ L. [2] νέωτα R. Steph., νεώτατα L.
[3] ἀπέδειξε R. Steph., ἀποδεῖξαι L.
[4] οὖν τόν τε Bk., τε οὖν τὸν L. [5] βουλείαν Bs., βουλὴν L.

worth at the time the loan had been made, in view of the fact that everything had become much cheaper as a result of the great amount of confiscated property. By these acts he attached the people to himself; and he attached the members of his party and those who had fought for him in the following manner. Upon the senators he bestowed priesthoods and offices, some of them for the rest of that year and some for the next. Indeed, in order to reward a larger number, he appointed ten praetors for the next year and more than the customary number of priests; for he added one member each to the pontifices and to the augurs, of whom he was one, and also to the Quindecimviri,[1] as they were called, although he had desired to take all the priesthoods himself, as had been decreed. The knights in the army and the centurions and subordinate officers he conciliated in various ways, especially by appointing some of them to the senate to fill the places of those who had perished. B.C. 47

The legions, however, caused him no slight trouble; for they had expected to receive a great deal, and when they found their rewards inferior to their expectations, though not less, to be sure, than their deserts, they made a disturbance. The most of them were in Campania, being destined to sail on ahead to Africa. These nearly killed Sallust, who had been appointed praetor in order to recover his senatorial rank; and when, after escaping them, he set out for Rome to inform Caesar of what was going on, many followed

[1] *Quindecimviri sacris faciundis.*

καὶ ἄλλους τε τῶν ἐντυχόντων σφίσι καὶ βου-
3 λευτὰς δύο ἔσφαξαν. ὁ οὖν Καῖσαρ ὡς τάχιστα τῆς προσόδου αὐτῶν ᾔσθετο, ἠθέλησε μὲν τὸ δορυφορικὸν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἀντιπέμψαι, φοβηθεὶς δὲ μὴ καὶ ἐκεῖνοι συστασιάσωσί σφισιν ἡσύχασε, μέχρις οὗ ἐς τὸ προάστειον ἀφίκοντο. ἐνταῦθα δὲ δὴ οὖσιν αὐτοῖς προσέπεμψε, καὶ ἐπύθετο τί
4 βουλόμενοι καὶ τίνος χρῄζοντες ἥκοιεν. ἀποκριναμένων τέ σφων ὅτι αὐτῷ ἐκείνῳ ἐροῦσιν, ἐπέτρεψε μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἄνευ τῶν ὅπλων, πλὴν τῶν ξιφῶν, ἐσελθεῖν· ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ ἄλλως καὶ ἐν τῷ ἄστει φορεῖν εἰώθεσαν, καὶ
53 τότε οὐκ ἂν ὑπέμειναν καταθέσθαι· εἰπόντων δὲ αὐτῶν πολλὰ μὲν περὶ ὧν καὶ ἐπόνησαν καὶ ἐκινδύνευσαν, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ περὶ ὧν ἤλπισαν ἀξίους τέ σφας τυχεῖν ἔφασκον εἶναι, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀφεθῆναί τε τῆς στρατείας ἀξιούντων καὶ
2 δεινῶς διὰ τοῦτ' αὐτῷ ἐγκειμένων, οὐχ ὅτι καὶ ἰδιωτεῦσαι ἐβούλοντο (ἥκιστα γάρ, ἅτε καὶ συνήθεις ταῖς πλεονεξίαις ἐκ πολλοῦ γεγονότες, τοῦτ' ἤθελον) ἀλλ' ὅτι καταπλήξειν τε ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ πᾶν ὁτιοῦν καταπράξειν, ἅτε καὶ ὑπογύου[1] οἱ τῆς ἐς τὴν Ἀφρικὴν στρατείας[2]
3 οὔσης, ἐνόμιζον, περὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων οὐδέν σφισι τὸ παράπαν ἀπεκρίνατο, αὐτὰ δὲ ταῦτα εἰπὼν μονα "ἀλλ' ὀρθῶς γε, ὦ Κυιρῖται,[3] λέγετε· καὶ γὰρ κεκμήκατε καὶ κατατέτρωσθε" πάντας αὐτοὺς παραχρῆμα ὡς μηδὲν δῆθεν αὐτῶν δεόμενος διῆκε, καὶ τοῖς τὸν τεταγμένον χρόνον ἐστρατευ-

[1] ὑπογύου R. Steph., ὑπογυίου L.
[2] στρατείας H. Steph., στρατιᾶς L.
[3] Κυιρῖται R. Steph., κουιρῖται L.

him, sparing no one on their way, but killing, among others whom they met, two senators. Caesar, as soon as he heard of their approach, wished to send his body-guard against them, but fearing that it, too, might join in the mutiny, he remained quiet until they reached the suburbs. While they waited there he sent to them and inquired what wish or what need had brought them. Upon their replying that they would tell him personally he allowed them to enter the city unarmed, except for their swords; for they were regularly accustomed to wear these in the city, and they would not have submitted to laying them aside at that time. They had much to say about the toils and dangers they had undergone and much about what they had hoped for and what they declared they deserved to obtain. Next they asked to be released from service and were very insistent with him upon this point, not that they wished to return to private life,—indeed they were far from anxious for this, since they had long been accustomed to the gains of war,—but because they thought they would scare Caesar in this way and accomplish anything they pleased, since his projected invasion of Africa was close at hand. He, however, made no reply at all to their first statements, but said merely: "Why, of course, Quirites,[1] what you say is right; you are naturally weary and worn out with wounds," and then at once disbanded them all as if he had no further need of them, promising that he would give the rewards in B.C. 47

[1] *I.e.*, Citizens.

μένοις καὶ τὰ γέρα ἐντελῆ δώσειν ὑπέσχετο.
4 λεχθέντων δὲ τούτων κατεπλάγησαν ἔκ τε τῆς ἄλλης αὐτοῦ διανοίας, καὶ μάλιστα ὅτι Κυιρίτας ἀλλ' οὐ στρατιώτας σφᾶς ὠνόμασε, καὶ ταπεινωθέντες φοβηθέντες τε μὴ πάθωσί τι δεινὸν μετεβάλοντο,[1] καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἱκετεύοντες αὐτὸν εἶπον, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἐπαγγελλόμενοι καὶ συστρατεύσειν[2] οἱ ἐθελονταὶ καὶ τὸν πόλεμον μόνοι διαπολεμήσειν
5 ὑπέσχοντο. ὡς οὖν ἐνταῦθα ἦσαν, καί τις καὶ τῶν στρατιαρχῶν ἐν τοσούτῳ, ἢ καὶ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ γνώμης ἢ[3] χαριζόμενος τῷ Καίσαρι, διελέχθη τέ τινα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν καὶ ἐδεήθη, "ἀφίημι μέν" ἔφη "καὶ ὑμᾶς τοὺς παρόντας καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους
6 πάντας, ὅσοις τὰ τῆς στρατείας ἔτη ἐξήκει· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ δέομαί τι ὑμῶν· τὰ μέντοι γέρα καὶ ὣς ὑμῖν ἀποδώσω, ἵνα μήποτέ τις εἴπῃ ὅτι ἐγὼ χρησάμενος ὑμῖν ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις ἔπειτα ἀχάριστος ἐγενόμην, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα καὶ τοῖς σώμασιν ἐρρωμένοι καὶ πάντα καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ προσδιαπολεμῆσαι δυνάμενοι οὐκ ἠθελήσατέ μοι συστρατεῦ-
54 σαι." καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτά τε σοφιζόμενος εἶπε (πάνυ γὰρ αὐτῶν ἔχρῃζε) καὶ χώραν ἔκ τε τῆς δημοσίας καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ δὴ πᾶσί σφισιν ἔνειμεν, ἄλλους ἄλλῃ, καὶ πάνυ πόρρω ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, ἀπαρτήσας, ὥστε μήτε τοῖς ὁμοχώροις σφᾶς φοβεροὺς μήτ' αὖ πρὸς νεωτερισμὸν ἑτοίμους, καθ' ἓν που
2 συνοικοῦντας, γενέσθαι. τῶν τε ἐποφειλομένων σφίσι χρημάτων, ἃ πολλὰ καὶ καθ' ἑκάστην ὡς εἰπεῖν πρᾶξιν ὑπέσχητο δώσειν, τὰ μὲν εὐθὺς

[1] μετεβάλοντο Bk., μετεβάλλοντο L.
[2] συστρατεύσειν Xiph., συστρατεύειν L.
[3] ἢ supplied by Reim.

full to such as had served the appointed time. At B.C. 47 these words they were struck with alarm both at his intention in general and particularly because he had called them Quirites instead of soldiers; and so, humiliated and fearing they should meet with some severe penalty, they changed front and addressed him with many entreaties and offers, promising that they would join his expedition as volunteers and would carry the war through for him by themselves. When they had reached this stage and one of their leaders also, either on his own impulse or as a favour to Caesar, had said a few words and presented a few petitions in their behalf, he replied: "I discharge both you who are present here and all the rest whose years of service have expired; for I really have no further need of you. Yet even so I will pay you the rewards, that no one may say that after using you in dangers I later showed myself ungrateful, even though you were unwilling to join my campaign while perfectly strong in body and able to carry through all the wars that remain." This he said for effect, for they were quite indispensable to him. He then assigned them all land from the public holdings and from his own, settling them in different places, and separating them far from one another, so that they should not, by living somewhere together, either be a source of terror to their neighbours or, again, be ready for rebellion. As to the money that he owed them,—and on the eve of practically every action he had promised to give them large amounts,—he offered to pay part immediately and to settle

ἀπαλλάξειν, τὰ δὲ οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν καὶ σὺν τόκῳ γε[1] *διαλύσειν ἐπηγγείλατο. εἰπὼν δὲ ταῦτα, καὶ δουλωσάμενος αὐτοὺς ὥστε μήτε τι θρασύνεσθαι καὶ προσέτι καὶ χάριν εἰδέναι, προσεπεῖπεν*
3 *"ἀπέχετε μὲν παρ' ἐμοῦ πάντα, καὶ οὐδένα ἔθ' ὑμῶν ἀναγκάσω στρατεύσασθαι· εἰ μέντοι τις ἑκούσιος ἐθέλοι καὶ τὰ λοιπά μοι συγκατεργάσασθαι, ἡδέως αὐτὸν δέξομαι." ἀκούσαντες δὲ τοῦτο ἐκεῖνοι ὑπερήσθησαν καὶ πάντες ὁμοίως*
55 *ἀναστρατεύσασθαι ἠθέλησαν. ὁ οὖν Καῖσαρ τοὺς ταραχώδεις αὐτῶν, οὐ πάντας ἀλλ' ὅσοι μετρίως πως συνόντες*[2] *γεωργίαις ζῆν ἐδύναντο, ἀπολέξας τοῖς λοιποῖς ἐχρήσατο. καὶ τοῦτο καὶ*
2 *ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων στρατιωτῶν ἐποίησεν· τοὺς γὰρ πάνυ τε θρασεῖς καὶ ἱκανοὺς μέγα τι κακὸν δρᾶσαι ἐκ μὲν τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐξήγαγεν, ὅπως μηδὲν ἐκεῖ καταλειφθέντες νεοχμώσωσιν, ἐν δὲ δὴ τῇ Ἀφρικῇ καὶ μάλα ἡδέως, ἄλλους κατ' ἄλλην πρόφασιν, ἀνάλωσε· τούς τε γὰρ ἐναντίους ἅμα δι' αὐτῶν κατειργάζετο καὶ ἐκείνων ἀπηλλάττετο.*
3 *φιλανθρωπότατός τε*[3] *γὰρ ἀνδρῶν ὤν, καὶ πολλὰ κεχαρισμένα τοῖς τε ἄλλοις καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις μάλιστα ποιῶν, δεινῶς τοὺς στασιάζοντάς σφων ἐμίσει καὶ ἰσχυρότατα αὐτοὺς ἐκόλαζε.*

4 *Ταῦτά τε*[4] *ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ ἔτει, ἐν ᾧ δικτάτωρ μὲν ὄντως αὐτὸς τὸ δεύτερον ἦρξεν, ὕπατοι δὲ ἐπ' ἐξόδῳ αὐτοῦ ἀποδειχθέντες ὅ τε Καλῆνος*
56 *καὶ ὁ Οὐατίνιος*[5] *ἐλέγοντο εἶναι, ἐποίησε, καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀφρικὴν καίτοι τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐνεστη-*

[1] *γε* Bk., *τε* L. [2] *συνόντες* Rk., *ὄντες* L.
[3] *τε* supplied by R. Steph.
[4] *τε* supplied by Bk. [5] *Οὐατίνιος* R. Steph., *οὐλτίνιος* L.

for the remainder with interest in the near future. B.C. 47 When he had said this and had so enthralled them that they showed no sign of boldness but even went so far as to express their gratitude, he added: "You have all that is due to you from me, and I will compel no one of you to make campaigns any longer. If, however, any one wishes of his own accord to help me accomplish what remains, I will gladly receive him." Hearing this, they were overjoyed, and all alike volunteered to serve again. Caesar put aside the turbulent spirits among them,—not all to be sure, but as many as were moderately well acquainted with farming and so could make a living,—and the others he used. He did the same also in the case of the rest of his soldiers: those who were overbold and able to cause serious trouble he took away from Italy, in order that they might not be left behind there and begin an insurrection; and he took great satisfaction in using them up in Africa on various pretexts, since at the same time he was destroying his foes through their efforts he was also ridding himself of them. For although he was the kindliest of men and showed many favours not only to the citizens in general but particularly to his soldiers, he bitterly hated those of them who were mutinous and punished them with extreme severity.

These were the things he did in that year in which he really ruled alone as dictator for the second time, though Calenus and Vatinius, appointed near the close of the year, were said to be the consuls. He also crossed over to Africa, although winter had set

κότος ἐπεραιώθη. καὶ οὐκ ὀλίγα δὲ ἐκ τούτου, ἀνέλπιστος τοῖς ἐναντίοις προσπεσών, κατώρθωσε· πλεῖστον γὰρ παρὰ πάντα καὶ τῷ τάχει καὶ ταῖς ἐκ[1] τοῦ ἀπροσδοκήτου στρατείαις[2] κατέπραττεν, ὥστ' εἴ τις ἐκλογίζοιτο[3] ὅτῳ τοσοῦτον τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐν τοῖς πολεμίοις ὑπερήνεγκεν, οὐδὲν ἂν[4] ἄλλο τούτου μᾶλλον ὂν
2 ἔμπροσθε παραβαλὼν[5] εὕροι. ἡ δὲ δὴ Ἀφρικὴ ἦν μὲν οὐδὲ ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν χρόνῳ φίλη τῷ Καίσαρι, μετὰ δὲ δὴ τὸν τοῦ Κουρίωνος θάνατον καὶ πάνυ ἐχθρὰ ἐγένετο. ὅ τε γὰρ Οὐᾶρος καὶ ὁ Ἰόβας τὰ πράγματα εἶχον, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ὁ Κάτων καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων οἵ τε ἄλλοι οἱ μετ' αὐτῶν ὄντες ἐκεῖσε, ὥσπερ εἶπον, συγκατέφυγον,
3 κἀκ τούτου κοινωσάμενοι τὸν πόλεμον τά τε ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ ἐξηρτύσαντο καὶ τῇ τε Σικελίᾳ καὶ τῇ Σαρδοῖ ἐπίπλους ἐποιοῦντο, καὶ τάς τε πόλεις ἐλύπουν καὶ τὰ πλοῖα κατῆγον, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ ὅπλα τόν τε σίδηρον τὸν ἄλλον, οὗπέρ
4 που καὶ μόνου ἔχρῃζον, ἐπόριζον,[6] τελευτῶντές τε ἐς τοῦτο καὶ τῆς παρασκευῆς καὶ τῆς διανοίας, οἷα μήτε στρατοῦ σφίσιν ἐναντιουμένου καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἔν τε τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἄστει χρονίσαντος, ἀφίκοντο ὥστε καὶ ἐς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν τὸν Πομπήιον ἀποστεῖλαι. στασιάζειν τε γὰρ αὐτὴν πυνθανόμενοι, καὶ ἐκεῖνον ἑτοίμως ἅτε τοῦ Πομπηίου τοῦ Μάγνου παῖδα ὄντα

[1] ἐκ supplied by Reim.
[2] στρατείαις H. Steph., στρατιαῖς L.
[3] ἐκλογίζοιτο R. Steph., ἐκλογίσοιτο L.
[4] ἂν supplied by Bk.
[5] παραβαλὼν R. Steph., παραβάλλων L.
[6] ἐπόριζον supplied by Bs.

in. And he met with no little success from this very circumstance, by attacking his opponents unexpectedly. On all occasions, indeed, he accomplished a great deal by his rapidity and by the unexpectedness of his movements, so that if any one should try to find out what it was that made him so superior in the art of war to his contemporaries, he would find by careful comparison that there was nothing more striking than this very characteristic. Now Africa had not been friendly to Caesar in the first place, and after Curio's death it became thoroughly hostile. For Varus and Juba were in charge of affairs, and furthermore Cato, Scipio and their followers had all taken refuge there, as I have stated.[1] After this they made common cause in the war, carried on their preparations by land, and also made descents by sea upon Sicily and Sardinia, harrying their cities and taking back their ships, from which they obtained a plentiful supply of arms and of iron in other forms, which alone they lacked. Finally they reached such a state of preparedness and courage that, when no army opposed them and Caesar delayed in Egypt and the capital, they sent Pompey to Spain. For on learning that that country was in revolt they thought that the people would readily receive him as the son B.C. 47

[1] Ch. 13, 4.

δέξεσθαι[1] νομίσαντες, παρεσκευάζοντο ὁ μὲν ὡς τήν τε[2] Ἰβηρίαν διὰ βραχέων κατασχήσων καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἄστυ ἐκεῖθεν ὁρμήσων, οἱ δὲ ὡς τὸν πλοῦν
57 ἅμα τὸν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ποιησόμενοι. κατ᾽ ἀρχὰς μὲν γὰρ διατριβή τις αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο, τοῦ τε Οὐάρου τῷ[3] Σκιπίωνι τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἀμφισβητήσαντος, ἐπειδὴ αὐτὸς ἐκ πλείονος ἐν τοῖς ταύτῃ χωρίοις ἦρχε, καὶ τοῦ Ἰόβου τῇ νίκῃ ἐπαιρομένου καὶ
2 τὰ πρῶτα δι᾽ αὐτὴν ἀξιοῦντος φέρεσθαι· συμφρονήσαντες δὲ[4] ὅ τε Σκιπίων καὶ ὁ Κάτων, οἷα ὁ μὲν τῇ ἀξιώσει ὁ δὲ τῇ συνέσει πολὺ πάντων σφῶν προήκοντες, τούς τε ἄλλους προσεποιήσαντο καὶ ἐκείνους ἔπεισαν τῷ Σκιπίωνι πάντα ἐπιτρέψαι. ὁ γὰρ Κάτων δυνηθεὶς ἂν ἐξ ἴσου
3 αὐτῷ ἢ καὶ μόνος ἄρξαι οὐκ ἠθέλησε, τὸ μὲν ὅτι βλαβερώτατον τοῖς τοιούτοις ἡγεῖτο εἶναι, τὸ δὲ ὅτι τῷ πολιτικῷ ἀξιώματι ἠλαττοῦτο αὐτοῦ· πολὺ γὰρ ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐν τοῖς στρατιωτικοῖς ἑώρα δυνάμενον τὸ τὸν ἄρχοντα καὶ νόμῳ δή τινι τῶν ἄλλων προκεκρίσθαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῆς τε ἀρχῆς ἑκὼν αὐτῷ παρεχώρησε, καὶ προσέτι
4 καὶ τὰ στρατεύματα ἃ ἐπηγάγετο παρέδωκε. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐκ τούτου τήν τε Οὐτικήν, ὑποπτευθεῖσαν τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος φρονεῖν καὶ ὀλίγου καὶ ἀνάστατον ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπὶ τούτῳ γενομένην, ἐξαιτησάμενος ἐς φυλακὴν ὑπεδέξατο, καὶ τὴν χώραν τήν τε θάλασσαν τὴν ταύτῃ πᾶσαν φρουρεῖν ἐπετράπη· τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ὁ Σκιπίων αὐτοκράτωρ
5 ἦρχε. καὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ὄνομα πολὺ πάντας

[1] δέξεσθαι Reim., δέξασθαι L.
[2] ὡς τήν τε Rk., ὥστε τὴν L.
[3] τῷ Leuncl., τῷ τε L.
[4] δὲ Reim., γὰρ L.

of Pompey the Great; and while he was making preparations to occupy Spain in a short time and to set out from there to the capital, the others were getting ready to make the voyage to Italy. At first they experienced a slight delay, due to a dispute between Varus and Scipio about the leadership, inasmuch as the former had held sway for a longer time in these regions, and Juba also, elated by his victory, demanded that he should have first place because of it. But Scipio and Cato, who far excelled them all in rank and in shrewdness respectively, reached an agreement and won the rest over to it, persuading them to entrust everything to Scipio. For Cato, who might have commanded on equal terms with him, or even alone, refused, first, because he thought it a most injurious course in such circumstances, and second, because he was inferior to the other in official rank. He saw that in military matters even more than elsewhere it was very important that the commander should have some legal precedence over the others, and therefore he willingly yielded him the command and furthermore delivered to him the armies that he had brought there. After this Cato interceded on behalf of Utica, which was suspected of favouring Caesar's cause and had come near being destroyed by the others on this account, and thus he received it to guard, and the whole country and sea in that vicinity were entrusted to his protection. The other districts were governed by Scipio as commander-in-chief. His very name was a source B.C. 47

τοὺς ὁμογνωμονοῦντάς οἱ ἐπερρώννυε, νομίζοντας οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ἀλόγῳ τινὶ πίστει μηδένα ἂν Σκιπίωνα ἐν τῇ Ἀφρικῇ κακῶς πρᾶξαι.

58 Μαθὼν οὖν τοῦτο ὁ Καῖσαρ, καὶ ἰδὼν ὅτι καὶ οἱ μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ στρατευόμενοι πεπεισμένοι τε αὐτὸ οὕτως ἔχειν εἰσὶ καὶ φοβοῦνται, προσπαρέλαβέ τινα ἔκ τε τοῦ γένους τοῦ τῶν Σκιπιώνων ὄντα καὶ τὴν προσηγορίαν ταύτην φέροντα
2 (ἐπεκαλεῖτο δὲ Σαλουτίων[1]), καὶ οὕτω τόν τε πλοῦν πρὸς Ἀδρύμητον ἐποιήσατο (τὰ γὰρ ἐν τῇ Οὐτικῇ ἰσχυρῶς ἐφρουρεῖτο), καὶ ἔλαθεν αὐτοὺς ἀνέλπιστος ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος περαιωθείς. ἐκβάντι δὲ αὐτῷ τῆς νεὼς συντυχία τοιάδε ἐγένετο, ὑφ' ἧς εἰ καί τι φοβερὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ δαιμονίου σφίσιν ἐσημαίνετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτό
3 γε ἐκεῖνο ἐς ἀγαθὸν ἔτρεψεν· ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἅμα τῷ τῆς γῆς ἐπιβῆναι προσέπταισε, καὶ αὐτὸν πεσόντα ἐπὶ στόμα οἱ στρατιῶται ἰδόντες ἠθύμησαν καὶ δυσανασχετήσαντες ἐθορύβησαν, οὐ διηπορήθη, ἀλλ' ἐκτείνας τὼ χεῖρε[2] τήν τε γῆν, ὡς καὶ ἑκὼν δὴ πεσών, περιέλαβε καὶ κατεφίλησε, καὶ ἀναβοήσας εἶπεν "ἔχω σε,
4 Ἀφρική." ἐκ δὲ τούτου προσέβαλε μὲν τῷ Ἁδρυμήτῳ, ἀποκρουσθεὶς δὲ καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου βιαίως ἐκβληθεὶς μετέστη πρὸς πόλιν ἑτέραν Ῥούσπινα, καὶ δεχθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν χειμάδιόν τε ἐν αὐτῇ κατεσκευάσατο, καὶ ἐκεῖθεν ὁρμώμενος ἐπολέμει.

[1] Σαλουτίων Fabr., σαλάττων L.
[2] τὼ χεῖρε v. Herw., τὴν χεῖρα L Xiph. Bekk. Anecd.

of strength to all those who sided with him, since by some strange, unreasonable hope they believed that no Scipio could meet with misfortune in Africa. B.C. 47

When Caesar learned of this and saw that his own soldiers also were persuaded that it was so and were consequently afraid, he added to his retinue a man of the family of the Scipios who bore that name (he was otherwise known as Salutio [1]), and then made the voyage to Hadrumetum, since the neighbourhood of Utica was strictly guarded; and since his crossing in the winter was unexpected, he escaped the enemy's notice. When he had left his ship, an accident happened to him which, even if some disaster was portended to his expedition by Heaven, he nevertheless turned to a good omen. Just as he was setting foot on land he slipped, and the soldiers, seeing him fall on his face, were disheartened and in their chagrin raised an outcry; Caesar, however, did not lose his presence of mind, but stretching out his hands as if he had fallen on purpose, he embraced and kissed the ground, crying out: "I have thee, Africa!" Thereupon he made an assault upon Hadrumetum, but was repulsed and actually driven out of his camp by main force. Then he transferred his position to another city called Ruspina, and being received by the inhabitants, established his winter quarters there and proceeded to carry on the war from that base.

[1] Or Salvito; cf. Plutarch, *Caes.* 52, and Suetonius, *Iul.* 59.

BOOK XLIII

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ τετταρακοστῷ τρίτῳ τῶν Δίωνος Ῥωμαϊκῶν

α. Ὡς Καῖσαρ Σκιπίωνα καὶ Ἰόβαν ἐνίκησεν.
β. Ὡς Νουμιδίαν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι ἔσχον.
γ. Ὡς Κάτων ἑαυτὸν ἀπέκτεινεν.
δ. Ὡς Καῖσαρ ἐς Ῥώμην ἐπανῆλθε καὶ τὰ ἐπινίκια ἔπεμψε καὶ τἆλλα κατεστήσατο.
ε. Ὡς ἥ τε ἀγορὰ Καίσαρος καὶ ὁ ναὸς ὁ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης καθιερώθη.
ϛ. Ὡς Καῖσαρ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἐς τὸν νῦν τρόπον κατεστήσατο.
η. Ὡς Καῖσαρ Γναῖον Πομπήιον τὸν τοῦ Πομπηίου υἱὸν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ ἐνίκησεν.
θ. Ὡς πρῶτον ὕπατοι ἐς οὐχ ὅλον τὸ ἔτος ἀπεδείχθησαν.
ι. Ὡς Καρχηδὼν καὶ Κόρινθος ἀπῳκίσθη.
ια. Ὡς οἱ Κερεάλιοι ἀγορανόμοι κατεστάθησαν.

Χρόνου πλῆθος ἔτη τρία, ἐν οἷς ἄρχοντες οἱ ἀριθμούμενοι οἵδε ἐγένοντο·

Γ. Ἰούλιος Γ. υἱ. Καῖσαρ δικτάτωρ τὸ γʹ [1]
μετὰ Αἰμιλίου Λεπίδου ἱππάρχου
καὶ ὕπατος τὸ γʹ μετὰ Αἰμιλίου Λεπίδου [2]
Γ.[3] Ἰούλιος Καῖσαρ δικτάτωρ τὸ δʹ
μετὰ Αἰμιλίου Λεπίδου [4] ἱππάρχου
καὶ ὕπατος τὸ δʹ μόνος
Γ.[5] Ἰούλιος Καῖσαρ δικτάτωρ τὸ εʹ
μετὰ Αἰμιλίου Λεπίδου ἱππάρχου
καὶ ὕπατος τὸ εʹ μετὰ Μ.[6] Ἀντωνίου.

Τότε μὲν ταῦτ' ἔπραξε, τῷ δὲ ἐχομένῳ ἔτει καὶ ἐδικτατόρευσεν ἅμα καὶ ὑπάτευσε, τρίτον ἑκάτερον, τοῦ Λεπίδου οἱ ἀμφοτέρωθι [7] συνάρξαντος.

[1] τὸ γʹ St., τοῦ L.
[2] L. adds ὑπ. after Λεπίδου and Ἀντωνίου. Deleted by Bs.
[3] Γ. Bs., γάιος L.
[4] Λεπίδου supplied by Bs.

BOOK XLIII

The following is contained in the Forty-third of Dio's *Rome*:—

How Caesar conquered Scipio and Juba (chaps. 1–8).
How the Romans got possession of Numidia (chap. 9).
How Cato slew himself (chaps. 10–13).
How Caesar returned to Rome and celebrated his triumph and settled other matters (chaps. 14–21).
How the Forum of Caesar and the Temple of Venus were consecrated (chaps. 22–24).
How Caesar arranged the year in its present fashion (chap. 26).
How Caesar conquered Gnaeus Pompey, the son of Pompey, in Spain (chaps. 28–41).
How for the first time consuls were appointed for less than an entire year (chap. 46).
How Carthage and Corinth received colonies (chap. 50).
How the *Aediles Cereales* were appointed (chap. 51).

Duration of time, three years, in which there were the magistrates here enumerated:—

B.C.
46 C. Iulius C. F. Caesar, dictator (III), with Aemilius Lepidus, master of horse, and consul (III) with Aemilius Lepidus.
45 C. Iulius Caesar, dictator (IV), with Aemilius Lepidus, master of horse, and consul (IV) alone.
44 C. Iulius Caesar, dictator (V), with Aemilius Lepidus, master of horse, and consul (V) with M. Antonius.

Such were Caesar's experiences at that time. The B.C. 46
following year he became both dictator and consul at once, holding each of the offices for the third time, and with Lepidus as his colleague in both

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[5] Γ. supplied by Bs. [6] M. supplied by Bs.
[7] ἀμφοτέρωθι v. Herw., ἀμφοτέροις L.

ἐπειδὴ γὰρ δικτάτωρ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τὸ πρῶτον ἐλέχθη, παραχρῆμά τε αὐτὸν μετὰ τὴν στρατηγίαν ἐς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν τὴν πλησιαιτέραν ἔστειλε,
2 καὶ ἐπανελθόντα ἐπινικίοις, μήτε τινὰς νικήσαντα μήτ' ἀρχὴν μαχεσάμενόν τισιν, ἐτίμησε, πρόφασιν ὅτι τοῖς ὑπό τε τοῦ Λογγίνου καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ
3 Μαρκέλλου πραχθεῖσι παρεγένετο. οὔκουν οὐδὲ ἔπεμψέ τι ἐπ' ἀληθείας, πλὴν τῶν χρημάτων ἃ τοὺς συμμάχους ἐσεσυλήκει. τούτοις τε οὖν αὐτὸν ἤγηλε,[1] καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ συνάρχοντα ἑκατέρωθι προσείλετο.

2 Καὶ αὐτῶν ἀρχόντων ἤδη οἵ τε ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐταράχθησαν ὑπὸ σημείων· λύκος τε γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ ὤφθη, καὶ χοῖρος ἐλέφαντι πλὴν τῶν ποδῶν ὅμοιος ἐγεννήθη· κἀν τῇ Ἀφρικῇ ὅ τε Πετρεῖος καὶ ὁ Λαβιῆνος τηρήσαντες τὸν Καίσαρα πρὸς
2 κώμας ἐπὶ σῖτον ἐξεληλυθότα, τήν τε ἵππον αὐτοῦ μηδέπω καλῶς ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐρρωμένην ἐς τοὺς πεζοὺς τοῖς Νομάσι κατήραξαν,[2] καὶ συνταραχθείσης πρὸς τοῦτο τῆς ἀσπίδος πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἐν χερσὶν ἀπέκτειναν, πάντας δ' ἂν καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀνειληθέντας ἐπὶ μετέωρόν
3 τι ἐξέκοψαν, εἰ μὴ ἰσχυρῶς ἐτρώθησαν. ἐπὶ πλεῖον δ' οὖν καὶ ὥς, τούτου συμβεβηκότος, τὸν Καίσαρα κατέπληξαν. λογιζόμενος μὲν γὰρ ὡς ὑπὸ ὀλίγων ἔπταισε, προσδεχόμενος δὲ καὶ τὸν Σκιπίωνα τόν τε Ἰόβαν πάσαις, ὥσπερ ἠγγέλλοντο, ταῖς δυνάμεσιν εὐθὺς ἀφίξεσθαι, διηπόρει
4 καὶ οὐκ εἶχεν ὅ τι πράξῃ· τόν τε γὰρ πόλεμον μηδέπω καλῶς διενεγκεῖν δυνάμενος, καὶ τὴν ἐν

[1] ἤγηλε Xyl., ἤγγειλε L.
[2] κατήραξαν Turneb., κατῆρξαν L.

instances. For when he had been named dictator by Lepidus the first time, he had sent him immediately after his praetorship into Hither Spain; and upon his return he had honoured him with a triumph, although Lepidus had conquered no foes nor so much as fought with any, the pretext being that he had been present at the exploits of Longinus and of Marcellus. Accordingly, he sent home nothing, as a matter of fact, except the money he had plundered from the allies. Caesar besides exalting Lepidus with these honours chose him later as his colleague in both the positions mentioned. B.C. 46

When now they were in office, the people of Rome were disturbed by prodigies; for a wolf was seen in the city, and a pig was born resembling an elephant save for its feet. In Africa, Petreius and Labienus, after waiting until Caesar had gone out to villages after grain, drove his cavalry, which had not yet thoroughly recovered its strength after the sea-voyage, back upon the infantry with the aid of the Numidians; and while the latter as a result was in great confusion, they killed many of the soldiers in hand-to-hand fighting. Indeed, they would also have cut down all the others, who had crowded together on some high ground, had they not received grievous wounds themselves. Even so, they alarmed Caesar not a little by this deed. For considering how he had been checked by a few, and expecting, too, that Scipio and Juba would arrive directly with all their forces, as it was reported they would, he was greatly embarrassed and did not know what course to adopt. For he was not yet able to carry through the war to a satisfactory conclusion; and he saw that to

ταὐτῷ μονὴν χαλεπήν, κἂν οἱ πολέμιοί σφων ἀπέχωνται, διὰ τὴν τῆς τροφῆς ἀπορίαν, τήν τε ἀνάστασιν ἀδύνατον τῶν πολεμίων καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἠπείρου καὶ ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐπικειμένων οἱ ὁρῶν οὖσαν, ἠθύμει.

3 Ἐνταῦθ' οὖν αὐτῷ ὄντι Πούπλιός τις Σίττιος, εἴγε ἐκεῖνον ἀλλὰ μὴ τὸ δαιμόνιον δεῖ λέγειν, τήν τε σωτηρίαν ἅμα καὶ τὴν ἐπικράτησιν ἔδωκεν. οὗτος γὰρ ἐξέπεσε μὲν ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας, παραλαβὼν δὲ συμφυγάδας τινὰς καὶ περαιωθεὶς ἐς
2 Μαυριτανίαν χεῖρά τε ἤθροισε,[1] καὶ παρὰ τῷ Βόκχῳ στρατηγήσας ἐπεχείρησε τῷ Καίσαρι, μήτε τινὰ εὐεργεσίαν αὐτοῦ προέχων μήτ' ἄλλως ἐν γνώσει οἱ ὤν, τοῦ τε πολέμου συναείρασθαι καὶ
3 τὰ παρόντα συγκατεργάσασθαι. κἀκ τούτου αὐτῷ μὲν ἐκείνῳ οὐκ ἐπήμυνε· πόρρω τε γὰρ αὐτὸν ἤκουεν ὄντα, καὶ βραχύ τι ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ (οὐ γάρ πω μεγάλην ἰσχὺν εἶχεν) ὠφελήσεσθαι ἐνόμιζε· τὸν δὲ δὴ Ἰόβαν ἐκστρατεύσαντα τη-
4 ρησας ἔς τε τὴν Νουμιδίαν ἐνέβαλε, καὶ ταύτην τε[2] καὶ τὴν Γαιτουλίαν μέρος τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ οὖσαν ἐλυμήνατο, ὥστε τὸν βασιλέα τῶν τε ἐν χερσὶν ἀφέσθαι καὶ ἐκ μέσης τῆς ὁδοῦ μετὰ τοῦ πλείονος στρατοῦ ἀναστρέψαι· ἔστι γὰρ ὅ τι καὶ
5 τῷ Σκιπίωνι ἀπ' αὐτοῦ συνέπεμψεν. ἐξ οὗπερ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα διεφάνη ὅτι εἰ καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἐληλύθει, οὐκ ἄν ποτε αὐτοῖς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀντέσχεν. οὔκουν οὐδὲ μόνῳ τῷ Σκιπίωνι συμβαλεῖν[3] εὐθὺς ἐτόλμησε· τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας, τὸ μέν τι καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ μάχῃ, τὸ δὲ δὴ πλεῖον ὅτι τὸ

[1] ἤθροισε Bk., ᾔτησε L. [2] τε Bk., γε L.
[3] συμβαλεῖν Bk., συμβάλλειν L.

stay in the same place was difficult because of the lack of subsistence, even if the foe should leave his troops alone, and that to retire was impossible, with the enemy pressing upon him both by land and by sea. Consequently he was dispirited. B.C. 46

He was still in this position when one Publius Sittius (if, indeed, we ought to say it was he, and not rather Providence) brought to him at one stroke salvation and victory. This man had been exiled from Italy, and taking with him some fellow-exiles and crossing over into Mauretania, he had collected a force and served as general under Bocchus; and although he had previously received no benefit from Caesar, and was not known to him at all, in fact, he undertook to assist him in the war and help him overcome his present difficulties. In pursuance of this plan he did not go to the aid of Caesar himself, for he heard that he was at a distance and thought that his own assistance would prove of small value to him, since he had as yet no large body of troops, but waited, instead, until Juba set out on his expedition, and then he invaded Numidia, harrying it and Gaetulia (a part of Juba's dominion) so completely that the king gave up the matter in hand and turned back in the midst of his march with most of his army; for he also sent a part of it to Scipio at the same time. This fact made it very clear that if Juba had also come up, Caesar could never have withstood the two. Indeed, he did not so much as venture to join issue with Scipio alone at first, because he stood in great dread of the elephants, among other things, partly on account of their fighting abilities, but still more because they

4 ἱππικὸν αὐτοῦ ἐτάρασσον, δεινῶς ἐδεδίει. ἐν φυλακῇ οὖν τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐς ὅσον ἐδύνατο ποιῶν ὁ Καῖσαρ στρατιώτας τε ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ ἐλέφαντας μετεπέμπετο, οὐχ ὡς καὶ ἀξιόμαχόν τι δι' αὐτῶν δράσων (οὐδὲ γὰρ πολλοὶ ἦσαν), ἀλλ' ἵνα οἱ ἵπποι πρός τε τὴν ὄψιν καὶ πρὸς τὴν φωνὴν αὐτῶν ἐκμελετήσωσιν οὐδὲν ἔτι τοὺς τῶν πολεμίων φοβεῖσθαι.

2 Κἀν τούτῳ οἵ τε Γαίτουλοι προσεχώρησαν αὐτῷ καὶ ἕτεροί τινες τῶν πλησιοχώρων, τὰ μὲν δι' ἐκείνους, ἐπειδή σφας μεγάλως τιμηθέντας ἤκουσαν, τὰ δὲ καὶ τῇ τοῦ Μαρίου μνήμῃ, ὅτι
3 προσήκων αὐτοῦ ἦν. ὡς δὲ ταῦτά τε ἐγένετο, καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας βραδέως μὲν καὶ ἐπικινδύνως ὑπό τε τοῦ χειμῶνος καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων περαιωθέντες, ὅμως δ' οὖν ἦλθόν ποτε, οὐκέθ' ἡσύχασεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὐναντίον ἠπείχθη πρὸς τὴν μάχην, ὅπως πρὶν τὸν Ἰόβαν ἐπελθεῖν
4 φθάσῃ τὸν Σκιπίωνα προκατεργασάμενος. καὶ προχωρήσας ἐπ' αὐτὸν πρὸς πόλιν Οὐζζίττα ἐπὶ λόφου τινός, ὑπέρ τε ἐκείνης καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἅμα αὐτῶν ὄντος, ἱδρύθη, προεκκρούσας[1] τοὺς κατέχοντας αὐτόν, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο προσπεσόντα οἱ τὸν Σκιπίωνα ἀπό τε τοῦ μετεώρου ἀπεδίωξε καὶ τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν ἐπικαταδραμὼν
5 ἐκάκωσε. τοῦτό τε οὖν τὸ χωρίον κατέσχε καὶ ἐνετειχίσατο, καὶ ἕτερον ἐπὶ θάτερα τῆς πόλεως, τὸν Λαβιῆνον ἐπ' αὐτοῦ[2] κρατήσας, ἔλαβε· κἀκ τούτου καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτὴν ἀπετείχισεν. ὁ γὰρ Σκιπίων δείσας μὴ προαναλωθῇ, ἐς μάχην μὲν

[1] προεκκρούσας R. Steph., προσεκκρούσας L.
[2] ἐπ' αὐτοῦ Reim., ἀπ' αὐτοῦ L.

kept throwing his cavalry into confusion. Therefore, while keeping as strict guard over the camp as he could, he sent to Italy for soldiers and elephants. He did not count on the latter, to be sure, for any considerable military achievement, since there were not many of them, but desired that the horses, by becoming accustomed to the sight and sound of them, should learn to have no further fear of those belonging to the enemy. B.C. 46

Meanwhile the Gaetulians came over to his side, and also some of their neighbours, partly on account of the Gaetulians, since they heard these had been highly honoured, and partly through remembrance of Marius, since Caesar was a relative of his. When this had occurred, and his reinforcements from Italy, in spite of delay and danger due to the winter and the enemy, had at length crossed over, he no longer remained quiet, but, on the contrary, hastened forward to battle, in order to overpower Scipio before Juba's arrival. He moved forward against him in the direction of a city called Uzitta, where he took up his quarters on a crest overlooking both the city and the enemy's camp, having first dislodged those who were holding it. Later, when Scipio attacked him, he drove him away also from the higher ground, and by charging down after him with his cavalry did him some injury. So he held this position and fortified it; and he also took another hill on the other side of the city by defeating Labienus on it, after which he walled off the entire place. For Scipio, fearing his own power might be spent too soon, would no longer risk a

6 οὐκέτ' αὐτῷ ᾔει, τὸν δὲ Ἰόβαν μετεπέμπετο, καὶ αὐτῷ, ἐπειδὴ μὴ ὑπήκουέν οἱ, πάντα τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἀφρικῇ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὄντα χαρίσασθαι ὑπέσχετο. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐκ τούτου τῷ μὲν Σιττίῳ ἄλλους ἀντέταξεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Καίσαρα αὖθις ὥρμησεν.

5 Ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐγίγνετο, ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπείρασε μὲν πάντα τρόπον ἐς χεῖρας τὸν Σκιπίωνα ὑπαγαγέσθαι, μὴ δυνηθεὶς δὲ λόγους τε φιλίους ἐς τοὺς στρατιώτας αὐτοῦ καθῆκε καὶ βιβλία
2 βραχέα διέρριψεν, ὑπισχνούμενος δι' αὐτῶν τῷ μὲν ἐπιχωρίῳ τά τε οἰκεῖα ἀκέραια τηρήσειν καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐλευθέρους ἀφήσειν, τῷ δὲ Ῥωμαίῳ τήν τε ἄδειαν καὶ τὰ γέρα ἃ καὶ τοῖς συνοῦσίν οἱ ὤφειλε δώσειν· καὶ συχνούς γε ἐκ τούτου
3 προσεποιήσατο. Σκιπίων δὲ ἐπεχείρησε μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ βιβλία καὶ λόγους ἐς τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐσβαλεῖν ὡς καὶ σφετερισόμενός τινας, οὐ μέντοι καὶ μεταστῆσαι αὐτοὺς ἠδυνήθη, οὐχ ὅτι οὐκ ἂν καὶ τὰ ἐκείνου τινὲς ἀνθείλοντο,[1] εἴπερ
4 τι τῶν ὁμοίων ἐπηγγέλλετο, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἆθλον μέν σφισιν οὐδὲν ὑπισχνεῖτο, τὸν δὲ δὴ δῆμον τὸν τῶν Ῥωμαίων τήν τε γερουσίαν ἄλλως ἐλευθερῶσαι αὐτοὺς παρεκάλει. καὶ οὕτως, ἐν ᾧ δὴ τὰ εὐπρεπέστερα τῷ λόγῳ μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ χρησιμώτερα τοῖς παροῦσιν ᾑρεῖτο, οὐδένα αὐτῶν ᾠκειώσατο.

6 Μέχρι μὲν οὖν μόνος ὁ Σκιπίων ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ἦν, ταῦθ' οὕτως ἐγίγνετο, ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἰόβας ἐπῆλθεν, ἠλλοιώθη. ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ καὶ προεκαλοῦντο τοὺς ἐναντίους ἐς μάχην, καὶ μὴ

[1] ἀνθείλοντο Melber, ἀνείλοντο L.

battle with Caesar, but kept sending for Juba; and when the latter would not obey his summons, Scipio promised to make him a present of all the territory that the Romans had in Africa. Juba then appointed others to take charge of the operations against Sittius and in person once more set out against Caesar. B.C. 46

While this was going on Caesar tried in every way to draw Scipio into conflict. Baffled in this, he made friendly overtures to the latter's soldiers, and distributed among them pamphlets, in which he promised to the native that he would preserve his possessions unharmed and leave the people themselves free, and to the Roman that he would grant him pardon and the same prizes he had offered to his followers. In this way he gained over a goodly number. Scipio in like manner undertook to circulate both pamphlets and verbal offers among his opponents, with a view to winning some to himself; but he was unable to induce them to change sides. This was not because some of them would not have chosen his cause by preference, if any offers similar to Caesar's had been made; it was due rather to the fact that he did not promise them any prize, but merely urged them to liberate the Roman people and the senate. And so, inasmuch as he chose the course that was more becoming to acknowledge rather than the one that was more expedient for the situation in which he found himself, he failed to gain over any of them.

So long, then, as Scipio alone was in the camp, matters went on thus, but when Juba also came up, the situation was changed. For they both tried to provoke their opponents to battle and harassed them

2 βουλομένους συμβαλεῖν ἐλύπουν, τῷ τε ἱππικῷ τοὺς ἀποσκεδαννυμένους σφῶν ἰσχυρῶς ἔβλαπτον· ὁ δὲ δὴ Καῖσαρ οὔτε[1] ἐς χεῖρας αὐτοῖς ἑκὼν ᾔει, καὶ τὴν περιτείχισιν ἐπέσχε, καὶ τὴν τροφὴν ἀγαπητῶς ἥρπαζε, καὶ δυνάμεις ἄλλας
3 οἴκοθεν προσμετεπέμπετο. καὶ ὀψὲ μὲν καὶ χαλεπῶς ἐλθούσας αὐτάς (οὔτε γὰρ ἀθρόαι ἦσαν ἀλλὰ κατὰ βραχὺ συνελέγοντο, καὶ πλοίων ὥσθ' ἅμα περαιωθῆναι ἠπόρουν)—ἐλθούσας δ' οὖν ποτε προσλαβὼν ἀνεθάρσησεν αὖθις, καὶ ἐπεξα-
4 γαγὼν παρετάξατο πρὸ τῆς ταφρείας. ἰδόντες δὲ τοῦτο οἱ ἐναντίοι ἀντιπαρετάξαντο μέν, οὐ μὴν καὶ συνέβαλόν[2] σφισιν. καὶ τοῦτο ἐπὶ πλείους ἡμέρας ἐγένετο· πλὴν γὰρ ὅτι τοῖς ἱππεῦσιν ἐπὶ βραχὺ συμμιγνύντες ἀνεχώρουν, οὐδὲν οὐδέτεροι μέγα παρέβαλον.

7 Ὁ οὖν Καῖσαρ ἐννοήσας ὅτι οὐκ ἂν δύναιτο ἄκοντας αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν χωρίων ἐς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν ἀναγκάσαι, πρὸς Θάψον ὥρμησεν, ἵν' ἢ προσβοηθησάντων αὐτῶν τῇ πόλει συμβάλῃ[3] σφίσιν,
2 ἢ περιιδόντων ἐκείνην γε ἕλῃ. ἡ δὲ δὴ Θάψος κεῖται μὲν ἐν χερρονήσῳ τρόπον τινά, ἔνθεν μὲν τῆς θαλάσσης ἔνθεν δὲ λίμνης παρηκούσης, στενὸν δὲ δὴ τὸν ἰσθμὸν καὶ ἑλώδη διὰ μέσου οὕτως ἔχει ὥστε διχῇ μὲν δι' ἐλαχίστου δὲ ἐφ' ἑκάτερα τοῦ ἕλους παρ' αὐτὴν τὴν ῥαχίαν[4]
3 ἀμφοτέρωθεν παριέναι. πρὸς ταύτην οὖν τὴν πόλιν ὁ Καῖσαρ εἴσω τῶν στενῶν χωρήσας ἐτάφρευε

[1] οὔτε Pflugk, οὐδὲ L.
[2] συνέβαλον R. Steph., συνέβαλλον L.
[3] συμβάλῃ R. Steph , συμβάλλῃι L.
[4] ῥαχίαν R. Steph., ῥάχην L.

when they were unwilling to contend; moreover B.C. 46 with their cavalry they inflicted serious injuries upon any of them who were scattered to a distance. But Caesar was not disposed to come to close quarters with them if he could help it. He prevented their walling him in, secured a bare subsistence for his troops, and kept sending for other forces from home. These reached him only after much delay and difficulty, for they had not all been together, but were collected gradually and lacked boats in which to cross in a body. When at length they did reach him and he had added them to his army, he took courage once more and leading out his forces against the foe, arrayed them in front of the intrenchments. Seeing this, his opponents marshalled themselves in turn, but did not join issue with them. This continued for several days. For apart from brief cavalry skirmishes, after which they would retire, neither side risked any movement worth speaking of.

Accordingly, when Caesar perceived that because of the nature of the land he could not force them to engage in conflict unless they chose, he set out for Thapsus, in order that he might either engage them, if they came to the help of the city, or might at least capture the place, if they left it to its fate. Now Thapsus is situated on a kind of peninsula, with the sea stretching along on one side and a lake on the other; the isthmus between them is so narrow and marshy that one reaches the town by two roads, only a little way apart, running along either side of the marsh close to the shore. On his way toward this city Caesar, when he had got inside the narrowest point, proceeded to dig

καὶ ἐσταύρου. καὶ ἐκεῖνοι μὲν οὐδὲν πρᾶγμα αὐτῷ παρεῖχον (οὐ γὰρ ἦσαν ἀξιόμαχοι), ὁ δὲ δὴ Σκιπίων καὶ ὁ Ἰόβας ἐπεχείρησαν τὸ στόμα τοῦ ἰσθμοῦ, καθ' ὃ πρὸς τὴν ἤπειρον τελευτᾷ, σταυρώμασι καὶ ταφρεύμασι διχῇ διαλαβόντες
8 ἀνταποτειχίσαι. ἐν ἔργῳ δὲ αὐτῶν ὄντων καὶ πολὺ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἀνυόντων (ὅπως γάρ τοι θᾶσσον διατειχίσωσι, τούς τε ἐλέφαντας καθ' ὃ μηδέπω διετετάφρευτο[1] ἀλλ' εὐέφοδόν τι τοῖς πολεμίοις ἦν προσέταξαν, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ πάντες
2 εἰργάζοντο) ἐπέθετο ὁ Καῖσαρ αἰφνίδιον τοῖς ἑτέροις τοῖς[2] περὶ τὸν Σκιπίωνα, καὶ τοὺς ἐλέφαντας πόρρωθεν σφενδόναις καὶ τοξεύμασιν ἐκταράξας ἐφέσπετό τε αὐτοῖς ἀναχωρήσασι, καὶ παρὰ δόξαν τοῖς ἐργαζομένοις προσμίξας καὶ ἐκείνους ἐτρέψατο, καί σφισι φυγοῦσιν ἐς
3 τὸ ἔρυμα συνεσπεσὼν αὐτοβοεὶ αὐτὸ εἷλεν. ἰδὼν δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Ἰόβας οὕτως ἐξεπλάγη καὶ ἔδεισεν ὡς μήτε ἐς χεῖράς τινι ὑπομεῖναι ἐλθεῖν μήτε
4 τὸ στρατόπεδον διὰ φυλακῆς ποιήσασθαι. ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὖν φυγὼν καὶ οἴκαδε ἐπειχθείς, ἔπειτ' ἐπειδὴ μηδεὶς αὐτόν, ἄλλως τε καὶ τοῦ Σιττίου τοὺς ἀντικαταστάντας οἱ προνενικηκότος, ἐδέξατο, ἀπέγνω τε τὴν σωτηρίαν, καὶ τῷ Πετρείῳ μηδεμίαν μηδ' αὐτῷ ἐλπίδα ἀδείας ἔχοντι ἐμονομά-
9 χησε καὶ συναπέθανε. Καῖσαρ δὲ τό τε σταύρωμα εὐθὺς μετὰ τὴν φυγὴν αὐτοῦ ἔλαβε, καὶ φόνον πλεῖστον τῶν προστυχόντων ἁπάντων σφίσιν ἐποίησεν· οὐδὲ γὰρ τῶν μεταστάντων ἐφείσατο. κἀκ τούτου τάς τε ἄλλας πόλεις

[1] διετετάφρευτο Reim., διετάφρευτο L.
[2] τοῖς supplied by Reim.

a ditch and to erect a palisade. The townspeople B.C. 46 caused him no trouble, as they were no match for him; but Scipio and Juba undertook in their turn to wall off the neck of the isthmus, where it comes to an end at the mainland, by running palisades and ditches across from both sides. They were engaged in this work and were making great progress every day (for in order that they might build the walls across more quickly they had stationed the elephants along the portion not yet protected by a ditch and hence easy for the enemy to attack, while on the remaining portions all were working), when Caesar suddenly attacked the men who were with Scipio, and by using slings and arrows from a distance threw the elephants into great confusion. Then as they retreated he not only followed them up, but fell upon the workers unexpectedly and routed them, too; and when they fled into their camp, he dashed in with them and captured it without a blow. Juba, upon seeing this, was so startled and terrified that he ventured neither to come to close quarters with any one nor even to keep the camp under guard; so he fled and hastened homeward. And then, when no one received him, especially since Sittius had already overpowered all opposition, Juba, despairing of safety, fought in single combat with Petreius, who likewise had no hope of pardon, and together they died. Caesar, immediately after Juba's flight, captured the palisade and caused great slaughter among all who came in the way of his troops, sparing not even those who came over to his side. Next he brought the rest of

2 μηδενὸς ἀνθισταμένου παρεστήσατο, καὶ τοὺς Νομάδας λαβὼν ἔς τε τὸ ὑπήκοον ἐπήγαγε καὶ τῷ Σαλουστίῳ λόγῳ μὲν ἄρχειν ἔργῳ δὲ ἄγειν τε καὶ φέρειν ἐπέτρεψεν. ἀμέλει καὶ ἐδωροδόκησε πολλὰ καὶ ἥρπασεν, ὥστε καὶ κατηγορηθῆ-
3 ναι καὶ[1] αἰσχύνην αἰσχίστην ὀφλεῖν,[2] ὅτι τοιαῦτα συγγράμματα συγγράψας καὶ πολλὰ καὶ πικρὰ περὶ τῶν ἐκκαρπουμένων τινὰς εἰπὼν οὐκ ἐμιμήσατο τῷ ἔργῳ τοὺς λόγους. ὅθεν εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἀφείθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἀλλ' αὐτός γε ἑαυτὸν καὶ πάνυ τῇ συγγραφῇ ἐστηλοκόπησε.

4 Τοῦτό τε οὖν οὕτως ἐγένετο, καὶ τὰ ἔθνη τὰ ἐν τῇ Λιβύῃ ταῦτα τὸ μὲν περὶ τὴν Καρχηδόνα, ὃ δὴ καὶ Ἀφρικὴν καλοῦμεν, παλαιόν, ὅτι ἐκ πολλοῦ κατείργαστο, τὸ δὲ δὴ τῶν Νομάδων νέον, ὅτι
5 νεωστὶ εἴληπτο, ἐπωνομάσθη. Σκιπίων δὲ ἐκ μὲν τῆς μάχης ἔφυγε, καὶ πλοίου ἐπιτυχὼν ἐς τὴν Ἰβηρίαν πρός τε τὸν Πομπήιον ἀπῆρεν, ἐκπεσὼν δὲ ἐς τὴν Μαυριτανίαν καὶ τὸν Σίττιον φοβηθεὶς ἑαυτὸν διεχρήσατο.

10 Ὅ τε Κάτων τὸ μὲν πρῶτον συγκαταφυγόντων πρὸς αὐτὸν πολλῶν παρεσκευάζετο τῶν τε πραγμάτων ἀντιλαβέσθαι καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα τρόπον τινὰ ἀμύνασθαι·[3] ὡς δὲ οἵ τε Οὐτικήσιοι,
2 ἅτε μηδὲ ἐν τῷ πρὶν ἐχθρωδῶς τῷ Καίσαρι ἔχοντες καὶ τότε νενικηκότα αὐτὸν ὁρῶντες, οὐκ ἐπείθοντο αὐτῷ, καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς γερουσίας τῶν τε ἱππέων παρόντες ἐφοβήθησαν μὴ συλληφθῶσιν ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ δρασμὸν ἐβουλεύσαντο, αὐτὸς μὲν οὔτ' ἀντιπολεμῆσαι (οὐδὲ[4] γὰρ οἷός τε ἦν) οὔτ'

[1] καὶ supplied by Xyl. [2] ὀφλεῖν Bs., ὀφλῆσαι L.
[3] ἀμύνασθαι Pflugk, ἀμύνεσθαι L. [4] οὐδὲ Bk., οὔτε L.

the cities to terms, meeting with no opposition; and taking over the Numidians, he reduced them to the status of subjects, and delivered them to Sallust, nominally to rule, but really to harry and plunder. At all events this officer took many bribes and confiscated much property, so that he was not only accused but incurred the deepest disgrace, inasmuch as after writing such treatises as he had, and making many bitter remarks about those who fleeced others, he did not practice what he preached. Therefore, even if he was completely exonerated by Caesar, yet in his history, as upon a tablet, the man himself had chiselled his own condemnation all too well. B.C. 46

This affair, then, turned out thus. As for these districts in Libya, the region surrounding Carthage, which we also call Africa, was called the old province, because it had long ago been subjugated, whereas the region of the Numidians was called the new province, because it had been newly captured. Scipio, who had fled from the battle, chanced upon a ship and set sail for Spain to go to Pompey. But he was cast ashore in Mauretania, and through fear of Sittius made away with himself.

Cato, since many had sought refuge with him, was at first preparing to take a hand in affairs and to resist Caesar as best he might. But the people of Utica had not been hostile to Caesar in the first place, and now, seeing him victorious, would not listen to Cato; and the members of the senate and the knights who were present were afraid of being arrested by them, and so meditated flight. Cato himself, therefore, decided neither to war against Caesar,

3 αὖ προσχωρῆσαι[1] τῷ Καίσαρι ἔγνω, οὐχ ὅτι τι ἐδεδίει (καὶ γὰρ εὖ ἠπίστατο καὶ πάνυ ἂν σπουδάσαντα αὐτὸν ἑαυτοῦ, τῆς ἐπὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ δόξης ἕνεκα, φείσασθαι), ἀλλ' ὅτι τῆς τε ἐλευθερίας ἰσχυρῶς ἤρα, καὶ ἡττᾶσθαι οὐδενὸς ἐς οὐδὲν[2] ἐβούλετο, τοῦ τε θανάτου πολὺ τὸν παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἔλεον χαλεπώτερον ἡγεῖτο εἶναι.
4 συγκαλέσας δὲ τοὺς παρόντας τῶν πολιτῶν, καὶ διερωτήσας ὅποι ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ὥρμηται, ἐκείνους μὲν μετ' ἐφοδίων ἐξέπεμψε, τῷ δὲ υἱεῖ πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ἐλθεῖν ἐκέλευσε. πυθομένου τε τοῦ νεανίσκου "διὰ τί οὖν οὐχὶ καὶ σὺ τοῦτο ποιεῖς;"
5 ἀπεκρίνατο αὐτῷ ὅτι "ἐγὼ μὲν ἔν τε ἐλευθερίᾳ καὶ ἐν παρρησίᾳ τραφεὶς οὐ δύναμαι τὴν δουλείαν ἐκ μεταβολῆς ἐπὶ γήρως μεταμαθεῖν· σοὶ δ' ἐν τοιαύτῃ καταστάσει καὶ γεννηθέντι καὶ τραφέντι τὸν δαίμονα τὸν λαχόντα σε θεραπεύειν προσήκει."

11 Ταῦτ' οὖν πράξας, καὶ τοῖς Οὐτικησίοις τήν τε διοίκησιν ἀπολογισάμενος[3] καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ χρήματα τά τε ἄλλα ὅσα αὐτῶν εἶχεν ἀποδούς, προαπαλλαγῆναι πρὸ τῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀφίξεως ἠθέλησε.
2 καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν μὲν οὐκ ἐπεχείρησε τοῦτο ποιῆσαι· ὅ τε γὰρ υἱὸς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν ὄντες φυλακὴν αὐτοῦ εἶχον· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἑσπέρα ἐγένετο, ξιφίδιόν τέ τι κρύφα ὑπὸ τὸ προσκεφάλαιον ὑπέθηκε, καὶ τὸ τοῦ Πλάτωνος βιβλίον τὸ περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτῷ γεγραμμένον ᾔτησε,
3 εἶτ' οὖν πόρρω τῆς ὑποψίας τοῦ τι τοιοῦτο βουλεύσασθαι τοὺς παρόντας ἀπαγαγεῖν σπουδά-

[1] προσχωρῆσαι H. Steph., προχωρῆσαι L.
[2] οὐδενὸς ἐς οὐδὲν R. Steph., ἐς οὐδενὸς οὐδὲν L.
[3] ἀπολογισάμενος Bk., ἀπολογησάμενος L.

being unable to do so anyhow, nor yet to go over B.C. 46 to his side. This was not because of any fear, since he understood well enough that Caesar would be very eager to spare him for the sake of his reputation for humanity; but it was because he passionately loved freedom, and would not brook any defeat at the hands of anybody, and regarded Caesar's pity as far more hateful than death. So he called together the citizens who were present, enquired where each one of them was intending to go, sent them forth with supplies for their journey, and bade his son go to Caesar. To the youth's inquiry, "Why, then, do you also not do so?" he replied: "I, who have been brought up in freedom, with the right of free speech, cannot in my old age change and learn slavery instead; but for you, who were both born and brought up amid such a condition, it is proper to serve the divinity that presides over your fortunes."

When he had done this and had given to the people of Utica an account of his administration and returned to them the surplus funds, as well as whatever else of theirs he had, he wished to be rid of life before Caesar's arrival. He did not undertake to do this by day, inasmuch as his son and others surrounding him kept him under surveillance; but when evening was come, he secretly slipped a dagger under his pillow, and asked for Plato's book on the Soul.[1] This was either in the endeavour to divert those present from the suspicion that he had any

[1] The *Phaedo*.

σας, ὅπως ὡς ἥκιστα παρατηρηθῇ, εἴτε καὶ
παραμύθιόν τι πρὸς τὸν θάνατον ἐκ τῆς ἀναγνώ-
σεως αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν ἐπιθυμήσας. ὡς δὲ ἐκεῖνό τε
4 ἀνελέξατο καὶ ἡ νὺξ ἐμέσου,[1] τό τε ἐγχειρίδιον
ὑφείλκυσε,[2] καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν γαστέρα παίσας
εὐθὺς ἂν ἐτελεύτησεν ἔξαιμος γενόμενος, εἰ μὴ
καταπεσὼν ἐκ τοῦ σκιμποδίου ψόφον τε ἐποίησε
καὶ τοὺς προκοιτοῦντας[3] ἐξήγειρε. καὶ οὕτως ὅ
τε υἱὸς καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς ἐσπεσόντες τά τε ἔντερα
αὐτοῦ ἐς τὴν γαστέρα αὖθις κατέσαξαν[4] καὶ
5 θεραπείαν αὐτῷ προσήγαγον. καὶ οἱ μὲν τό τε
ξιφίδιον ἦραν καὶ τὰς θύρας ἔκλεισαν, ὅπως ὕπνου
λάχῃ (οὐ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἄλλως πως ἀποθανεῖν
αὐτὸν προσεδόκησαν)· ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἔς τε τὸ τραῦμα
τὰς χεῖρας ἐνέβαλε καὶ τὰς ῥαφὰς αὐτοῦ διαρ-
ρήξας ἀπέψυξεν.
6 Ὁ μὲν οὖν Κάτων καὶ δημοτικώτατος καὶ
ἰσχυρογνωμονέστατος[5] πάντων τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν
ἀνθρώπων γενόμενος μεγάλην δόξαν καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ
τοῦ θανάτου ἔλαβεν, ὥστε καὶ ἐπωνυμίαν Οὐτική-
σιος, ὅτι τε ἐν τῇ Οὐτικῇ οὕτως ἐτελεύτησε καὶ
12 ὅτι δημοσίᾳ ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐτάφη, κτήσασθαι· ὁ δὲ δὴ
Καῖσαρ ἐκείνῳ μὲν ὀργίζεσθαι ἔφη ὅτι οἱ τῆς ἐπὶ
τῇ σωτηρίᾳ αὐτοῦ εὐκλείας ἐφθόνησε, τὸν δὲ υἱὸν
καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τοὺς πλείους ἀφῆκεν, ὥσπερ
εἴθιστο· οἱ μὲν γὰρ εὐθὺς οἱ δὲ καὶ ὕστερον, ὅπως
ἀμβλυτέρῳ αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου γενομένῳ προσ-

[1] ἐμέσου Bk., ἐμεσοῦτο L.
[2] ὑφείλκυσε Dind., ἐφείλκυσε L.
[3] προκοιτοῦντας R. Steph., προσκοιτοῦντας L.
[4] κατέσαξαν Naber, κατέταξαν L.
[5] καὶ ἰσχυρογνωμονέστατος Bk., καὶ ἰσχυρότατος καὶ ἰσχυρογνωμονέστατος L.

such purpose in mind, in order to be observed as little as possible, or else in the desire to obtain some consolation in respect to death from the reading of it. When he had read the work through and it was now near midnight, he drew forth the dagger, and smote himself upon the belly. He would have died immediately from loss of blood, had he not in falling from the low couch made a noise and roused those who were keeping guard before his door. Thereupon his son and some others who rushed in put his bowels back into his belly again, and brought medical attendance for him. Then they took away the dagger and locked the doors, that he might obtain sleep; for they had no idea of his perishing in any other way. But he thrust his hands into the wound and broke the stitches of it, and so expired. B.C. 46

Thus Cato, who had proved himself at once the most democratic and the strongest-minded of all the men of his time, acquired great glory even from his very death and obtained the title of Uticensis, both because he had died in Utica, as described, and because he was publicly buried by the inhabitants. Caesar declared that he was angry with him, because Cato had begrudged him the distinction of saving such a man, and he released his son and most of the others, as was his custom; for they came over to him of their own accord, some at once, and others later, so as to approach him after time should have

2 ἔλθωσιν, ἐθελονταὶ προσεχώρησαν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐσώθησαν, Ἀφράνιος δὲ καὶ Φαῦστος ἑκόντες μὲν οὐκ ἦλθον πρὸς αὐτόν (καὶ γὰρ εὖ ᾔδεσαν ἀπολούμενοι), φυγόντες δὲ ἐς Μαυριτανίαν συνελήφθησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Σιττίου. καὶ ἐκείνους μὲν ἀκρίτους ὁ
3 Καῖσαρ ὡς καὶ αἰχμαλώτους ἀπέσφαξεν· τὸν δὲ δὴ Καίσαρα τὸν Λούκιον, καίπερ ἐν γένει οἱ ὄντα καὶ ἐθελούσιον ἱκετεύσαντα, ὅμως ἐπειδὴ διὰ παντὸς αὐτῷ προσεπεπολεμήκει, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀποδικῆσαι ἐκέλευσεν ὥστε ἐν δίκῃ τινὶ κατεψηφίσθαι αὐτοῦ δόξαι, ἔπειτα δὲ ὀκνήσας αὐτὸν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ φωνῇ θανατῶσαι τότε μὲν ἀνεβάλετο,[1]
13 ὕστερον δὲ καὶ κρύφα ἀπέκτεινε. καὶ γὰρ τῶν συνόντων οἱ τοὺς οὐκ ἐπιτηδείους τοὺς μὲν πρὸς τῶν ἐναντίων οὐκ ἀκουσίως ἀπέβαλλε,[2] τοὺς δὲ καὶ δι' αὐτῶν τῶν σφετέρων ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς ἐν
2 αὐταῖς ταῖς μάχαις ἀπόλλυσθαι ἐποίει. οὐ γάρ τοι καὶ φανερῶς πᾶσι τοῖς λυπήσασί τι αὐτόν, ὥσπερ εἶπον, ἐπεξῄει, ἀλλ' ὅσους μηδενὶ ἀξιόχρεῳ ἐγκλήματι μετελθεῖν ἐδύνατο, ἐν τρόπῳ δή τινι ἀφανεῖ ὑπεξῄρει, καίτοι τότε τὰ γράμματα, ὅσα ἐν τοῖς ἀπορρήτοις τοῦ Σκιπίωνος κιβωτίοις
3 εὑρέθη, πάντα καύσας πρὶν ἀναγνῶναι, καὶ τῶν ἀντιπολεμησάντων οἱ πολλοὺς μὲν δι' αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ διὰ τοὺς φίλους σώσας· τῶν τε γὰρ συναγωνιστῶν καὶ τῶν ἑταίρων[3]

[1] ἀνεβάλετο R. Steph., ἀνεβάλλετο L.
[2] ἀπέβαλλε Cobet, ἀπεβάλλετο L.
[3] ἑταίρων R. Steph., ἑτέρων L.

blunted his anger. So these were spared; but Afranius and Faustus would not come to him of their own free will, feeling sure of being put to death, but fled to Mauretania, where they were captured by Sittius. Caesar put them to death, as captives,[1] without a trial; but in the case of Lucius Caesar, though the man was related to him and came as a voluntary suppliant, nevertheless, since he had fought against him throughout, he at first bade him stand trial, so that he might seem to have condemned him with some show of legality, and then, as he shrank from putting him to death by his own vote, he postponed the trial for the time being, but afterward killed him secretly. Indeed, even in the case of those of his own followers who did not suit him he willingly lost some at the hands of the enemy and deliberately caused others to perish in the midst of the fighting at the hands of their own comrades. For, as I have said, he did not attack openly all who had injured him, but any whom he could not prosecute on a plausible charge he quietly put out of the way in some obscure fashion. And yet on this occasion he burned unread all the papers that were found in the private chests of Scipio, while of the men who had fought against him he spared many for their own sake, and many also for the sake of their friends. For, as I have stated, he always allowed each of his soldiers B.C. 46

[1] It was Caesar's regular custom to spare those who were taken captive for the first time, but to put them to death if they were captured again (cf. xli. 62, xliii. 17, xliv. 45 f.; Suet. *Iul.* 75). Hence some would read here "as captives for the second time" (ὡς καὶ πρίν, or ὡς δίς, αἰχμαλώτους). But, as Boissevain points out, the contrast here is merely between captives and a voluntary suppliant.

ἑκάστῳ ἕνα ἐξαιτεῖσθαι, ὥσπερ εἴρηται, ἐπέτρεπε.
4 καὶ δὴ[1] καὶ τὸν Κάτωνα ἔσωσεν ἄν· οὕτω γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐτεθαυμάκει[2] ὥστε τοῦ Κικέρωνος ἐγκώμιον μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτοῦ γράψαντος ἀγανακτῆσαι μὲν μηδέν, καίπερ καὶ ἐκείνου οἱ προσπολεμήσαντος, βιβλίον δέ τι γράψαι ὃ Ἀντικάτωνα ἐπεκάλεσε.

14 Καῖσαρ μὲν ταῦτά τε πράξας, καὶ τοὺς ἀφηλικεστέρους τῶν στρατιωτῶν παραχρῆμα καὶ πρὶν ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν περαιωθῆναι, μὴ καὶ στασιάσωσιν αὖθις, ἀπαλλάξας, τά τε ἄλλα
2 τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἀφρικῇ διὰ βραχέος, ὡς ἐνῆν μάλιστα, καταστήσας, μέχρι μὲν τῆς Σαρδοῦς παντὶ τῷ ναυτικῷ ἔπλευσεν, ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐκείνους μὲν ἔς τε τὴν Ἰβηρίαν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Πομπήιον μετὰ Γαΐου Διδίου ἔπεμψεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ἐκομίσθη, τὸ μὲν πλεῖστον ἐπὶ[3] τῇ τῶν ἔργων λαμπρότητι, ἤδη δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς τῇ βουλῇ
3 δόξασι μεγαλοφρονούμενος. τεσσαράκοντά τε γὰρ ἡμέρας ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ αὐτοῦ θύειν ἔγνωσαν, καὶ τὰ ἐπινίκια τὰ προεψηφισμένα ἐπί τε λευκῶν ἵππων καὶ μετὰ ῥαβδούχων τῶν τε[4] τότε αὐτῷ συνόντων καὶ ἑτέρων ὅσοις ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ δικτατορίᾳ ἐκέχρητο, ἄλλων τε αὖ ὅσους ἐν τῇ
4 δευτέρᾳ ἐσχήκει, πέμψαι οἱ ἔδοσαν. τῶν τε τρόπων τῶν ἑκάστου ἐπιστάτην (οὕτω γάρ πως[5] ὠνομάσθη ὥσπερ οὐκ ἀξίας αὐτοῦ τῆς τοῦ τιμητοῦ προσρήσεως οὔσης) ἐς τρία αὐτὸν ἔτη καὶ δικ-
5 τάτορα ἐς δέκα ἐφεξῆς εἵλοντο. καὶ προσέτι

[1] δὴ Bk., τοι L. [2] ἐτεθαυμάκει Bk., ἀνατεθαυμάκει L.
[3] ἐπὶ supplied by Bk. [4] τε supplied by Bk.
[5] πως R. Steph., πω L.

and companions to ask the life of one man. In fact B.C. 46 he would have spared Cato, too; for he had conceived such an admiration for him that when Cicero subsequently wrote an encomium of Cato he was not at all vexed, although Cicero had likewise warred against him, but merely wrote a short treatise which he entitled "Anticato."

Immediately after these events and before he crossed into Italy Caesar got rid of the older men among his soldiers for fear they might mutiny again. He arranged other matters in Africa just as rapidly as was feasible and sailed as far as Sardinia with his whole fleet. From that point he sent the dismissed troops along with Gaius Didius into Spain against Pompey, and he himself returned to Rome, priding himself particularly upon the brilliance of his achievements, but also upon the decrees of the senate as well. For they had voted that sacrifices should be offered for his victory during forty days, and had granted him permission to ride, in the triumph already voted him, in a chariot drawn by white horses and to be accompanied by all the lictors who were then with him, and by as many others as he had employed in his first dictatorship, together with as many more as he had had in his second. Furthermore, they elected him overseer of every man's conduct[1] (for some such name was given him, as if the title of censor were not worthy of him) for three years, and dictator for ten in succession.

[1] *Praefectus moribus* (Cic., *ad Fam.* ix. 15, 5).

ἐπί τε ἀρχικοῦ δίφρου μετὰ τῶν ἀεὶ ὑπάτων ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ καθίζειν καὶ γνώμην ἀεὶ πρῶτον ἀποφαίνεσθαι, ἔν τε ταῖς ἱπποδρομίαις ἁπάσαις ἀποσημαίνειν, καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς τά τε ἄλλα ὅσα τισὶν ὁ δῆμος πρότερον[1] ἔνεμεν[2] ἀποδεικνύναι
6 ἐψηφίσαντο. ἅρμα τέ τι αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ ἀντιπρόσωπον τῷ Διὶ ἱδρυθῆναι, καὶ ἐπὶ εἰκόνα αὐτὸν τῆς οἰκουμένης χαλκοῦν ἐπιβιβασθῆναι, γραφὴν ἔχοντα ὅτι ἡμίθεός ἐστι, τό τε ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀντὶ τοῦ Κατούλου, ὡς[3] καὶ τὸν νεών, ἐφ' οὗ τῇ ἐκποιήσει εὐθύνειν ἐκεῖνον ἐπεχείρησεν, ἐκτελέσαντος, ἀντεγ-
7 γραφῆναι ἐκέλευσαν. ταῦτα δὲ μόνα κατέλεξα οὐχ ὅτι καὶ μόνα ἐψηφίσθη (παμπληθῆ τε γὰρ ἐσεφέρετο καὶ δῆλον ὅτι καὶ ἐκυροῦτο) ἀλλ' ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα παρήκατο, ταῦτα δὲ προσεδέξατο.

15 Δεδογμένων δὲ ἤδη αὐτῶν ἦλθέ τε ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην, καὶ ἰδὼν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τήν τε δύναμιν αὐτοῦ φοβουμένους καὶ τὸ φρόνημα ὑποτοπουμένους, κἀκ τούτου πολλὰ καὶ δεινά, οἷά που καὶ πρὶν ἐγεγόνει, πείσεσθαι προσδοκῶντας, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὑπερόγκους οἱ τιμὰς κολακείᾳ
2 ἀλλ' οὐκ εὐνοίᾳ ἐψηφισμένους, παρεμυθήσατό τε αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐπήλπισεν εἰπὼν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ τοιάδε·

"Μηδεὶς ὑμῶν, ὦ πατέρες, προσδοκήσῃ μήτε ἐρεῖν με χαλεπὸν μηδὲν μήτε πράξειν, ὅτι καὶ νενίκηκα καὶ δύναμαι πᾶν μὲν ὅ τι ἂν ἐθελήσω

[1] πρότερον Bk., πρῶτον L.
[2] ἔνεμεν R. Steph., ἐνέμεινεν L.
[3] ὡς Xyl., γραφῆναι ὡς L.

They moreover voted that he should sit in the senate B.C. 46 upon the curule chair with the successive consuls, and should always state his opinion first, that he should give the signal at all the games in the Circus, and that he should have the appointment of the magistrates and whatever honours the people were previously accustomed to assign. And they decreed that a chariot of his should be placed on the Capitol facing the statue of Jupiter, that his statue in bronze should be mounted upon a likeness of the inhabited world, with an inscription to the effect that he was a demigod, and that his name should be inscribed upon the Capitol in place of that of Catulus on the ground that he had completed this temple after undertaking to call Catulus to account for his building of it.[1] These are the only measures I have recorded, not because they were the only ones voted, —for a great many measures were proposed and of course passed,—but because he declined the rest, whereas he accepted these.

When these decrees had now been passed, he entered Rome, and perceiving that the people were afraid of his power and suspicious of his proud bearing and consequently expected to suffer many terrible evils such as had taken place before, and realizing that it was on this account that they had voted him extravagant honours, through flattery and not through good-will, he endeavoured to encourage them and to inspire them with hope by the following speech delivered in the senate:

"Let none of you, Conscript Fathers, suppose that I shall make any harsh proclamation or do any cruel deed merely because I have conquered and am able

[1] See xxxvii. 44, 1.

ἀνεύθυνος εἰπεῖν, πᾶν δ' ὅ τι ἂν βουληθῶ μετ'
3 ἐξουσίας δρᾶσαι. μὴ μέντοι μηδ' ὅτι καὶ Μάριος
καὶ Κίννας καὶ Σύλλας, οἵ τε ἄλλοι πάντες ὡς
εἰπεῖν ὅσοι πώποτε τοὺς ἀντιστασιάσαντάς σφισιν
ἐκράτησαν, ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἐπιχειρήσεσι τῶν πρα-
γμάτων πολλὰ καὶ φιλάνθρωπα καὶ εἶπον καὶ
4 ἔπραξαν, ἐξ ὧν οὐχ ἥκιστα προσαγαγόμενοί[1]
τινας μάλιστα μὲν συμμάχοις αὐτοῖς, εἰ δὲ μή,
οὐκ ἀνταγωνισταῖς γε ἐχρήσαντο, νικήσαντες
δὲ καὶ ἐγκρατεῖς ὧν ἐπεθύμουν γενόμενοι πολὺ
τἀναντία ἐκείνων καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ ἔπραξαν,
καὶ ἐμέ τις ὑπολάβῃ τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ποιήσειν.
5 οὔτε γὰρ ἄλλως πως πεφυκὼς ἔπειτα τὸν μὲν
ἔμπροσθε χρόνον προσποιητῶς ὑμῖν ἐνωμίλησα,
νῦν δέ, ὅτι ἔξεστιν, ἀσφαλῶς θρασύνομαι· οὔτ'
αὖ ὑπὸ τῆς πολλῆς εὐπραγίας ἐξῆγμαι καὶ
τετύφωμαι ὥστε καὶ τυραννῆσαι ὑμῶν ἐπιθυμῆ-
σαι (ταῦτα γὰρ ἔμοιγε ἀμφότερα ἢ τό γε ἕτερον
6 αὐτῶν ἐκεῖνοι παθεῖν δοκοῦσιν)· ἀλλ' εἰμί τε
τῇ φύσει τοιοῦτος ὁποίου μου ἀεὶ πεπείρασθε
(τί γὰρ δεῖ με καθ' ἕκαστον ἐπεξιόντα ἐπαχθῆ,
ὡς καὶ ἐμαυτὸν ἐπαινοῦντα, γενέσθαι;) καὶ τὴν
τύχην οὐκ ἂν προπηλακίσαιμι, ἀλλ' ὅσῳ μᾶλλον
ἀγαθῆς αὐτῆς πεπείραμαι, τόσῳ μᾶλλον πρὸς
7 πάντα μετρίως[2] αὐτῇ χρήσομαι. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ'
ἐπ' ἄλλο τι τοσοῦτό τ'[3] ἰσχῦσαι καὶ τηλικοῦτον
αὐξηθῆναι ἐσπούδασα ὥστε πάντας μὲν τοὺς
ἀντιπολεμήσαντας κολάσασθαι πάντας δὲ τοὺς
ἀντιστασιάσαντας νουθετῆσαι, ἢ ἵνα καὶ ἀνδρα-
γαθίζεσθαι ἀσφαλῶς καὶ εὐτυχεῖν εὐκλεῶς δύνω-

[1] προσαγαγόμενοί Bk., προσαγόμενοί L.
[2] μετρίως Bs., κρείττω L.
[3] τ' Rk., τι L.

to say whatever I please without being called to account, and to do with full liberty whatever I choose. It is true that Marius and Cinna and Sulla and practically all the others who ever triumphed over the factions opposed to them said and did many benevolent things in the beginning of their undertakings, largely as the result of which they attracted men to their side, thus securing, if not their active support, at least their abstention from opposition; and then, after conquering and becoming masters of the ends they sought, adopted a course diametrically opposed to their former stand both in word and in deed. Let no one, however, assume that I shall act in this same way. For I have not associated with you in former time under a disguise, while possessing in reality some different nature, only to become emboldened in security now that that is possible; nor have I become so elated or puffed up by my great good fortune as to desire also to play the tyrant over you—both of which experiences, or at least one of them, seem to me to have come to those men whom I mentioned. No, I am in nature the same sort of man as you have always found me—but why go into details and become offensive as praising myself?—and I would not think of insulting Fortune, but the more I have enjoyed her favours, the more moderately will I use her in every way. For I have had no other motive in striving to secure so great power and to rise to such a height that I might punish all active foes and admonish all those of the other faction, than that I might be able to play a man's part without danger and to obtain prosperity B.C. 46

16 μαι.[1] οὔτε γὰρ ἄλλως καλὸν ἢ δίκαιον, ὅσα τις τοῖς διχογνωμονήσασιν ἐπεκάλεσε, ταῦτα αὐτὸν ποιοῦντα ἐξελεγχθῆναι· οὔτ' ἂν ἔγωγε ἀξιώσαιμί ποτε, τῇ τῶν ἔργων ζηλώσει ὁμοιωθεὶς αὐτοῖς, μόνῃ τῇ τῆς παντελοῦς νίκης φήμῃ
2 διαλλάξαι. τίς μὲν γὰρ πλείω καὶ μείζω τινὰς εὖ ποιεῖν ὀφείλει τοῦ μάλιστα δυναμένου; τίς δὲ ἧττον ἐξαμαρτάνειν τοῦ πλεῖστον ἰσχύοντος; τίς εὐβουλότερον τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ δαιμονίου δοθεῖσι χρῆσθαι τοῦ τὰ μέγιστα παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβόντος; τίς ὀρθότερον τὰ παρόντα ἀγαθὰ μεταχειρίζεσθαι τοῦ πλεῖστά τε ἔχοντος καὶ μάλιστα περὶ
3 αὐτῶν μὴ καὶ ἀπόληται φοβουμένου; ἡ μὲν γὰρ εὐπραγία σωφροσύνην λαβοῦσα διαμένει, καὶ ἡ ἐξουσία μετριάσασα πάντα τὰ κτηθέντα τηρεῖ· τό τε μέγιστον, καὶ ὅπερ ἥκιστα τοῖς εὖ[2] χωρὶς ἀρετῆς φερομένοις ὑπάρχει, καὶ ζῶσιν ἀδόλως φιλεῖσθαι καὶ τελευτήσασιν ἀληθῶς
4 ἐπαινεῖσθαι διδόασιν. ὁ δὲ ἀνέδην[3] ἐς πάντα ἁπλῶς τῇ δυνάμει καταχρώμενος οὔτε εὔνοιαν ἀληθῆ οὔτ' ἀσφάλειαν ἀκριβῆ εὑρίσκεται, ἀλλ' ἐν μὲν τῷ φανερῷ πλαστῶς κολακεύεται . . .[4] τὸν γὰρ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἐξουσίας ἀκράτορα[5] οἵ τε ἄλλοι πάντες καὶ οἱ μάλιστα αὐτῷ χρώμενοι καὶ ὑποπτεύουσι καὶ φοβοῦνται.

17 "Ταῦτα δὲ οὐκ ἄλλως ἐφιλοσόφησα, ἀλλ' ἵνα εἰδῆτε ὅτι οὐκ ἐς ἐπίδειξιν, οὐδ' ἀπ' αὐτομάτου

[1] δύνωμαι H. Steph., δύναμαι L.
[2] εὖ Bk., οὐ L.
[3] ἀνέδην Rk., ἀναίδην L.
[4] Lacuna recognized by Reim.
[5] ἀκράτορα Bk., αὐτοκράτορα L.

with honour. For in general it is neither noble nor just for a man to be convicted of doing the things which he has rebuked in those who have differed from him in opinion; nor will I ever think it proper to be likened to such men through my imitation of their deeds, and to differ merely by the reputation of my complete victory. For who ought to confer more and greater benefits upon people than he who has the greatest power? Who ought to err less than he who is the strongest? Who should use the gifts of Heaven more sensibly than he who has received the greatest ones from that source? Who ought to use present blessings more uprightly than he who has the most of them and is most afraid of losing them? For good fortune, if joined to self-control, is enduring, and authority, if it maintains moderation, preserves all that has been acquired; and, greatest of all, and also rarest with those who gain success without virtue, these things make it possible for their possessors to be loved unfeignedly while living and to receive genuine praise when dead. But the man who recklessly abuses his power on absolutely all occasions finds for himself neither genuine good-will nor certain safety, but, though accorded a false flattery in public, [is secretly plotted against (?)]. For the whole world, including his nearest associates, both suspects and fears a ruler who is not master of his own power. B.C. 46

"These statements that I have made are no mere sophistries, but are intended to convince you that what I think and say is not for effect nor yet

νῦν προσπεσόντα αὐτά, ἀλλὰ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς καὶ πρέπειν μοι καὶ συμφέρειν κρίνας καὶ φρονῶ καὶ λέγω, ὥσθ' ὑμᾶς μὴ πρὸς τὸ παρὸν μόνον θαρσεῖν ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον εὐέλπιδας εἶναι, ἐνθυμουμένους ὅτι, εἴπερ τι αὐτῶν ἐπλαττόμην, οὐκ ἂν ἀνεβαλόμην ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ τήμερον
2 ἐξέφηνα. ἀλλ' οὔτε πρότερον ἄλλως πως ἐφρόνησα, ὥσπερ που καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ ἔργα τεκμηριοῖ, νῦν τε πολὺ μᾶλλον προθυμήσομαι μετὰ πάσης ἐπιεικείας οὐ μὰ Δί' οὐ δεσπόζειν ὑμῶν ἀλλὰ προστατεῖν, οὐδὲ τυραννεύειν ἀλλ' ἡγεμονεύειν, πρὸς μὲν τἆλλα πάνθ' ὅσα ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν δεῖ πράττειν καὶ ὕπατος καὶ δικτάτωρ, πρὸς δὲ δὴ τὸ
3 κακῶς ποιῆσαί τινα ἰδιώτης ὤν. τοῦτο γὰρ μόνον οὐδὲ[1] ῥηθῆναι καλὸν εἶναι νομίζω. πῶς μὲν γὰρ ἂν[2] ἀποκτείναιμί τινα ὑμῶν τῶν μηδέν με ἠδικηκότων ὁ μηδένα μὲν τῶν μὴ ἀντιταξαμένων[3] μοι φθείρας, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα προθύμως τἆλλά τισι κατ' ἐμοῦ συνήραντο,[4] πάντας δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἅπαξ[5] ἀντικαταστάντας μοι ἐλεήσας καὶ πολλοὺς καὶ τῶν δεύτερον ἀντιμαχεσαμένων
4 σώσας; πῶς δ' ἂν μνησικακήσαιμί[6] τισιν ὁ καὶ τὰ γράμματα, ὅσα καὶ παρὰ τῷ Πομπηίῳ καὶ παρὰ τῷ Σκιπίωνι ἀπόρρητα εὑρέθη, μήτ' ἀναγνοὺς μήτ' ἐκγραψάμενος[7] ἀλλ' εὐθὺς κατακαύσας; ὥστε θαρσούντως, ὦ πατέρες, οἰκειωθῶμεν, ἐκλαθόμενοι μὲν πάντων τῶν συμβεβηκότων

[1] οὐδὲ Rk., οὐ L. [2] ἂν added by Bk.
[3] μὴ ἀντιταξαμένων Bk., ἀντιπραξαμένων L.
[4] συνήραντο Rk., προσήραντο L.
[5] ἅπαξ Xyl., ἅπαν L.
[6] ἂν μνησικακήσαιμί R. Steph., ἀναμνησικακήσαιμί L.
[7] ἐκγραψάμενος Reim., ἐγγραψάμενος L.

thoughts that have just chanced to occur to me on the spur of the moment, but rather are convictions regarding what at the outset I decided was both suitable and advantageous for me. Consequently you may not only be of good courage with reference to the present, but also hopeful as regards the future, when you reflect that, if I had really been using any pretence, I should not now be deferring my projects, but would have made them known this very day. However, I was never otherwise minded in times past, as, indeed, my acts themselves prove, and now I shall be far more eager than ever with all reasonableness to be, not your master,—Jupiter forbid!—but your champion, not your tyrant, but your leader. When it comes to accomplishing everything else that must be done on your behalf, I will be both consul and dictator, but when it comes to injuring any one of you, a private citizen. That, in fact, is the one thing which I think should not even be mentioned. For why should I put any one of you to death, who have done me no harm, when I have destroyed none of those who were not arrayed against me, no matter how zealously in general they had joined with some of my enemies against me, and when I have taken pity on all those who withstood me but once and in many cases have spared even those who fought against me a second time? Why should I bear malice toward any, seeing that I immediately burned all the documents that were found among the private papers both in Pompey's and in Scipio's tents, and that without reading or copying them? Let us, therefore, Conscript Fathers, confidently unite our interests, forgetting all past events as if they had B.C. 46

5 ὡς καὶ ἀνάγκῃ τινὶ δαιμονίᾳ γεγονότων, ἀρξά-
μενοι δὲ ἀνυπόπτως ἀλλήλους καθάπερ τινὰς
καινοὺς πολίτας φιλεῖν, ἵν' ὑμεῖς τε ὡς πρὸς
πατέρα με προσφέρησθε, τὴν μὲν πρόνοιαν τήν
τε κηδεμονίαν τὴν παρ' ἐμοῦ καρπούμενοι, τῶν
δὲ δυσχερεστέρων μηδὲν φοβούμενοι, καὶ ἐγὼ ὡς
6 παίδων ὑμῶν ἐπιμελῶμαι,[1] πάντα μὲν τὰ κάλ-
λιστα ἀεὶ γίγνεσθαι ὑφ' ὑμῶν εὐχόμενος, φέρων
δὲ ἀναγκαίως τὰ ἀνθρώπινα, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀγαθοὺς
ταῖς προσηκούσαις τιμαῖς ἀγάλλων, τοὺς δὲ
λοιποὺς ἐπανορθῶν καθ' ὅσον ἐνδέχεται.
18 "Μὴ μέντοι μηδὲ τοὺς στρατιώτας δείσητε, μηδ'
ἄλλο τι αὐτοὺς ἢ φύλακας τῆς τε ἐμῆς ἀρχῆς
καὶ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἅμα νομίσητε εἶναι· τρέφεσθαι
μὲν γάρ σφας ἀνάγκη πολλῶν ἕνεκα, τραφήσονται
δὲ οὐκ ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, τοῖς τε διδο-
μένοις ἀρκούμενοι καὶ τοὺς διδόντας αὐτὰ ἀγα-
2 πῶντες. διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο καὶ τὰ χρήματα ἐπὶ
πλεῖον τοῦ συνήθους ἐισπέπρακται, ἵνα τό τε
στασιάσαν ἅμα σωφρονισθῇ καὶ τὸ κεκρατηκὸς
αὐτάρκη τροφὴν λαβὸν μὴ στασιάσῃ. οὐ γάρ
που[2] καὶ ἰδίᾳ τι αὐτῶν ἀποκεκέρδαγκα, ὅς γε
πάντα μὲν τὰ ὑπάρχοντά μοι, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ
3 δεδανεισμένος προσανάλωκα ὑμῖν· ἀλλ' ὁρᾶτε
ὅτι τὰ μέν τινα αὐτῶν ἐς τοὺς πολέμους[3] δεδα-
πάνηται, τὰ δὲ καὶ ὑμῖν τετήρηται, ἀφ' ὧν ἥ τε
πόλις κοσμηθήσεται[4] καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ διοικηθήσεται.
ὥστε τὸ μὲν ἐπίφθονον τῆς ἐσπράξεως αὐτὸς
ἀνεδεξάμην, τῆς δ' ὠφελίας[5] κοινῇ πάντες ἀπο-

[1] ἐπιμελῶμαι R. Steph., ἐπιμελοῦμαι L.
[2] που Pflugk, πω L. [3] πολέμους St., πολεμίους L.
[4] κοσμηθήσεται Wesseling, κομισθήσεται L.
[5] ὠφελίας Bs., ὠφελείας L.

been brought to pass by some supernatural force, and B.C. 46
beginning to love each other without suspicion as if we were in some sort new citizens. In this way you will conduct yourselves toward me as toward a father, enjoying the forethought and solicitude which I shall give you and fearing nothing unpleasant, and I will take thought for you as for my children, praying that only the noblest deeds may ever be accomplished by your exertions, and yet enduring perforce the limitations of human nature, exalting the good citizens by fitting honours and correcting the rest so far as that is possible.

"And do not fear the soldiers, either, or regard them in any other light than as guardians of my empire, which is at the same time yours. That they should be supported is necessary, for many reasons, but they will be supported for your benefit, not against you; and they will be content with what is given them and will think well of the givers. This is the reason why the taxes now levied are higher than usual, in order that the seditious element may be made submissive and the victorious element, by receiving sufficient support, may not become seditious. Of course I have received no private gain from these funds, seeing that I have expended for you all that I possessed, and also much that was borrowed. No, you can see that a part of the taxes has been expended on the wars and that the rest has been kept safe for you; it will serve to adorn the city and carry on the government in general. I have, then, taken upon my own shoulders the odium of the levy, whereas you will all enjoy its advantages in common, in the

4 λαύσετε, τά τε ἄλλα καὶ ἐν ταῖς στρατείαις· τῶν τε γὰρ ὅπλων ἀεὶ ἡμῖν δεῖ, ἐπειδὴ μὴ οἷόν τέ ἐστιν ἄνευ αὐτῶν πόλιν τε τηλικαύτην οἰκοῦντας καὶ ἀρχὴν τοσαύτην ἔχοντας ἀσφαλῶς ζῆσαι, καὶ ἡ περιουσία τῶν χρημάτων καὶ ἐκεῖνα ἰσχυρῶς
5 ὠφελεῖ. μὴ μέντοι καὶ ὑποπτεύσῃ τις ὑμῶν ὅτι ἢ τῶν πλουσίων τινὰ λυπήσω ἢ[1] καὶ τέλη τινὰ καινὰ καταστήσω· τοῖς τε γὰρ παροῦσιν ἀρκεσθήσομαι, καὶ προθυμήσομαι συνευπορῆσαί τι μᾶλλον ὑμῖν ἢ διὰ χρήματά τινα ἀδικῆσαι."

6 Τοιαῦτα ὁ Καῖσαρ ἔν τε τῷ συνεδρίῳ καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν τῷ δήμῳ εἰπὼν ἐπεκούφισε μέν πως αὐτοὺς τοῦ δέους, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἠδυνήθη πεῖσαι παντάπασι θαρσεῖν, πρὶν καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις τὰς ἐπαγγελίας βεβαιώσασθαι.

19 Μετὰ δὲ δὴ τοῦτο τά τε ἄλλα λαμπρῶς, ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἐπί τε τοσαύταις καὶ τηλικαύταις ἅμα νίκαις ἦν, ἐποίει, καὶ τὰ ἐπινίκια τῶν τε Γαλατῶν καὶ τῆς Αἰγύπτου τοῦ τε Φαρνάκου καὶ τοῦ Ἰόβου τετραχῇ χωρὶς τέσσαρσιν ἡμέραις ἔπεμψε.
2 καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ηὔφρανέ που τοὺς ὁρῶντας, ἡ δ' Ἀρσινόη ἡ Αἰγυπτία (καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνην ἐν τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις παρήγαγε) τό τε πλῆθος τῶν ῥαβδούχων καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀφρικῇ ἀπολωλότων πομπεῖα δεινῶς αὐτοὺς
3 ἐλύπησεν. ὅ τε γὰρ ἀριθμὸς ὁ τῶν ῥαβδούχων ἐπαχθέστατόν σφισιν ὄχλον, ἅτε μήπω πρότερον τοσούτους ἅμα ἑορακόσι, παρέσχε· καὶ ἡ Ἀρσινόη γυνή τε οὖσα καὶ βασιλίς ποτε[2] νομισθεῖσα ἔν τε δεσμοῖς,[3] ὃ μηπώποτε ἔν γε τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐγε-

[1] ἢ supplied by Reim. [2] ποτε Xyl., τότε L.
[3] δεσμοῖς Turneb., δήμοις L.

campaigns as well as elsewhere. For we are always in need of arms, since without them it is impossible for us, who live in so great a city and hold so extensive an empire, to live in safety; and an abundance of money is a great help in this matter as well as elsewhere. However, let none of you suspect that I shall harass any man who is rich or establish any new taxes; I shall be satisfied with the present revenues and shall be more anxious to help make some contribution to your prosperity than to wrong any one for his money." B.C. 46

By such statements in the senate and afterward before the people Caesar relieved them to some extent of their fears, but was not able to persuade them altogether to be of good courage until he confirmed his promises by his deeds.

After this he conducted the whole festival in a brilliant manner, as was fitting in honour of victories so many and so decisive. He celebrated triumphs for the Gauls, for Egypt, for Pharnaces, and for Juba, in four sections, on four separate days. Most of it, of course, delighted the spectators, but the sight of Arsinoë of Egypt, whom he led among the captives, and the host of lictors and the symbols of triumph taken from the citizens who had fallen in Africa displeased them exceedingly. The lictors, on account of their numbers, appeared to them a most offensive multitude, since never before had they beheld so many at one time; and the sight of Arsinoë, a woman and once considered a queen, in chains,—a spectacle which had never yet been seen,

4 γόνει, ὀφθεῖσα πάμπολυν οἶκτον ἐνέβαλε, κἀκ τούτου ἐπὶ τῇ προφάσει ταύτῃ καὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα πάθη παρωδύραντο. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐκείνη μὲν διὰ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἀφείθη, ἄλλοι δὲ καὶ ὁ Οὐερκιγγετόριξ ἐθανατώθησαν.

20 Δυσχερῶς μὲν οὖν διὰ ταῦθ' ἅπερ εἶπον διετέθησαν, ἐλάχιστα δ' οὖν[1] αὐτὰ πρός γε τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἑαλωκότων καὶ πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος τῶν κατειργασμένων ἐνόμιζον εἶναι. τούτων τε[2] οὖν ἕνεκα καὶ ὑπερεθαύμαζον αὐτόν, καὶ ὅτι καὶ τὴν παρρησίαν τοῦ στρατοῦ πραότατα ἤνεγκε. τούς τε γὰρ ἐς τὸ συνέδριόν σφων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καταλεχ-
2 θέντας ἐτώθασαν, καὶ τά τε ἄλλα ὅσα ποτ' εὐτελίζετο,[3] καὶ ἐν[4] τοῖς μάλιστα τόν τε τῆς Κλεοπάτρας αὐτοῦ ἔρωτα καὶ τὴν παρὰ τῷ Νικομήδει τῷ τῆς Βιθυνίας βασιλεύσαντι διατριβήν, ὅτι μειράκιόν ποτε παρ' αὐτῷ ἐγεγόνει, διεκερτόμησαν, ὥστε καὶ εἰπεῖν ὅτι Καῖσαρ μὲν Γαλάτας ἐδουλώσατο, Καίσαρα δὲ Νικομήδης.
3 τέλος δὲ ἐφ' ἅπασιν αὐτοῖς ἀθρόοι ἀναβοήσαντες εἶπον ὅτι, ἂν μὲν καλῶς ποιήσῃς, κολασθήσῃ, ἂν δὲ κακῶς, βασιλεύσεις.[5] τοῦτο δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐβούλετο δηλοῦν ὅτι, ἂν μὲν ἀποδῷ[6] τῷ δήμῳ τὴν αὐτονομίαν, ὅπερ που δίκαιον ἐνόμιζον εἶναι, καὶ κριθήσεται ἐφ' οἷς ἔξω τῶν νόμων εἰργάσατο καὶ

[1] δ' οὖν Pflugk, γοῦν L.
[2] τε Bk., γε L.
[3] εὐτελίζετο Jacoby, ἐντίζετο L.
[4] ἐν supplied by Val.
[5] βασιλεύσεις Xiph., βασιλεύσῃς L.
[6] ἀποδῷ St., ἀποδώῃ L.

at least in Rome,—aroused very great pity, and with this as an excuse they lamented their private misfortunes. She, to be sure, was released out of consideration for her brothers; but others, including Vercingetorix, were put to death. B.C. 46

The people, accordingly, were disagreeably affected by these sights that I have mentioned, and yet they considered them of very slight importance in view of the multitude of captives and the magnitude of Caesar's accomplishments. This led them to admire him extremely, as did likewise the good nature with which he bore the army's outspoken comments. For the soldiers jeered at those of their own number who had been appointed by him to the senate and at all the other failings of which he was accused, and in particular jested about his love for Cleopatra and his sojourn at the court of Nicomedes, the ruler of Bithynia, inasmuch as he had once been at his court when a lad; indeed, they even declared that the Gauls had been enslaved by Caesar, but Caesar by Nicomedes.[1] Finally, on top of all this, they all shouted out together that if you do right, you will be punished, but if wrong, you will be king.[2] This was meant by them to signify that if Caesar should restore self-government to the people, which they of course regarded as just, he would have to stand trial for the deeds he had committed in violation of the

[1] For the obscene jest cf. Suetonius, *Iul.* 49.

[2] This remark is evidently a perversion of an old nursery jingle (*nenia*):—

Si male faxis vapulabis, si bene faxis rex eris.

Another form of it is found in Horace, *Ep.* i. 1, 59–60:—

at pueri ludentes "rex eris" aiunt
"si recte facies."

δίκην ὑφέξει,[1] ἂν δὲ τῇ δυναστείᾳ ἐμμείνῃ, ὅπερ
4 που ἀδικοῦντος ἔργον ἦν, μοναρχήσει.[1] οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἤχθετο ταῦτα αὐτῶν λεγόντων, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ ἔχαιρεν ὅτι τοσαύτῃ πρὸς αὐτὸν παρρησίᾳ, πίστει τοῦ μὴ ἂν ὀργισθῆναί ποτε ἐπ' αὐτῇ, ἐχρῶντο, πλὴν καθ' ὅσον τὴν συνουσίαν τὴν πρὸς τὸν Νικομήδη διέβαλλον· ἐπὶ γὰρ τούτῳ πάνυ τε ἐδυσκόλαινε καὶ ἔνδηλος ἦν λυπούμενος, ἀπολογεῖσθαί τε ἐπεχείρει καὶ κατώμνυε, κἀκ τούτου καὶ γέλωτα προσεπωφλίσκανεν.

21 Ἐν δ' οὖν τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν νικητηρίων τέρας οὐκ ἀγαθὸν αὐτῷ ἐγένετο· ὁ γὰρ ἄξων τοῦ ἅρματος τοῦ πομπικοῦ παρ' αὐτῷ τῷ Τυχαίῳ τῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ Λουκούλλου οἰκοδομηθέντι συνετρίβη, ὥστε ἐφ'
2 ἑτέρου αὐτὸν τὰ λοιπὰ ἐπιτελέσαι. καὶ τότε μὲν καὶ τοὺς ἀναβασμοὺς τοὺς ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ τοῖς γόνασιν ἀνερριχήσατο μηδὲν μήτε τὸ[2] ἅρμα τὸ πρὸς τὸν Δία ἀνιδρυθὲν αὐτῷ μήτε τὴν εἰκόνα τῆς οἰκουμένης τὴν ὑπὸ τοῖς ποσὶν αὐτοῦ κειμένην μήτε τὸ ἐπίγραμμα αὐτῆς ὑπολογισάμενος, ὕστερον δὲ τὸ τοῦ ἡμιθέου ὄνομα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἀπήλειψεν.
3 Οὕτω μὲν δὴ τὰ ἐπινίκια ἔπεμψε, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τόν τε δῆμον λαμπρῶς εἱστίασε καὶ σῖτον ἔξω τοῦ τεταγμένου καὶ ἔλαιον προσέδωκεν αὐτῷ. καὶ τῷ μὲν σιτοδοτουμένῳ ὄχλῳ τάς τε ἑβδομήκοντα καὶ πέντε δραχμὰς ἃς προϋπέσχητο[3] καὶ ἑτέρας πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι, τοῖς δὲ δὴ στρατιώταις
4 πεντακισχιλίας ὅλας ἔνειμεν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἁπλῶς ἐμεγαλοφρονεῖτο, ἀλλὰ τά τε ἄλλα διη-

[1] ὑφέξει, μοναρχήσει Xiph., ὑφέξῃ, μοναρχήσῃ L.
[2] τὸ Rk., ἐς τὸ L. [3] προϋπέσχητο Bk., προϋπέσχετο L.

laws and would suffer punishment; whereas, if he should hold on to his power, which was naturally the course of an unjust person, he would continue to be sole ruler. As for him, however, he was not displeased at their saying this, but was quite delighted that by such frankness toward him they showed their confidence that he would never be angry at it—except in so far as their abuse concerned his intercourse with Nicomedes. At this he was greatly vexed and manifestly pained; he attempted to defend himself, denying the affair upon oath, whereupon he incurred all the more ridicule. B.C. 46

Now on the first day of the triumph a portent far from good fell to his lot: the axle of the triumphal car broke down directly opposite the temple of Fortune built by Lucullus, so that he had to complete the rest of the course in another. On this occasion, too, he climbed up the stairs of the Capitol on his knees, without noticing at all either the chariot which had been dedicated to Jupiter in his honour, or the image of the inhabited world lying beneath his feet, or the inscription upon it; but later he erased from the inscription the term "demigod."

After the triumph he entertained the populace splendidly, giving them grain beyond the regular amount and olive oil. Also to the multitude which received doles of corn he assigned the three hundred sesterces which he had already promised and a hundred more, but to the soldiers twenty thousand in one sum. Yet he was not uniformly munificent, but in most respects was very strict; for instance, since

κριβοῦτο, καὶ τοῦ πλήθους τοῦ τὸν σῖτον φέροντος ἐπὶ μακρότατον, οὐ κατὰ δίκην ἀλλ' ὥς που ἐν ταῖς στάσεσιν εἴωθε γίγνεσθαι, ἐπαυξηθέντος ἐξέτασιν ἐποιήσατο, καὶ τούς γε ἡμίσεις ὁμοῦ τι αὐτῶν προαπήλειψε.

22 Τὰς μὲν δὴ οὖν ἄλλας τῶν νικητηρίων ἡμέρας ὥς που ἐνενόμιστο διήγαγε· τῇ δὲ τελευταίᾳ ἐπειδὴ ἐκ τοῦ δείπνου ἐγένοντο, ἔς τε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀγορὰν ἐσῆλθε βλαύτας ὑποδεδεμένος[1] καὶ ἄνθεσι παντοδαποῖς ἐστεφανωμένος, καὶ ἐκεῖθεν οἴκαδε παντὸς μὲν ὡς εἰπεῖν τοῦ δήμου παραπέμποντος αὐτόν, πολλῶν δὲ ἐλεφάντων λαμπάδας φερόντων
2 ἐκομίσθη. τὴν γὰρ ἀγορὰν τὴν ἀπ'[2] αὐτοῦ κεκλημένην κατεσκεύαστο·[3] καὶ ἔστι μὲν περικαλλεστέρα τῆς Ῥωμαίας, τὸ δὲ ἀξίωμα τὸ ἐκείνης ἐπηύξησεν, ὥστε καὶ μεγάλην αὐτὴν ὀνομάζεσθαι. ταύτην τε οὖν καὶ τὸν νεὼν τὸν τῆς Ἀφροδίτης, ὡς καὶ ἀρχηγέτιδος τοῦ γένους αὐτοῦ
3 οὔσης, ποιήσας καθιέρωσεν εὐθὺς τότε· καὶ πολλούς γε ἐπ' αὐτοῖς καὶ παντοδαποὺς ἀγῶνας ἔθηκε, θέατρόν τι κυνηγετικὸν ἰκριώσας, ὃ καὶ ἀμφιθέατρον ἐκ τοῦ πέριξ πανταχόθεν ἕδρας ἄνευ σκηνῆς ἔχειν προσερρήθη.[4] καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ[5] καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ θυγατρὶ καὶ θηρίων σφαγὰς καὶ ἀνδρῶν
4 ὁπλομαχίας ἐποίησεν, ὧν ἐάν τις τὸν ἀριθμὸν γράψαι ἐθελήσῃ, ὄχλον ἂν τῇ συγγραφῇ οὐδ' ἀληθῆ ἴσως παράσχοι· πάντα γὰρ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπὶ τὸ μεῖζον ἀεὶ κομποῦται. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν καὶ

[1] ὑποδεδεμένος R. Steph., ὑποδεδημένος L, Xiph.
[2] ἀπ' R. Steph., ὑπ' L.
[3] κατεσκεύαστο Melber, κατεσκευάσατο L.
[4] προσερρήθη Xiph., προσερρέθη L.
[5] τούτῳ R. Steph., τοῦτο L.

the multitude receiving doles of corn had increased B.C. 46 enormously, not by lawful methods but in such ways as are common in times of strife, he caused the matter to be investigated and struck out half of their names at one time before the distribution.

The first days of the triumph he passed as was customary, but on the last day, after they had finished dinner, he entered his own forum wearing slippers and garlanded with all kinds of flowers; thence he proceeded homeward with practically the entire populace escorting him, while many elephants carried torches. For he had himself constructed the forum called after him, and it is distinctly more beautiful than the Roman Forum; yet it had increased the reputation of the other so that that was called the Great Forum. So after completing this new forum and the temple to Venus, as the founder of his family, he dedicated them at this very time, and in their honour instituted many contests of all kinds. He built a kind of hunting-theatre of wood, which was called an amphitheatre from the fact that it had seats all around without any stage. In honour of this and of his daughter he exhibited combats of wild beasts and gladiators; but anyone who cared to record their number would find his task a burden without being able, in all probability, to present the truth; for all such matters are regularly exaggerated in a spirit of boastfulness. I shall accordingly pass over this and other like events

ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ὁμοίων τῶν ἔπειτα γενομένων
ἐάσω, πλὴν εἰ μή τι πάνυ μοι δόξειεν ἀναγκαῖον
23 εἰπεῖν εἶναι· περὶ δὲ δὴ τῆς καμηλοπαρδάλιδος
ὠνομασμένης ἐρῶ, ὅτι τότε πρῶτον ἔς τε τὴν
Ῥώμην ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἐσήχθη καὶ πᾶσιν ἐπεδείχθη.[1]
τὸ γὰρ ζῷον τοῦτο τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κάμηλός ἐστι,
πλὴν καθ᾽ ὅσον οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ ἴσου τῶν κώλων ἔχει.
2 τὰ μὲν γὰρ ὀπίσθια αὐτοῦ χθαμαλώτερά ἐστιν·
ἀρχόμενον δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν γλουτῶν ὑψοῦται κατὰ
βραχὺ ὥστ᾽ ἀναβαίνοντί ποι ἐοικέναι, καὶ μετε-
ωρισθὲν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον τὸ μὲν ἄλλο σῶμα ἐπὶ τῶν
ἐμπροσθίων σκελῶν ἐρείδει,[2] τὸν δ᾽ αὐχένα ἐς
ὕψος αὖ ἴδιον ἀνατείνει. τὴν δὲ δὴ χρόαν κατέ-
στικται ὥσπερ πάρδαλις, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὸ
3 ὄνομα ἐπίκοινον ἀμφοτέρων φέρει. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ
τοιοῦτόν ἐστι· τοὺς δ᾽ ἄνδρας συνέβαλλε μὲν
καὶ ἕνα ἑνὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, ὥσπερ εἴθιστο, συνέ-
βαλλε δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἱπποδρόμῳ πλείους, καὶ
ἱππέας ἱππεῦσι καὶ πεζοὺς πεζοῖς, ἄλλους τε
ἀναμὶξ ἀλλήλοις ἴσους. καί τινες καὶ ἀπ᾽ ἐλε-
4 φάντων τεσσαράκοντα ἐμαχέσαντο. καὶ τέλος
ναυμαχίαν οὐκ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ οὐδὲ ἐν λίμνῃ τινὶ
ἀλλ᾽ ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ ἐποίησε· χωρίον γάρ τι ἐν τῷ
Ἀρείῳ πεδίῳ κοιλάνας[3] ὕδωρ τε ἐς αὐτὸ ἐσῆκε
καὶ ναῦς ἐσήγαγεν. ἐμάχοντο δὲ ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς
ἀγῶσιν οἵ τε αἰχμάλωτοι καὶ οἱ θάνατον ὠφλη-
5 κότες· καί τινες καὶ τῶν ἱππέων, οὐχ ὅτι τῶν
ἄλλων ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐστρατηγηκότος τινὸς ἀνδρὸς
υἱός, ἐμονομάχησαν. καὶ βουλευτὴς δέ τις

[1] ἐπεδείχθη Bk., ὑπεδείχθη L.
[2] ἐρείδει supplied by Bk.
[3] κοιλάνας Xiph., κοιλήνας L.

that took place later, except, of course, where it may seem to me quite essential to mention some particular point, but I will give an account of the so-called camelopard, because it was then introduced into Rome by Caesar for the first time and exhibited to all. This animal is like a camel in all respects except that its legs are not all of the same length, the hind legs being the shorter. Beginning from the rump it grows gradually higher, which gives it the appearance of mounting some elevation; and towering high aloft, it supports the rest of its body on its front legs and lifts its neck in turn to an unusual height. Its skin is spotted like a leopard, and for this reason it bears the joint name of both animals. Such is the appearance of this beast. As for the men, he not only pitted them one against another singly in the Forum, as was customary, but he also made them fight together in companies in the Circus, horsemen against horsemen, men on foot against others on foot, and sometimes both kinds together in equal numbers. There was even a fight between men seated on elephants, forty in number. Finally he produced a naval battle, not on the sea nor on a lake, but on land; for he hollowed out a certain tract on the Campus Martius and after flooding it introduced ships into it. In all the contests the captives and those condemned to death took part; yet some even of the knights, and, not to mention others, the son of one who had been praetor fought in single combat. Indeed a senator named B.C. 46

Φόλουιος Σεπῖνος[1] ἠθέλησε μὲν ὁπλομαχῆσαι, ἐκωλύθη δέ· ἐκεῖνο μὲν γὰρ ἀπηύξατο ὁ Καῖσαρ μήποτε συμβῆναι, τοὺς δ' ἱππέας περιεῖδε μαχο-
6 μένους. τήν τε ἱππασίαν τὴν Τροίαν καλουμένην οἱ παῖδες οἱ εὐπατρίδαι κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐποιήσαντο· καὶ ἐφ' ἁρμάτων οἱ νεανίσκοι οἱ ὁμότιμοι αὐτοῖς ἡμιλλήσαντο.

24 Ἔσχε μὲν οὖν καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν φονευομένων αἰτίαν, ὅτι μήτ' αὐτὸς διακορὴς σφαγῶν[2] ἐγεγόνει καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τὰς τῶν οἰκείων κακῶν εἰκόνας ἐπεδείκνυε, πολὺ δὲ δὴ μείζω ὅτι ἀμύθητα χρήματα ἐς πάντα ἐκεῖνα ἀνάλωσεν, ὥς καὶ καθ' ἑκάτερον ἐπιβοᾶσθαι,[3] καὶ ὅτι ἀδίκως αὐτῶν τὰ πλείω συνελέξατο, καὶ ὅτι ἐς τὰ τοιαῦτα αὐτοῖς
2 κατεχρήσατο. ἓν γάρ τι τῆς πολυτελείας τῆς τότε γενομένης ἐχόμενον εἰπὼν καὶ τἆλλα δι' αὐτοῦ πάντα σημανῶ. ἵνα γὰρ μηδένα τῶν θεωμένων ὁ ἥλιος λυπήσῃ, παραπετάσματα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν σηρικά, ὥς γέ τινές φασιν, ὑπερεπέτασεν. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ὕφασμα χλιδῆς βαρβάρου ἔργον ἐστί, καὶ παρ' ἐκείνων καὶ πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐς τρυφὴν τῶν
3 πάνυ γυναικῶν περιττὴν ἐσπεφοίτηκεν. ἐπ' οὖν τούτοις οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι καὶ ἀνάγκῃ τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἦγον, οἱ δὲ δὴ στρατιῶται ἐθορύβησαν, οὐχ ὅτι ἔμελέ σφισι τῶν εἰκῇ δαπανωμένων, ἀλλ' ὅτι οὐ

[1] Both names are probably corrupt; Dio regularly has Φούλουιος for Fulvius. [2] σφαγῶν Oddey, σφῶν L.
[3] ἐπιβοᾶσθαι Xiph., ἐπεκβοᾶσθαι L.

Fulvius Sepinus[1] desired to contend in full armour, but was prevented; for Caesar deprecated that spectacle at any time, though he did permit the knights to contend. The patrician boys went through the equestrian exercise called "Troy"[2] according to ancient custom, and the young men of the same rank contended in chariots. B.C. 46

He was blamed, indeed, for the great number of those slain, on the ground that he himself had not become sated with bloodshed and was further exhibiting to the populace symbols of their own miseries; but much more fault was found because he had expended countless sums on all that array. In consequence a clamour was raised against him for two reasons—first, that he had collected most of the funds unjustly, and, again, that he had squandered them for such purposes. If I mention one feature of his extravagance at that time, I shall thereby give an idea of all the rest. In order that the sun might not annoy any of the spectators, he had curtains stretched over them made of silk, according to some accounts. Now this fabric is a device of barbarian luxury, and has come down from them even to us to gratify the fastidious taste of fine ladies. The citizens perforce held their peace at such acts, but the soldiers raised a disturbance, not because they cared about the reckless squandering of the money, but because they

[1] This is possibly a corruption for the Furius Leptinus mentioned by Suetonius, *Iul.* 39.

[2] This *ludus Troiae*, or simply *Troia*, is first mentioned in the time of Sulla, and then on the present occasion; later we hear of it often (cf. xlix. 43, 3, li. 22, 4, liii. 1, 4, liv. 26, 1, etc.). Virgil's account (*Aen.* v. 553–603) of the boys' contest at the funeral games in honour of Anchises may be regarded as a correct description in the main of what he saw at the contest in honour of Actium.

καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ τὰ ἐκείνων ἔλαβον. καὶ οὐ πρότερόν
γε ἐπαύσαντο ταραττόμενοι πρὶν τὸν Καίσαρα
ἄφνω τε αὐτοῖς ἐπελθεῖν καὶ κρατήσαντά τινα
4 αὐτοχειρίᾳ πρὸς τιμωρίαν παραδοῦναι. οὗτος
μὲν οὖν διὰ ταῦτα ἐδικαιώθη, ἄλλοι δὲ δύο ἄνδρες
ἐν τρόπῳ τινὶ ἱερουργίας ἐσφάγησαν. καὶ τὸ μὲν
αἴτιον οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν (οὔτε γὰρ ἡ Σίβυλλα
ἔχρησεν, οὔτ' ἄλλο τι τοιοῦτο λόγιον ἐγένετο), ἐν
δ' οὖν τῷ Ἀρείῳ πεδίῳ πρός τε τῶν ποντιφίκων
καὶ πρὸς τοῦ ἱερέως τοῦ Ἄρεως ἐτύθησαν, καὶ αἵ
γε[1] κεφαλαὶ αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸ βασίλειον ἀνετέθησαν.
25 Ταῦτά τε ἅμα ἐπράττετο, καὶ ἐνομοθετεῖτο
πολλά, ὧν ἐγὼ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα παραλείψω, τῶν δὲ
δὴ λόγου μάλιστα ἀξίων μνησθήσομαι. τά τε
γὰρ δικαστήρια τοῖς τε βουλευταῖς καὶ τοῖς
ἱππεῦσι μόνοις ἐπέτρεψεν, ὅπως τὸ καθαρώτατον
2 ὅτι μάλιστα ἀεὶ δικάζοι· πρότερον γὰρ καὶ ἐκ
τοῦ ὁμίλου τινὲς συνδιεγίγνωσκον αὐτοῖς· καὶ τὰ
ἀναλώματα τῶν τι ἐχόντων ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ὑπ'
ἀσωτίας ἐξηγμένα οὐκ ἐν νόμῳ μόνον ἐμετρίασεν,
ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ ἰσχυρῶς ἐν φυλακῇ ἐποιήσατο.
ἐπειδή τε δεινὴ ὀλιγανθρωπία διὰ τὸ τῶν ἀπολω-
λότων πλῆθος, ὥς ἔκ τε τῶν ἀπογραφῶν (καὶ γὰρ
ἐκείνας τά τε ἄλλα ὥσπερ τις τιμητὴς ἐποίησε)
καὶ ἐκ τῆς ὄψεως αὐτῆς ἠλέγχετο, ἣν,[2] πολυ-
3 παιδίας ἆθλα ἐπέθηκεν. ὅτι τε αὐτὸς πολλοῖς
τῶν Γαλατῶν ἐφεξῆς ἔτεσιν ἄρξας ἔς τε τὴν
ἐπιθυμίαν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τῆς δυναστείας μᾶλλον
προήχθη καὶ ἐς τὴν παρασκευὴν τῆς ἰσχύος
ἐπηυξήθη, κατέκλεισε νόμῳ τοὺς μὲν ἐστρατηγη-

[1] αἵ γε v. Herw., γε αἱ L. [2] ἣν Xyl., ἦν L.

themselves did not receive the citizens' wealth too. B.C. 46 In fact they did not cease their rioting until Caesar suddenly came upon them, and seizing one man with his own hands, delivered him up to punishment. So this man was executed for the reason given, and two others were slain as a sort of ritual observance. The true cause I am unable to state, inasmuch as the Sibyl made no utterance and there was no other similar oracle, but at any rate they were sacrificed in the Campus Martius by the pontifices and the priest of Mars, and their heads were set up near the Regia.

While Caesar was thus engaged he was also enacting many laws, most of which I shall omit, mentioning only those most worthy of record. The courts he entrusted to the senators and the knights alone, in order that the purest element of the population, so far as was possible, might always preside; for formerly some of the common people[1] had also joined with them in rendering decisions. The expenditures, moreover, of men of means, which had grown to an enormous extent by reason of their prodigality, he not only regulated by law but also practically checked by stern measures. Moreover, since, on account of the multitude of those who had perished there was a serious falling off in population, as was shown both by the censuses (which he attended to, among other things, as if he were censor) and, indeed, by mere observation, he offered prizes for large families of children. Again, since it was by ruling the Gauls for many years in succession that he himself had conceived a greater desire for dominion and had increased the equipment of his force, he limited by law the term of propraetors to one year, and that of

[1] The *tribuni aerarii.*

κότας ἐπ' ἐνιαυτὸν τοὺς δὲ ὑπατευκότας ἐπὶ δύο ἔτη κατὰ τὸ ἑξῆς ἄρχειν, καὶ μηδενὶ τὸ παράπαν ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἡγεμονίαν τινὰ ἔχειν ἐξεῖναι.

26 Ταῦτά τε ἐνομοθέτησε, καὶ τὰς ἡμέρας τῶν ἐτῶν οὐ πάντῃ ὁμολογούσας σφίσι (πρὸς γὰρ τὰς τῆς σελήνης περιόδους ἔτι[1] καὶ τότε τοὺς μῆνας ἦγον) κατεστήσατο ἐς τὸν νῦν τρόπον, ἑπτὰ καὶ ἑξήκοντα ἡμέρας ἐμβαλών, ὅσαιπερ ἐς τὴν ἀπαρ-
2 τιλογίαν παρέφερον. ἤδη μὲν γάρ τινες καὶ πλείους ἔφασαν ἐμβληθῆναι, τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς οὕτως ἔχει. τοῦτο δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ διατριβῆς ἔλαβε, πλὴν καθ' ὅσον ἐκεῖνοι μὲν τριακονθημέρους τοὺς μῆνας λογίζονται, ἔπειτα ἐπὶ παντὶ τῷ ἔτει τὰς πέντε ἡμέρας ἐπάγουσιν, ὁ δὲ δὴ Καῖσαρ ἐς μῆνας ἑπτὰ[2] ταύτας τε καὶ τὰς ἑτέρας
3 δύο, ἃς ἑνὸς μηνὸς ἀφεῖλεν, ἐνήρμοσε. τὴν μέντοι μίαν τὴν ἐκ τῶν τεταρτημορίων συμπληρουμένην διὰ πέμπτων καὶ αὐτὸς ἐτῶν ἐσήγαγεν ὥστε μηδὲν ἔτι τὰς ὥρας αὐτῶν πλὴν ἐλαχίστου παραλλάττειν· ἐν γοῦν χιλίοις καὶ τετρακοσίοις καὶ ἑξήκοντα καὶ ἑνὶ[3] ἔτει μιᾶς ἄλλης ἡμέρας ἐμβολίμου δέονται.

27 Καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι, τά τε ἄλλα ὅσα ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ ἐβουλεύετο, οὔτ' ἰδιογνωμονῶν[4] οὔτ' ἰδιοβουλῶν ἔπραττεν, ἀλλὰ πάντα δὴ πάντως τοῖς πρώτοις τῆς βουλῆς, ἔστι δ' ὅτε καὶ πάσῃ αὐτῇ,

[1] ἔτι Xiph., ἔτη L [2] ἑπτὰ Bk., τε L.
[3] ἑνὶ R. Steph., ἐν ἑνὶ L.
[4] ἰδιογνωμονῶν Reim., ἰδιογνωμῶν L.

proconsuls to two consecutive years, and enacted that no one whatever should be allowed to hold any command for a longer time. B.C. 46

After the passage of these laws he also established in their present fashion the days of the year, which had got somewhat out of order, since they still at that time measured their months by the moon's revolutions; he did this by adding sixty-seven days, the number necessary to bring the year out even. Some, indeed, have declared that even more were intercalated, but the truth is as I have stated it. He got this improvement from his stay in Alexandria, save in so far as the people there reckon their months as of thirty days each, and afterwards add the five days to the year as a whole, whereas Caesar distributed among seven months these five along with two other days that he took away from one month.[1] The one day, however, which results from the fourths he introduced into every fourth year, so as to make the annual seasons no longer differ at all except in the slightest degree; at any rate in fourteen hundred and sixty-one years there is need of only one additional intercalary day.[2]

All these and the other undertakings which he was planning for the common weal he accomplished not on his own authority nor by his own counsel, but communicated everything in every instance to the leaders of the senate, and sometimes even to that

[1] *I.e.* February.

[2] As a matter of fact, the average length of the Julian year is too great by about eleven minutes, amounting to one day in 128 years. Thus the Julian calendar, still employed in Russia and Greece, is now (since 1900) thirteen days behind the Gregorian, the Council of Nice (325 A.D.) being the point of departure.

ἐπεκοίνου.[1] καὶ παρὰ τοῦτο οὐχ ἥκιστα, καίτοι τραχυτερόν τινα νομοθετήσας, ὅμως ἤρεσέ σφισι.
2 καὶ ἐπὶ μὲν τούτοις καὶ ἔπαινον ἐλάμβανεν, ὅτι δὲ δὴ τῶν φευγόντων ἐκ δικαστηρίου πολλοὺς διὰ δημάρχων δή τινων κατήγαγε, καὶ ὅτι τοῖς δεκασμοῦ[2] ἐπ' ἀρχῆς ἀποδείξει ἁλοῦσιν ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ διαιτᾶσθαι ἐπέτρεψεν, ἔτι τε ἐς τὴν βουλὴν αὖθις οὐκ ἀξίους τινὰς αὐτῆς ἐγκατέλεξε,
3 πολλὰ καὶ παντοδαπὰ ἐθρυλεῖτο. πλείστην δ' οὖν ὅμως αἰτίαν ἐπὶ τῷ τῆς Κλεοπάτρας ἔρωτι, οὐ τῷ ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ ἔτι (ἐκεῖνος γὰρ ἠκούετο) ἀλλὰ τῷ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ Ῥώμῃ, παρὰ πάντων ἔσχεν. ἦλθέ τε γὰρ ἐς τὸ ἄστυ μετὰ τοῦ ἀνδρός, καὶ ἐς αὐτοῦ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐσῳκίσθη, ὥστε καὶ ἐκεῖνον[3] ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροις σφίσι κακῶς ἀκοῦσαι. οὐ μὴν καὶ ἔμελέν οἱ οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς τοὺς φίλους σφᾶς τούς τε συμμάχους τοὺς τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐσέγραψε.

28 Κἀν τούτῳ[4] ἐμάνθανε μὲν πάντα καθ' ἕκαστον ὧν ὁ Πομπήιος ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ ἐποίει, οὐ[5] μέντοι καὶ δυσνίκητον[6] αὐτὸν εἶναι νομίζων πρότερον μὲν τὸ ναυτικὸν ἐκ τῆς Σαρδοῦς ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀπέστειλεν, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ τὰ στρατεύματα τὰ[7] ἐκ καταλόγου ἔπεμψεν ὡς καὶ δι' ἑτέρων διαπολεμή-
2 σων. ἐπεὶ δὲ ᾔσθετο ἐκεῖνόν τε ἐπὶ μέγα προχωροῦντα καὶ τοὺς πεμφθέντας οὐχ ἱκανοὺς ἀντιπολεμεῖν αὐτῷ ὄντας, οὕτω δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐξεστράτευσεν, τὴν πόλιν τῷ τε Λεπίδῳ καὶ

[1] ἐπεκοίνου R. Steph., ἐπεκείνου L.
[2] δεκασμοῦ Palm., δεκασμοῖς L.
[3] ἐκεῖνον cod. Peir., ἐπ' ἐκεῖνον L.
[4] κἀν τούτῳ Bk., κἀκ τούτου L.
[5] οὐ Bk., καὶ L. [6] δυσνίκητον Xyl., δυσκίνητον L.
[7] τὰ supplied by Bk.

entire body. And to this practice most of all was due the fact that, even after he passed some rather harsh measures, he still succeeded in pleasing them. For these acts, then, he received praise; but when he induced some of the tribunes to restore many of those who had been exiled after due trial, and allowed those who had been convicted of bribery in canvassing for office to live in Italy, and furthermore enrolled once more in the senate some who were unworthy of it, many murmurings of all sorts arose against him. But he incurred the greatest censure from all because of his passion for Cleopatra—not now the passion he had displayed in Egypt (for that was a matter of hearsay), but that which was displayed in Rome itself. For she had come to the city with her husband and settled in Caesar's own house, so that he too derived an ill repute on account of both of them. He was not at all concerned, however, about this, but actually enrolled them among the friends and allies of the Roman people. B.C. 46

Meanwhile he was learning in detail all that Pompey was doing in Spain; but thinking him easy to vanquish, he at first despatched the fleet from Sardinia against him, and later sent on also the armies that had been enrolled, intending to conduct the whole war through others. But when he ascertained that Pompey was gaining great headway and that the men he had sent were not sufficient to fight against him, he finally set out himself to join the expedition, after entrusting the city to Lepidus and a

πολιανόμοις[1] τισὶν ὀκτώ, ὥς τισι δοκεῖ, ἢ[2] ἕξ, ὡς μᾶλλον πεπίστευται, ἐπιτρέψας.

29 Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐπί τε τοῦ Λογγινου καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Μαρκέλλου τὰ στρατόπεδα τὰ ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ ἐκινηθη καί τινες καὶ τῶν πόλεων ἐνεωτέρισαν, ἡμέρας μέν τινας τοῦ τε Λογγίνου ἀπαλλαγέντος καὶ τοῦ Τρεβωνίου τὴν διαδοχὴν αὐτοῦ λαβόν-
2 τος, ἡσύχασαν, ἔπειτα δέει τῆς ἐκ τοῦ Καίσαρος τιμωρίας ἐπρεσβεύσαντο κρύφα πρὸς τὸν Σκιπίωνα, μεταστῆναι βουλόμενοι· καὶ ὃς ἄλλους τέ σφισι καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον τὸν Γναῖον ἀπέστειλε. προσέχων δὲ ἐκεῖνος ταῖς Γυμνησίαις[3] νήσοις τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ἀμαχεί, τὴν δὲ Ἔβεσον σὺν πόνῳ παρεστήσατο, κἀνταῦθα νοσήσας μετὰ τῶν
3 στρατιωτῶν διέτριψε. χρονίζοντος οὖν αὐτοῦ, πυθόμενοι οἱ στρατιῶται οἱ ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ τόν τε Σκιπίωνα ἀπολωλότα καὶ τὸν Δίδιον ἐπιπλέοντά σφισι, καὶ φοβηθέντες μὴ διαφθαρῶσι πρὶν τὸν Πομπήιον ἐλθεῖν, οὐκ ἔμειναν αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ Τίτον τε Κυΐντιον[4] Σκαπούλαν καὶ Κύϊντον Ἀπώνιον ἄνδρας ἱππέας προστησάμενοι τόν τε Τρεβώνιον ἐξέβαλον καὶ τὸ ἔθνος τὸ Βαιτικὸν πᾶν συναπέστησαν.

30 Πραξάντων δὲ ταῦτα αὐτῶν Πομπήιος ῥαΐσας ἐς τὴν ἤπειρον τὴν κατ' ἀντιπέρας διέπλευσε, καὶ ἄλλας μέν τινας πόλεις εὐθὺς ἑκουσίας προσεποιήσατο (ταῖς τε γὰρ ἐπιτάξεσι τῶν ἐφεστηκότων σφίσιν ἀχθόμενοι, καὶ ἐς ἐκεῖνον οὐκ ὀλίγα ἐκ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ μνήμης ἐπελπίζοντες

[1] πολιανόμοις R. Steph., παλιανόμοις L. [2] ἢ Xyl., μὴ L.
[3] Γυμνησίαις Reim., γυμνασίας L.
[4] Κυΐντιον Reim., κύιντον L.

number of prefects—eight as some think, or six as is more commonly believed. B.C. 46

The legions in Spain under Longinus and Marcellus had rebelled and some of the cities had revolted. When Longinus had been removed and Trebonius had become his successor, they kept quiet for a few days; then, through fear of vengeance on Caesar's part, they secretly sent ambassadors to Scipio, expressing a desire to transfer their allegiance, and he sent to them Gnaeus Pompey among others. Pompey put in at the Balearic Isles and took these islands without a battle, except Ebusus, which he gained with difficulty; then, falling sick, he tarried there with his troops. As a result of his delay, the soldiers in Spain, who had learned that Scipio was dead and that Didius was setting sail against them, feared that they would be annihilated before Pompey could arrive, and so failed to wait for him; but putting at their head Titus Quintius Scapula and Quintus Aponius, both knights, they drove out Trebonius and led the whole Baetic nation to revolt at the same time.

They had gone thus far when Pompey, recovering from his illness, sailed across to the mainland opposite. He immediately won over several cities without resistance, for, being vexed at the commands of their rulers and also reposing no little hope in him because of the memory of his father, they readily received

ἑτοίμως αὐτὸν ἐδέξαντο), Καρχηδόνα δὲ οὐκ
2 ἐθελήσασαν ὁμολογῆσαι ἐπολιόρκει. μαθόντες οὖν τοῦτο οἱ περὶ τὸν Σκαπούλαν[1] ἦλθόν τε ἐνταῦθα, καὶ στρατηγὸν αὐτοκράτορα αὐτὸν ἑλόμενοι προσεῖχόν τε αὐτῷ τὰ μάλιστα καὶ προεθυμοῦντο ἰσχυρότατα, τὰ κέρδη τὰ ἐκείνου ἴδια καὶ τὰς συμφορὰς οἰκείας ποιούμενοι, ὥστ' ἀφ' ἑκατέρου, τὰ μὲν ὅπως λάβωσι, τὰς[2] δ' ὅπως μὴ
3 πάθωσιν, ἐρρῶσθαι. καὶ γὰρ ὁ Πομπήιος, οἷα ἐν τοιαύταις ταραχαῖς[3] καὶ καταστάσεσι πάντες εἰώθασι ποιεῖν, καὶ μάλιστ' ἐπειδή τινες τῶν Ἀλλοβρόγων, οὓς οἱ ὁ[4] Ἰόβας ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς τὸν Κουρίωνα πολέμου ζωγρήσας ἐδεδώκει, ηὐτομόλησαν, οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐχὶ καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ τοῖς
4 λοιποῖς ἐχαρίζετο. οὗτοί τε οὖν αὐτῷ καὶ διὰ ταῦτα πολὺ προθυμότεροι ἐγένοντο, καὶ τῶν ἐναντίων συχνοί, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅσοι σὺν τῷ Ἀφρανίῳ ποτὲ ἐστράτευντο,[5] προσεχώρησαν· τῶν τε ἐκ τῆς Ἀφρικῆς ἄλλοι τε καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς Σέξτος ὅ τε Οὐᾶρος καὶ ὁ Λαβιῆνος σὺν τῷ ναυτικῷ
5 πρὸς αὐτὸν ἦλθον. κἀκ τούτου τῷ τε πλήθει τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ τῇ προθυμίᾳ ἀρθεὶς τήν τε χώραν ἀδεῶς διεπορεύετο, καὶ πόλεις τὰς μὲν ἑκούσας τὰς δὲ ἀκούσας προσετίθετο, καὶ ἐδόκει
31 καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸν πατέρα ἰσχύειν. ἦσαν μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος στρατηγοὶ Κύϊντός τε Φάβιος Μάξιμος καὶ Κύϊντος Πέδιος, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἀξιόμαχοί οἱ νομίζοντες εἶναι αὐτοί τε ἡσύχαζον καὶ ἐκεῖνον σπουδῇ μετεπέμποντο.

[1] Σκαπούλαν R Steph., σκιπίωνα L.
[2] τὰς Bk., τὰ L. [3] ταραχαῖς Rk., ἀρχαῖς L.
[4] οἱ ὁ Bs., οἱ Rk., ὁ L.
[5] ἐστράτευντο Bk., ἐστρατεύοντο L.

him; and Carthage,[1] which was unwilling to come to terms, he besieged. The followers of Scapula, on learning of this, went there and chose him general with full powers, after which they were most devoted to him and showed the greatest zeal, regarding his successes as the successes of each one of them and his disasters as their own. Consequently their resolution was confirmed by their double purpose of obtaining the successes and avoiding the disasters. For Pompey, too, did what all are accustomed to do in the midst of such turbulent conditions, especially after the desertion of some of the Allobroges whom Juba had taken alive in the war against Curio and had given to him: that is, he granted to the rest every possible favour both in word and in deed. Not only these men, therefore, became more zealous in his behalf, but a number of the opposing side, also, particularly all who had once served under Afranius, came over to him. Then there were those who came to him from Africa, among others his brother Sextus, and Varus, and Labienus with his fleet. Elated, therefore, by the multitude of his army and by its zeal, he proceeded fearlessly through the country, gaining some cities of their own accord, and others against their will, and seemed to surpass even his father in power. For though Caesar also had generals in Spain, namely Quintus Fabius Maximus and Quintus Pedius, yet they did not regard themselves as a match for Pompey, but remained quiet themselves and kept sending urgently for Caesar. B.C. 46

[1] New Carthage.

2 Τέως μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἐγίγνετο· ἐπεὶ δὲ τῶν τε προπεμφθέντων τινὲς ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης ἀφίκοντο καὶ προσεδοκήθη καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἥξειν, φοβηθεὶς ὁ Πομπήιος, καὶ νομίσας οὐχ ἱκανὸς[1] εἶναι πᾶσαν τὴν Ἰβηρίαν κατασχεῖν, οὐκ ἀνέμεινε πταίσας γε[2] μεταγνῶναι, ἀλλ' εὐθύς, πρὶν πειραθῆναι τῶν
3 ἐναντίων, ἐς τὴν Βαιτικὴν ἀνεχώρησε. καὶ αὐτῷ ἡ μὲν θάλασσα παραυτίκα ἠλλοτριώθη, Οὐᾶρός τε[3] ὑπὸ τοῦ Διδίου περὶ Καρτηίαν[4] ἐναυκρατήθη, καὶ εἴγε μὴ προκαταφυγὼν ἐς τὴν γῆν ἀγκύρας ἐς τὸ στόμα τοῦ λιμένος ἄλλας πρὸς ἄλλαις[5] ἐνεβεβλήκει[6] καὶ περὶ αὐτὰς οἱ πρῶτοι τῶν διωκόντων σφᾶς ὥσπερ περὶ ἕρμα ἐπταίκεσαν, πᾶν ἂν τὸ
4 ναυτικὸν ἀπωλωλέκει. ἡ δὲ δὴ ἤπειρος ἡ ἐκεῖ πᾶσα πλὴν Οὐλίας πόλεως συνεμάχει· ταύτην γὰρ μὴ ἐθελήσασάν οἱ προσχωρῆσαι[7] ἐπολιόρκει.

32 Κἀν τούτῳ καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ μετ' ὀλίγων ἐξαίφνης ἀδοκήτοις οὐχ ὅτι τοῖς περὶ τὸν Πομπήιον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ στρατιώταις ἐπῆλθε· τοσούτῳ γὰρ τῷ τῆς πορείας τάχει ἐχρήσατο ὥστε καὶ τοῖς οἰκείοις ἅμα καὶ τοῖς ἐναντίοις ὀφθῆναι πρὶν καὶ ὅτι ὅλως ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ γέγονεν ἀκουσθῆναι.
2 καὶ ὁ μὲν καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τούτου, τῆς τε παρουσίας τῆς αὐτοῦ μόνης, καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα καταπλήξειν τὸν Πομπήιον καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς πολιορκίας ἀπαλλάξειν ἤλπισε· τὸ γὰρ πλεῖον στράτευμα κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν

[1] ἱκανὸς R. Steph., ἱκανὸν L. [2] γε H. Steph., τε L.
[3] τε Bk., δὲ L.
[4] Καρτηίαν Bk., κραυτίαν L. (κάρτια in ch. 40).
[5] ἄλλαις H. Steph , ἄλλας L.
[6] ἐνεβεβλήκει Bk., προσενεβεβλήκει L.
[7] προσχωρῆσαι R. Steph., προχωρῆσαι L.

For a time matters went on thus; but when a few of the men sent in advance from Rome had reached there, and Caesar's arrival was also expected, Pompey became frightened; and thinking that he was not strong enough to gain the mastery of all Spain, he did not wait for a reverse before changing his mind, but immediately, before making trial of his adversaries, retired into Baetica. The sea, moreover, straightway became hostile to him, and Varus was defeated in a naval battle near Carteia by Didius; indeed, had he not escaped to the land and sunk a row of anchors side by side at the mouth of the harbour, upon which the foremost pursuers were wrecked as upon a reef, he would have lost his whole fleet. All that region of the mainland except the city of Ulia was in alliance with Pompey; and this town, which had refused to submit to him, he proceeded to besiege. B.C. 46

Meanwhile Caesar, too, with a few men suddenly came up unexpectedly, not only to Pompey's followers, but even to his own soldiers. For he had employed such speed in crossing over that he appeared to both his adherents and his opponents before they had even heard that he was in Spain at all. He hoped by this very circumstance and by his mere presence to alarm Pompey and in particular to lure him from the siege; for most of his army had been left behind on the road. But Pompey, thinking that one

ὑπελέλειπτο· ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἕνα τε ἄνδρα ἑνὸς οὐ[1] πολὺ διαφέρειν νομίζων, καὶ τῇ ἰσχύι ἑαυτοῦ πάνυ θαρσῶν, οὐκ ἐξεπλάγη πρὸς τὴν ἄφιξιν αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσήδρευε τῇ πόλει καὶ τὰς
3 προσβολὰς ὁμοίως ὥσπερ καὶ πρὶν ἐποιεῖτο. ὁ οὖν Καῖσαρ ἐκεῖ μὲν ὀλίγους στρατιώτας ἐκ τῶν προαφιγμένων κατέλιπεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ἐπὶ Κόρδουβαν ὥρμησε, τὸ μέν τι καὶ αἱρήσειν αὐτὴν ἐκ προδοσίας ἐλπίσας, τὸ δὲ δὴ πλεῖστον ἀπάξειν ἀπὸ τῆς Οὐλίας τὸν Πομπήιον τῷ περὶ αὐτῆς φόβῳ
4 προσδοκήσας. καὶ ἔσχεν οὕτως· τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον μέρος τι τοῦ στρατοῦ κατὰ χώραν ἐάσας ἔς τε τὴν Κόρδουβαν ἦλθε, καὶ κρατυνάμενος αὐτήν, οὐχ ὑπομείναντός σφας τοῦ Καίσαρος, τῷ
5 ἀδελφῷ τῷ Σέξτῳ προσέταξεν· ἔπειτα δὲ ὡς οὔτε τι πρὸς τῇ Οὐλίᾳ ἐπέραινεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πύργου τινός, καὶ τούτου οὐχ ὑπὸ σφῶν κατασεισθέντος ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ἀμυνομένων καταρραγέντος, ἐσῆλθον μέν τινες, οὐ μὴν καὶ
6 καλῶς ἀπήλλαξαν, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ πλησιάσας σφίσιν ἐκείνοις τε βοήθειαν νυκτὸς λαθὼν ἐσέπεμψε καὶ αὐτὸς πρός τε τὴν Κόρδουβαν αὖθις ἐστράτευσε καὶ ἐς πολιορκίαν αὐτὴν ἀντικατέστησεν, οὕτω δὴ τῆς τε Οὐλίας παντελῶς ἀπανέστη καὶ ἐκεῖσε παντὶ τῷ στρατῷ οὐ μάτην ἠπείχθη. προπυθόμενος γὰρ τοῦτο ὁ Καῖσαρ
7 ἀπεχώρησε· νοσῶν γὰρ ἐτύγχανε. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα αὐτός τε ἀναρρωσθεὶς καὶ τὰ στρατεύματα ἐπακολουθήσαντά οἱ προσλαβὼν ἠναγκάσθη καὶ ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι πολεμῆσαι· ἔν τε γὰρ σκηνιδίοις φαύλοις αὐλιζόμενοι ἐκακοπάθουν καὶ τῆς τροφῆς ἐνελεί-

[1] οὐ supplied by Leuncl.

man was not much superior to another and feeling full confidence in his own strength, was not seriously alarmed at the other's arrival, but continued to besiege the city and kept making assaults upon it just as before. Hence Caesar left there a few troops from among those who had arrived first and set out himself for Corduba, partly, to be sure, in the hope of taking it by betrayal, but chiefly in the expectation of drawing Pompey away from Ulia through fear for this place. And so it turned out in the end. At first Pompey left a part of his army in position, and going to Corduba, strengthened it, and then, as Caesar did not resist his troops, put his brother Sextus in charge there. After this he failed to accomplish anything at Ulia. On the contrary, when a certain tower had fallen, and that not shaken down by his own men either, but broken down by the crowd that was making a defence from it, a few who rushed in fared badly; and Caesar, approaching, lent assistance secretly by night to the citizens, and marched against Corduba again himself, putting it under siege in turn. Then at last Pompey withdrew entirely from Ulia and hastened to the other town with his entire army, accomplishing the desired result. For Caesar, learning of it in time, retired, as he happened to be ill. Afterwards, when he had recovered and had taken charge of the additional troops who had followed on after him, he was compelled to carry on warfare even in the winter; for, being housed in miserable little huts, they were suffering distress and running B.C. 46

33 ποντο.[1] ἐδικτατόρευε δὲ δὴ τότε, καὶ[2] ὕπατος ὀψέ ποτε καὶ ἐπ' ἐξόδῳ τοῦ ἔτους ἀπεδείχθη, τοῦ Λεπίδου ἐν τῇ ἱππαρχίᾳ τὸν δῆμον ἐς τοῦτο συναγαγόντος· ἱππάρχησε γὰρ καὶ τότε, αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐν τῇ ὑπατείᾳ ἐπειπὼν ἵππαρχον παρὰ τὰ πάτρια.
2 Ἀναγκασθεὶς οὖν ὁ Καῖσαρ, ὥσπερ εἶπον, καὶ ἐν τῷ χειμῶνι πολεμῆσαι, τῇ μὲν Κορδούβῃ οὐ προσέβαλεν (ἰσχυρῶς γὰρ ἐφυλάττετο), πυθόμενος δὲ ἐν Ἀττεγούᾳ πόλει σῖτον πολὺν εἶναι πρὸς ἐκείνην καίτοι καρτερὰν οὖσαν ἐτράπετο, ἐλπίσας τῷ τε πλήθει τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ τῇ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ αἰφνιδίῳ ἐκπλήξει καταφοβήσας σφᾶς αἱρήσειν· καὶ αὐτὴν διὰ βραχέος καὶ ἀπε-
3 σταύρωσε καὶ περιετάφρευσεν. ὁ γὰρ Πομπήιος τῇ φύσει τοῦ χωρίου θαρσῶν, καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα οὐκ ἐπὶ πολὺ διὰ τὸν χειμῶνα προσεδρεύσειν αὐτῷ νομίζων, τούς τε ἑαυτοῦ στρατιώτας μὴ βουληθεὶς ἐν τῷ ῥίγει κακῶσαι, περιεῖδε[3] καὶ οὐκ
4 ἐπήμυνεν αὐτοῖς τήν γε πρώτην· ὕστερον γάρ, ὡς τό τε πόλισμα ἀπετετείχιστο καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτῷ προσεκάθητο, δείσας ἐπεβοήθησέ σφισι, καὶ νυκτὸς ἐξαίφνης ὁμιχλώδους τοῖς προφύλαξι προσμίξας συχνοὺς ἔφθειρεν. ἐπειδή τε ἀστρατήγητοι οἱ ἔνδον ἦσαν, Μουνάτιον αὐτοῖς Φλάκκον
34 ἐσέπεμψεν. ἠδυνήθη γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ὧδε εἴσω παρελθεῖν. νύκτωρ τῶν φυλάκων τινὰς μόνος, ὡς καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐς ἐφοδείαν ἀπεσταλμένος, ἀνήρετο τὸ σύνθημα, καὶ μαθὼν (οὔτε γὰρ ἐγιγνώσκετο, καὶ κατὰ μόνας οὐκ ἄν ποτε ὑπωπτεύθη

[1] ἐνελείποντο H. Steph., ἐνελίποντο L.
[2] καὶ R. Steph., γὰρ L.
[3] περιεῖδε Rk., προεῖδε L.

short of food. Caesar was at that time dictator, B.C. 46 and at length, near the close of the year, he was appointed consul, after Lepidus, who was master of the horse, had convoked the people for this purpose; for Lepidus had become master of the horse at that time also, having given himself, while still in the consulship, that additional title contrary to precedent.

Caesar, accordingly, being compelled, as I have said, B.C. 45 to carry on warfare even in the winter, did not attack Corduba, which was strongly guarded, but turned his attention to Ategua, a city in which he had learned there was an abundance of grain. Although it was a strong place, he hoped by the size of his army and the sudden terror of his appearance to alarm the inhabitants and capture it. And in a short time he had cut it off by a palisade and surrounded it by a ditch. For Pompey, encouraged by the nature of the place and thinking that Caesar because of the winter would not besiege it very long, paid no heed and did not try at first to repel the assailants, since he was unwilling to distress his own soldiers by the cold. Later, to be sure, when the town had been walled off and Caesar was encamped before it, he grew afraid and came with assistance. Falling in with the pickets suddenly on a misty night, he killed a number of them; and since the inhabitants were without a general, he sent in to them Munatius Flaccus. For this man contrived in the following way to get inside. He went alone by night to some of the guards, as if appointed by Caesar to visit the sentries, and asked and learned the watchword; for he was not known, and inasmuch as he was alone, would never have been suspected of being anything but a friend when he

μὴ φίλιός σφισιν ὢν τοῦτο ποιῆσαι) ἐκείνους μὲν
2 εἴασεν, ἐκπεριελθὼν δὲ ἑτέρωσε τοῦ περιτειχίσματος ἄλλοις τισὶ φύλαξιν ἐνέτυχε, καὶ τό τε σύνθημα αὐτοῖς εἰπών, καὶ ἐπὶ προδοσίᾳ τῆς πόλεως παρεῖναι[1] πλασάμενος, δι᾽ ἑκόντων τε αὐτῶν
3 καὶ παραπεμπόντων γε ἐσῆλθεν. οὐ μέντοι καὶ περιεποιήσατο αὐτήν. τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα πολλά, καί ποτε πῦρ ἔς τε τὰς μηχανὰς καὶ ἐς τὰ σταυρώματα τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐμβαλόντες[2] ἐκείνους μὲν οὐδὲν ὅ τι καὶ ἀξιόλογον ἔβλαψαν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀνέμου σφίσιν ἐξ ἐναντίας ἐν τούτῳ
4 σφοδροῦ προσπεσόντος κακῶς ἀπήλλαξαν· τά τε γὰρ οἰκοδομήματα ἐπεφλέχθη, καὶ ἄνθρωποι συχνοὶ τοῖς τε λίθοις καὶ τοῖς βέλεσι, μηδὲ[3] προϊδέσθαι τι ὑπὸ τοῦ καπνοῦ δυνηθέντες, ἐξώλοντο. ὡς οὖν τοῦτό τε αὐτοῖς συνεβεβήκει καὶ ἡ γῆ ἐπορθεῖτο τοῦ τε τείχους τινὰ[4] ἐξ ὑπονόμων
5 ἔπιπτεν, ἐστασίασαν, καὶ πρότερος μὲν ὁ Φλάκκος ἐπ᾽ ἀδείᾳ[5] ἑαυτοῦ[6] τε καὶ τῶν συνόντων οἱ πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα διεκηρυκεύσατο, ἔπειτα δὲ οὗτος μέν (οὐ γὰρ ἠθέλησε τὰ ὅπλα παραδοῦναι) διήμαρτεν αὐτῆς, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι οἱ ἐπιχώριοι μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐπρεσβεύσαντο καὶ συνέβησαν ἐφ᾽ οἷς ἐκελεύοντο.

35 Ἐκείνης δὲ δὴ τῆς πόλεως ἁλούσης οὐκέτ᾽ οὐδὲ[7] οἱ ἄλλοι ἠτρέμιζον, ἀλλὰ[8] πολλοὶ μὲν αὐτοὶ πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα πρεσβευσάμενοι μεθίσταντο, πολλοὶ δὲ καὶ ἐπιόντα αὐτὸν τούς τε

[1] παρεῖναι Reim., εἶναι L.
[2] ἐμβαλόντες R. Steph., ἐμβάλλοντες L.
[3] μηδὲ Bk., μήτε L.
[4] τινὰ Dind., τινὸς L.
[5] ἀδείᾳ R. Steph., ἀδείας L.
[6] ἑαυτοῦ Bs., αὑτοῦ Bk., αὐτοῦ L.
[7] οὐδὲ St., οὐδὲν L.
[8] ἀλλὰ Bk., ἀλλὰι L.

acted in this manner. Then he left these men and went around to the other side of the circumvallation where he met some other guards and gave them the watchword; after this he pretended that he was there to betray the city, and so went inside through the midst of the soldiers with their consent and actually under their escort. He could not, however, save the place. In addition to other setbacks there was one occasion when the citizens hurled fire upon the engines and ramparts of the Romans, although without doing them any damage worth mentioning, while they themselves fared ill by reason of a violent wind which just then began to blow toward them from the opposite direction; for their houses were set on fire and many persons perished from the stones and missiles, not being able to see any distance ahead of them for the smoke. After this disaster, as their land was being ravaged, and portions of their wall were collapsing as the result of mines, they began to riot. Flaccus first made overtures to Caesar on the basis of pardon for himself and his followers; but afterwards, when he failed of this owing to his refusal to surrender his arms, the natives sent envoys and submitted to the terms imposed upon them. B.C. 45

Upon the capture of this city the other tribes also no longer held back, but many of their own accord sent envoys and espoused Caesar's cause, and many received him or his lieutenants on their approach.

2 ὑποστρατήγους αὐτοῦ ἐδέχοντο, ὥστε τὸν Πομπήιον ἀπορήσαντα ὅ τι χρὴ πρᾶξαι, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἄλλοτε ἄλλῃ τῆς χώρας μεθιστάμενον πλανᾶσθαι, ἔπειτα δὲ φοβηθέντα μὴ καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τούτου καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ αὐτὸν ἐγκαταλίπωσι, διακινδυνεῦσαι ἐθελῆσαι, καίτοι τοῦ δαιμονίου τὴν ἧτταν ἐναργέστατα αὐτῷ προσημή-
3 ναντος. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἱδρῶτες τῶν ἀγαλμάτων καὶ αἱ ἠχαὶ τῶν στρατοπέδων, τά τε ζῷα ἃ[1] πολλὰ παρὰ τὴν ἑαυτῶν φύσιν ἐγεννήθη, καὶ αἱ δᾷδες αἱ πρὸς τὰς δυσμὰς ἐκ τῶν ἀνατολῶν ᾄττουσαι (ταῦτα γὰρ ἐν τῇ Ἰβηρίᾳ τότε ἅμα πάντα συνηνέχθη) σαφὲς οὐδέν, ὁποτέροις σφῶν
4 προφαίνοιτο, διεδήλου· οἱ δὲ δὴ ἀετοὶ τῶν στρατοπέδων αὐτοῦ τάς τε πτέρυγας σείσαντες καὶ τοὺς κεραυνούς, οὓς ἐν τοῖς ποσί τινες αὐτῶν χρυσοῦς ἔφερον, ἐκβαλόντες ἐκείνῳ τε τὸ κακὸν ἄντικρυς ἐνέσκηπτον καὶ αὐτοὶ πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα ἀπεπέτοντο. ἀλλ' ἦγε γὰρ[2] τὸ δαιμόνιον, ἔν τε ὀλιγωρίᾳ αὐτὸ ἐποιήσατο, καὶ ἐς πόλιν Μοῦνδαν[3] πρὸς μάχην δὴ κατέστη.

36 Εἶχον μὲν δὴ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς τε πολιτικοῖς καὶ τοῖς ξενικοῖς στρατεύμασι πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν ἐπιχωρίων πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ Μαύρων ἀμφότεροι· Βόκχος μὲν γὰρ τοὺς υἱεῖς τῷ Πομπηίῳ ἔπεμψε, Βογούας δὲ αὐτὸς τῷ Καίσαρι συνεστράτευσεν· ὁ δὲ ἀγὼν οὐχ ὡς τῶν ἄλλων ἀλλ' ὡς αὐ-
2 τῶν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐγένετο. οἵ τε γὰρ Καισάρειοι στρατιῶται τῷ τε πλήθει καὶ τῇ ἐμπειρίᾳ καὶ παρὰ

[1] ἃ supplied by Xyl.
[2] ἀλλ' ἦγε γὰρ Kuiper, ἄλλῃ τε γὰρ L.
[3] πόλιν Μοῦνδαν Bs., πόλεμον L.

Pompey, in consequence, being at a loss what to do, at first moved about and wandered from place to place through the country; later on he became afraid that as a result of this very course the rest of his adherents would also leave him in the lurch, and he chose to risk a decisive battle, although Heaven had beforehand indicated his defeat very clearly. To be sure, the drops of sweat that fell from the sacred statues, and the rumbling noises of legions, and the many creatures that were born outside their own species, and the torches darting from the east to the west, all of which signs occurred in Spain at that one time, did not make it clear to which of the two leaders they were revealing the future. But the eagles of Pompey's legions shook their wings and let fall the thunderbolts which they held in their talons, in some cases of gold; thus they seemed to be hurling the threatened disaster directly at Pompey and to be flying off of their own accord to Caesar. But he made light of it, for Destiny was leading him on; thus he established himself in the city of Munda in order to give battle. B.C. 45

Both leaders had in addition to their citizen and mercenary troops many of the natives and many Moors. For Bocchus had sent his sons to Pompey and Bogud in person made the campaign with Caesar. Still, the contest turned out to be like one between the Romans themselves, not between them and other nations. Caesar's soldiers derived courage from their numbers and experience and above all from their

παντα τῇ αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου παρουσίᾳ θαρσοῦντες ἀπαλλαγῆναί ποτε τοῦ τε πολέμου καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ κακῶν ἐσπούδαζον, καὶ οἱ Πομπηίειοι τούτοις μὲν ἐλαττούμενοι, τῇ δ' ἀπογνώσει τῆς σωτηρίας,
3 ἂν μὴ κρατήσωσιν, ἐρρωμένοι προεθυμοῦντο· οἷα γὰρ μετά τε τοῦ Ἀφρανίου καὶ μετὰ τοῦ Οὐάρρωνος οἱ πλείους αὐτῶν καὶ ἁλόντες καὶ σωθέντες, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τῷ τε Λογγίνῳ ἀποδοθέντες καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἀποστάντες, οὔτε τινὰ ἐλπίδα συγγνώμης ἡττηθέντες εἶχον, κἀκ τούτου πρὸς ἀπόνοιαν, ὡς καὶ κρατῆσαι[1] τότε[2] ἢ πάντως γε
4 ἀπολέσθαι δεόμενοι, προήχθησαν. συμμίξαντες οὖν ἐμάχοντο· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ αἰδῶ τινα ἀλλήλων εἶχον ἔτι, τοσαυτάκις[3] ἀντιπεπολεμηκότες, καὶ
37 διὰ τοῦτο μηδὲ παραινέσεώς τινος δεόμενοι. κἂν τούτῳ τὰ μὲν συμμαχικὰ ταχέως ἑκατέρωθεν ἐτράπη καὶ ἔφυγεν, αὐτοὶ δὲ ἐκεῖνοι σύσταδὸν ἀνακόπτοντες[4] ἀλλήλους ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἠγωνίσαντο. οὐδὲ γὰρ[5] ἐνέδωκεν αὐτῶν οὐδείς, ἀλλ' ἐν χώρᾳ μένοντες ἔσφαζον ἔθνησκον, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς ἕκαστος ἢ τῆς νίκης ἢ τῆς ἥττης καὶ
2 τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν αἴτιος ἐσόμενος. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲ ἔμελεν αὐτοῖς ὁρᾶν ὅπως οἱ σύμμαχοί σφων ἐμάχοντο, ἀλλ' ὡς καὶ μόνοι κινδυνεύοντες προεθυμοῦντο.[6] καὶ οὔτε ἐπαιώνιζέ[7] τις αὐτῶν οὔτε ἔστενεν, ἀλλὰ τοσοῦτο[8] μόνον ἑκάτεροι

[1] κρατῆσαι Wagner, θαρσῆσαι L. [2] τότε Bk., πότε L.
[3] ἔτι τοσαυτάκις Xyl., ἐπιτοσαυτάκις L.
[4] ἀνακόπτοντες Naber, ἀντικόπτοντες L.
[5] οὐδὲ γὰρ R. Steph., οὔτε L.
[6] προεθυμοῦντο Bk., ὑπερεθυμοῦντο L.
[7] ἐπαιώνιζέ Bs., after Bk., ἐπαιωνίζετο L.
[8] τοσοῦτο R. Steph., τοσούτωι L, τοσοῦτον ?

leader's presence, and so were anxious to be done with the war and its attendant miseries. Pompey's men were inferior in these respects, but, becoming strong through their despair of safety, should they fail to conquer, they were full of eagerness. For inasmuch as the majority of them had been captured with Afranius and Varro, had been spared, and afterwards delivered to Longinus, and had revolted from him, they had no hope of safety if they were beaten, and hence were reduced to desperation, feeling that they must now win or else perish utterly.[1] So the armies came together and began the battle; for they no longer felt any compunction at killing each other, since they had been so many times opposed in arms, and hence required no urging. Thereupon the allies on both sides were quickly routed and fled; but the legions themselves struggled in close combat to the utmost in their resistance of each other. Not a man of them would yield; they remained in their places slaying and perishing, as if each individual were to be responsible to all the rest as well for the issue of victory or defeat. Consequently they were not concerned to see how their allies were battling, but fought as eagerly as if they alone were struggling. Neither sound of paean nor groan was to be heard from any one of them, but both sides merely shouted B.C. 45

[1] Cf. note on p. 231.

βοῶντες, "παῖσον, ἀπόκτεινον," πολὺ τῷ ἔργῳ
3 τὰς γλώσσας σφῶν ἔφθανον. ὁρῶντες οὖν ταῦτα ἀπό τε ἵππων καὶ ἀπὸ μετεώρων τινῶν χωρίων ὅ τε Καῖσαρ καὶ ὁ Πομπήιος οὐκ εἶχον οὔθ' ὅπως ἐλπίσωσιν[1] οὔθ' ὅπως ἀπογνῶσιν, ἀλλ' ἀμφίβολοι ταῖς γνώμαις γιγνόμενοι δι' ἴσου καὶ
4 τῷ δέει καὶ τῷ θάρσει ἐκακοπάθουν. ἀντιπάλου γὰρ τῆς μάχης οὔσης ταῖς τε ὄψεσι δεινῶς ἔκαμνον, ἐπιθυμοῦντές τι ἰδεῖν πλεονέκτημα καὶ ὀκνοῦντές τι ἰδεῖν ἐλάττωμα, καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς, εὐχόμενοί τέ τι ἅμα καὶ ἀπευχόμενοι καὶ ῥωννύμενοι καὶ φοβούμενοι. οὔκουν οὐδ' ἠδυνήθησαν ἐπὶ πολὺ καρτερῆσαι, ἀλλὰ καταπηδήσαντες
5 ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων συμμετέσχον αὐτῆς. οὕτω που τῷ τοῦ σώματος καὶ πόνῳ καὶ κινδύνῳ μᾶλλον ἢ τῇ τῆς ψυχῆς συντάσει συνεῖναι[2] εἵλοντο, ῥοπήν τινα τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ στρατιώταις ἑκάτερος τῇ τῆς μάχης κοινωνίᾳ παρέξειν ἐλπίσαντες· ἢ εἴγε ἐκείνης ἁμάρτοιεν, συντελευτῆσαί γε αὐτοῖς ἠθέλησαν.

38 Καὶ οἱ μὲν καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐμάχοντο· τοῖς δὲ δὴ στρατοπέδοις πλεονεξία μεν οὐδεμία οὐδετέροις ἐκ τούτου ἐγένετο, μακρῷ δὲ δὴ πλείων,[3] ὡς ἐκείνους συγκινδυνεύοντάς σφισιν εἶδον, τοῦ τε σφετέρου θανάτου καταφρόνησις καὶ τοῦ τῶν ἐναντίων ὀλέθρου ἔφεσις ἀμφοτέροις ὁμοίως ἐνέ-
2 πεσε. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὔτε ἔφυγον τότε γε οὐδέτεροι, ἀλλ' ἰσοπαλεῖς ταῖς γνώμαις ὄντες ἰσοκρατεῖς καὶ τοῖς σώμασιν ἐγίγνοντο· κἂν

[1] οὔθ' ὅπως ἐλπίσωσιν supplied by "N" in Reimar's ed.
[2] συνεῖναι Leuncl., συνιέναι L.
[3] πλείων R. Steph., πλείω L.

"Strike! Kill!", while their deeds easily outran B.C. 45 their words. Caesar and Pompey, who witnessed these struggles from horseback from certain elevated positions, had no ground for either hope or despair, but, with their minds torn by doubts, were equally distressed by confidence and by fear. The battle was so evenly balanced that they suffered tortures at the sight as they strained to spy out some advantage, and shrank from discovering some setback. In mind, too, they suffered tortures, as they prayed for success and against misfortune, alternating between strength and fear. Therefore they were unable to endure it long, but leaped from their horses and joined in the conflict. Thus they preferred to share in it by personal exertion and danger rather than by tension of spirit, and each hoped by his participation in the fight to turn the scale somehow in favour of his own troops; or, failing that, they wished to die with them.

The leaders, then, took part in the battle themselves; yet no advantage came of this to either army. On the contrary, when the men saw their chiefs sharing their danger, a far greater disregard for their own death and eagerness for the destruction of their opponents seized both alike. Accordingly neither side for the moment turned to flight, but, matched in determination, they proved also to be matched in physical strength. All would have

πάντες ἀπέθανον ἢ καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς νυκτὸς ἀγχώμαλοι διεκρίθησαν, εἰ μὴ ὅ τε[1] Βογούας ἔξωθέ που τῶν συνεστηκότων ὢν ἐπὶ τὸ τοῦ Πομπηίου στρατόπεδον ὥρμησε, καὶ ὁ Λαβιῆνος ὡς τοῦτο εἶδε, τήν τε τάξιν ἐξέλιπε καὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἐτράπετο.
3 φεύγειν γὰρ αὐτὸν οἱ Πομπηίειοι νομίσαντες ἠθύμησαν. καὶ ἔμαθον μέν που τὸ ἀληθὲς ὕστερον, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἀναλαβεῖν ἑαυτοὺς ἔτ' ἠδυνήθησαν, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἐς τὴν πόλιν οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ τάφρευμα ἀποφυγόντες οὗτοί τε τοὺς προσμίξαντάς σφισιν ἰσχυρῶς ἀπεμαχέσαντο, καὶ οὐ πρότερόν γε ἔπεσον πρὶν ἀμφίβολοι γενέσθαι,
4 καὶ ἐκεῖνοι τὸ τεῖχος ἐπὶ πολὺ διέσωσαν, ὥστε μὴ πρότερον αὐτὸ ἁλῶναι πρὶν πάντας σφᾶς ἐν ταῖς ἐκδρομαῖς ἀπολέσθαι. τοσοῦτον δ' οὖν τὸ σύνολον τῶν Ῥωμαίων πάθος ἑκατέρωθεν ἐγένετο ὥστ' ἀπορήσαντας ὅπως τὴν πόλιν, μὴ καὶ νυκτὸς ἐκδρῶσί τινες, ἀποτειχίσωσιν, αὐτὰ τὰ σώματα τῶν νεκρῶν αὐτῇ περινῆσαι.[2]

39 Κρατήσας δὲ οὕτως ὁ Καῖσαρ καὶ τὴν Κόρδουβαν εὐθὺς ἔλαβεν· ὅ τε γὰρ Σέξτος οἱ προεξεχώρησε,[3] καὶ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι, καίτοι τῶν δούλων ἀνθισταμένων σφίσιν ἐπειδήπερ ἠλευθέρωντο,
2 προσεχώρησαν αὐτῷ. καὶ ὃς τοὺς μὲν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ὄντας ἀπέσφαξε, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἐξηργυρίσατο. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ τοὺς τὴν Ἴσπαλιν ἔχοντας ἔδρασεν, οἳ[4] τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὡς καὶ ἑκούσιοι φρουρὰν παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐσεδέξαντο, ἔπειτα δὲ διαφθείραντες τοὺς ἐλθόντας ἐπολέμησαν.
3 ἐπεστράτευσέ τε οὖν ἐπ' αὐτούς, καὶ ἀμελέστερον

[1] ὅ τε Bk., ὅτι γε L. [2] περινῆσαι Madvig, ἐρινῆσαι L.
[3] προεξεχώρησε Xyl., προσεξεχώρησε L.
[4] ἔδρασεν οἳ Bk., ἔδρασε καὶ L.

perished or at nightfall they would have parted with honours even, had not Bogud, who was somewhere outside the conflict, set out for Pompey's camp, whereupon Labienus, observing this, left his station and proceeded against him. Pompey's men, then, supposing him to be in flight, lost heart; and though later, of course, they learned the truth, they could no longer recover themselves. Some fled to the city, some to the rampart. The latter body vigorously fought off their assailants and fell only when attacked from all sides, while the former long held the wall safe, so that it was not captured till all had perished in sallies. So great was the total loss of Romans on both sides that the victors, at a loss how to wall in the city to prevent any from running away in the night, actually heaped up the bodies of the dead around it. B.C. 45

Caesar, having thus conquered, straightway took Corduba also. For Sextus had retired out of his way and the natives came over to his side, although their slaves, since they had been made free, resisted them. He slew the slaves under arms and sold the rest. And he adopted the same course also with those who held Hispalis; for they had at first pretended to accept a garrison from him willingly, but afterwards destroyed the soldiers who came there, and entered upon war. So he made a campaign against them,

δῆθεν προσεδρευων ἐλπίδας σφίσιν ὡς καὶ διαφυγεῖν δυνησομένοις παρέσχε. κἀκ τούτου περιορῶν δὴ τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ τείχους ἐξιόντας ἐκείνους τε ἐλόχιζε καὶ ἀπώλλυε, καὶ τὴν πόλιν οὕτως
4 *ἀνδρῶν κατὰ βραχὺ ἐρημωθεῖσαν εἷλε. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν Μοῦνδαν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα, τὰ μὲν ἀκούσια σὺν πολλῷ φόνῳ, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐθελούσια παρέλαβε καὶ ἠργυρολόγησεν, ὥστε μηδὲ τῶν τοῦ Ἡρακλέους ἀναθημάτων τῶν ἐν τοῖς Γαδείροις ἀνακειμένων φείσασθαι, χώρας τέ τινων ἀπετέμετο, καὶ ἑτέροις τὸν φόρον προσεπηύξησε.*
5 *ταῦτα μὲν τοὺς ἀντιπολεμήσαντάς οἱ ἔδρασε, τοῖς[1] δὲ εὔνοιάν τινα αὐτοῦ σχοῦσιν ἔδωκε μὲν καὶ χωρία καὶ ἀτέλειαν, πολιτείαν τέ τισι, καὶ ἄλλοις ἀποίκοις τῶν Ῥωμαίων νομίζεσθαι, οὐ μὴν καὶ προῖκα αὐτὰ ἐχαρίσατο.*

40 *Καῖσαρ μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἔπραττε, Πομπήιος δὲ διαφυγών πως ἐν τῇ τροπῇ ἦλθε μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ὡς καὶ τῷ ναυτικῷ τῷ ἐν τῇ Καρτηίᾳ ὁρμοῦντι χρησόμενος, εὑρὼν δὲ αὐτοὺς πρὸς τὸν κρατοῦντα ἀποκεκλικότας ἐπέβη μὲν πλοίου τινός,*
2 *προσδοκήσας ἐπ' αὐτοῦ διαδράσεσθαι,[2] πληγεὶς δὲ ἐν τούτῳ καὶ ἀθυμήσας τῇ τε γῇ αὖθις προσέσχε, κἀνταῦθα συνελθόντας τινὰς παραλαβὼν πρὸς τὴν μεσόγειαν ὥρμησε. καὶ αὐτός τε Καισεννίῳ Λέντωνι περιπεσὼν ἡττήθη, καὶ ἐς ὕλην τινὰ καταφυγὼν ἐφθάρη· καὶ ὁ Δίδιος ἀγνοῶν τε τοῦτο, καὶ πλανώμενος ὡς καὶ συμμίξων που αὐτῷ, συνέτυχεν ἑτέροις τισὶ καὶ ἀπώλετο.*

[1] τοῖς R. Steph., τοὺς L.
[2] διαδράσεσθαι Bk., διαδράσασθαι L.

and by appearing to conduct the siege in a rather careless fashion he gave them some hope of being able to escape. After this he would allow them to come outside the wall, where he would ambush and destroy them; in this way he captured the town, which had been gradually stripped of its men. Later he acquired Munda and the other places, some against their will and with great slaughter and others of their own accord. He levied tribute so rigorously that he did not even spare the offerings consecrated to Hercules in Gades; and he also took land from some cities and laid an added tribute upon others. This was his course toward those who had opposed him; but to those who had displayed any good-will toward him he granted lands and exemption from taxation, to some also citizenship, and to others the status of Roman colonists; he did not, however, grant these favours for nothing. B.C. 45

While Caesar was thus occupied, Pompey, who had escaped in the rout, reached the sea, intending to use the fleet that lay at anchor at Carteia, but found that the men had gone over to the victor's side. He then embarked on a vessel, expecting to escape in this manner; but being wounded in the course of the attempt, he lost heart and put back to land, and then, taking with him some men who had assembled, set out for the interior. He met Caesennius Lento and was defeated; and taking refuge in a wood, perished there. Didius, ignorant of his fate, while wandering about in the hope of meeting him somewhere, met some other troops and perished.

41 Εἵλετο δ' ἂν καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐκεῖ που πρός τε τῶν ἔτι ἀνθεστηκότων καὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ πολέμου δόξῃ πεπτωκέναι μᾶλλον ἢ ὅπερ οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἔπαθεν, ἔν τε τῇ πατρίδι καὶ ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ πρὸς τῶν
2 φιλτάτων σφαγῆναι. τοῦτον γὰρ τὸν πόλεμον τελευταῖον κατώρθωσε καὶ ταύτην τὴν νίκην ἐσχάτην ἀνείλετο, καίπερ οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐχὶ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν μεγίστων καταπράξειν ἐλπίσας διά τε τἆλλα, καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα ὅτι βλαστός τις ἐκ φοίνικος ἐν τῷ τῆς μάχης χωρίῳ ὄντος εὐθὺς ἐπὶ
3 τῇ νίκῃ ἐξέφυ. καὶ οὐ λέγω μὲν ὅτι οὐκ ἔφερέ[1] ποι[2] τοῦτο, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκείνῳ γε ἔτι, ἀλλὰ τῷ τῆς ἀδελφῆς αὐτοῦ ἐγγόνῳ τῷ Ὀκταουίῳ· συνεστρατεύετό τε γὰρ αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐκ τῶν πόνων τῶν τε κινδύνων αὐτοῦ ἐκλάμψειν ἔμελλεν. ἀγνοῶν δ' οὖν τοῦτο, καὶ ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ ἔτι πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα ἐλπίζων, οὐδὲν μέτριον ἔπραττεν, ἀλλ' ὡς καὶ
42 ἀθάνατος ὢν ὑπερεφρόνησε. τά τε γὰρ ἐπινίκια, καίτοι μηδενὸς ἀλλοτρίου κρατήσας ἀλλὰ καὶ τοσοῦτο πλῆθος πολιτῶν ἀπολέσας, οὐ μόνον αὐτὸς ἔπεμψε, πάντα τὸν δῆμον ἐν αὐτοῖς ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ κοινοῖς τισιν ἀγαθοῖς αὖθις ἑστιάσας, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ Φαβίῳ τῷ Κυΐντῳ τῷ τε Κυΐντῳ Πεδίῳ,[3] καίτοι ὑποστρατηγήσασιν αὐτῷ καὶ μηδὲν ἰδίᾳ
2 κατορθώσασι, διεορτάσαι ἐπέτρεψε. καὶ ἦν μέν που γέλως ἐπί τε τούτῳ, καὶ ὅτι καὶ ξυλίναις ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐλεφαντίναις ἔργων τέ τινων εἰκόσιν ἄλλοις τε τοιούτοις πομπείοις ἐχρήσαντο· οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐμφανέστατα τριττά τε νικητήρια καὶ

[1] οὐκ ἔφερέ Casaub., συνέφερέ L. [2] ποι Bk., πῃ L.
[3] τῷ Φαβίῳ τῷ Κυΐντῳ τῷ τε Κυΐντῳ Πεδίῳ Mommsen, τῷ Φαβίῳ τῷ τε Κυΐντῳ L.

Caesar, too, would doubtless have chosen to fall there, at the hands of those who were still resisting and amid the glory of war, in preference to the fate he met not long afterward of being murdered in his own land and in the senate at the hands of his dearest friends. For this was the last war that he carried through successfully, and this the last victory that he won, in spite of the fact that there was no other project so great that he did not hope to accomplish it. In this hope he was confirmed especially by the circumstance that from a palm that stood on the site of the battle a shoot grew out immediately after the victory. Now I do not assert that this had no bearing in some direction, yet it was no longer for him, but for his sister's grandson, Octavius; for the latter was making the campaign with him, and was destined to gain great lustre from his toils and dangers. As Caesar did not know this, and hoped that many great successes would still fall to his own lot, he showed no moderation, but was filled with arrogance, as if immortal. For, although he had conquered no foreign nation, but had destroyed a vast number of citizens, he not only celebrated the triumph himself, incidentally feasting the entire populace once more, as if in honour of some common blessing, but also allowed Quintus Fabius and Quintus Pedius to hold a celebration, although they had merely been his lieutenants and had achieved no individual success. Naturally this occasioned ridicule, as did also the fact that they used wooden instead of ivory representations of certain achievements together with other similar triumphal apparatus. Nevertheless, most brilliant triple triumphs and B.C. 45

τριτταὶ πομπαὶ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ἐποιήθησαν, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἱερομηνίαι ἐπὶ πεν-
3 τήκοντα ἡμέρας ἤχθησαν. τά τε[1] Παρίλια ἱπποδρομίᾳ ἀθανάτῳ, οὔτι γε καὶ διὰ τὴν πόλιν, ὅτι ἐν αὐτοῖς ἔκτιστο, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος νίκην, ὅτι ἡ ἀγγελία αὐτῆς τῇ προτεραίᾳ πρὸς ἑσπέραν ἀφίκετο, ἐτιμήθη.

43 Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἔδωκεν, αὐτὸς δὲ τήν τε στολὴν τὴν ἐπινίκιον ἐν πάσαις ταῖς πανηγύρεσι κατὰ δόγμα ἐνεδύετο, καὶ τῷ στεφάνῳ τῷ δαφνίνῳ ἀεὶ καὶ πανταχοῦ ὁμοίως ἐκοσμεῖτο. καὶ πρόφασιν μὲν ἐποιεῖτο τούτου[2] ὅτι ἀναφαλαντίας ἦν, παρεῖχε δὲ καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου λόγον τινά, καὶ ὅτι[3] τότε ἔτι, καίπερ παρηβηκώς, ἐς κάλλος ἤσκει·
2 τῇ τε γὰρ ἐσθῆτι χαυνοτέρᾳ ἐν πᾶσιν ἐνηβρύνετο, καὶ τῇ ὑποδέσει καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐνίοτε καὶ ὑψηλῇ καὶ ἐρυθροχρόῳ κατὰ τοὺς βασιλέας τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἄλβῃ ποτὲ γενομένους, ὡς καὶ προσήκων
3 σφίσι διὰ τὸν Ἴουλον,[4] ἐχρῆτο. τό τε ὅλον τῇ τε Ἀφροδίτῃ πᾶς ἀνέκειτο,[5] καὶ πείθειν πάντας ἤθελεν[6] ὅτι καὶ ἄνθος τι ὥρας ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἔχοι· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ γλύμμα αὐτῆς ἔνοπλον ἐφόρει, καὶ σύνθημα αὐτὴν ἐν τοῖς πλείστοις καὶ μεγίστοις
4 κινδύνοις ἐποιεῖτο. τὸ δ' οὖν χαῦνον τοῦ ζώματος[7] αὐτοῦ ὁ μὲν Σύλλας ὑπετόπησεν, ὥστε καὶ ἀποκτεῖναι αὐτὸν ἐθελῆσαι, τοῖς τε ἐξαιτησαμένοις εἰπεῖν[8] ὅτι "ἐγὼ μὲν χαριοῦμαι τοῦτον ὑμῖν, ὑμεῖς μέντοι καὶ πάνυ τοῦτον τὸν κακῶς ζωννύ-

[1] τε Rk., τε γὰρ L.
[2] τούτου Rk., τοῦτο L.
[3] ὅτι supplied by Leuncl.
[4] Ἴουλον Xyl., ἰούλιον L.
[5] ἀνέκειτο Xyl., ἀνεκινεῖτο L.
[6] πάντας ἤθελεν R. Steph., πάντες ἤθελον L.
[7] ζώματος Xyl., σώματος L Xiph.
[8] εἰπεῖν Xiph., εἶπεν L.

triple processions of the Romans were held in honour of those very events, and furthermore a thanksgiving of fifty days was observed. The Parilia was honoured by permanent annual games in the Circus, yet not at all because the city had been founded on that day, but because the news of Caesar's victory had arrived the day before, toward evening. B.C. 45

Such was his gift to Rome. For himself, he wore the triumphal garb, by decree, at all the games, and was adorned with the laurel crown always and everywhere alike. The excuse that he gave for it was that his forehead was bald; yet he gave occasion for talk by this very circumstance that at that time, though well past youth, he still bestowed attention upon his appearance. He used to show among all men his pride in rather loose clothing, and the footwear which he used later on was sometimes high and of a reddish colour, after the style of the kings who had once reigned in Alba, for he claimed that he was related to them through Iulus. In general he was absolutely devoted to Venus, and was anxious to persuade everybody that he had received from her a kind of bloom of youth. Accordingly he used also to wear a carven image of her in full armour on his ring and he made her name his watchword in almost all the greatest dangers. Sulla had looked askance at the looseness of his girdle,[1] so much so that he had wished to kill him, and declared to those who begged him off: "Well, I will grant him to you; but be thoroughly

[1] Implying licentiousness and general laxity of morals.

μενον φυλάττεσθε·" ὁ δὲ δὴ Κικέρων οὐ συνενοη-
5 σεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σφαλεὶς ἔφη ὅτι "οὐκ ἄν ποτε προσεδόκησα τὸν κακῶς οὕτω ζωννύμενον Πομπηίου κρατήσειν."

Τοῦτο μὲν οὖν ἐν ἐκβολῇ τοῦ λόγου, ὥστε μηδένα μηδὲν τῶν περὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος λεγομένων
44 ἀγνοῆσαι, ἔγραψα·[1] ἐπὶ δὲ δὴ τῇ νίκῃ ἐκεῖνά τε ὅσα εἶπον ἡ γερουσία ἔγνω, καὶ προσέτι αὐτόν τε Ἐλευθερωτὴν καὶ ἐκάλουν καὶ ἐς τὰ γραμματεῖα ἀνέγραφον, καὶ νεὼν Ἐλευθερίας δημοσίᾳ ἐψηφί-
2 σαντο. τό τε τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος ὄνομα οὐ κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἔτι μόνον, ὥσπερ ἄλλοι τε καὶ ἐκεῖνος πολλάκις[2] ἐκ τῶν πολέμων ἐπεκλήθησαν, οὐδ᾽ ὡς οἵ τινα αὐτοτελῆ ἡγεμονίαν ἢ καὶ ἄλλην τινὰ ἐξουσίαν λαβόντες ὠνομάζοντο, ἀλλὰ καθάπαξ τοῦτο δὴ τὸ καὶ νῦν τοῖς τὸ κράτος ἀεὶ ἔχουσι διδόμενον ἐκείνῳ τότε πρώτῳ τε καὶ πρῶτον,
3 ὥσπερ τι κύριον, προσέθεσαν. καὶ τοσαύτῃ γε[3] ὑπερβολῇ κολακείας ἐχρήσαντο ὥστε καὶ τοὺς παῖδας τούς τε ἐγγόνους αὐτοῦ οὕτω καλεῖσθαι ψηφίσασθαι, μήτε τέκνον τι αὐτοῦ ἔχοντος καὶ γέροντος ἤδη ὄντος. ὅθενπερ καὶ ἐπὶ πάντας τοὺς μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτοκράτορας ἡ ἐπίκλησις αὕτη,[4] ὥσπερ τις ἰδία τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτῶν οὖσα καθάπερ
4 καὶ ἡ τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἀφίκετο. οὐ μέντοι καὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἐκ τούτου κατελύθη, ἀλλ᾽ ἔστιν ἑκάτερον· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ δεύτερον ἐπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐπάγεται, ὅταν νίκην τινὰ τοιαύτην ἀνέλωνται. οἱ μὲν γὰρ αὐτὸ τοῦτο αὐτοκράτορες ἅπαξ τῇ προσηγορίᾳ

[1] ἔγραψα Rk., διέγραψα L.
[2] πολλάκις Rk., ὡς πολλάκις L.
[3] γε H. Steph., τε L.
[4] ἡ ἐπίκλησις αὕτη Leuncl., τῆι ἐπικλήσει αὐτῆι L.

on your guard against this ill-girt fellow." And Cicero could not comprehend it, but even in the moment of defeat said: "I should never have expected one so ill-girt to conquer Pompey." B.C. 45

This I have written by way of digression from my history, so that no one might be ignorant of any of the stories told about Caesar. In honour of his victory the senate passed all those decrees that I have mentioned, and further called him "Liberator," entering it also in the records, and voted for a public temple of Liberty. Moreover, they now applied to him first and for the first time, as a kind of proper name, the title of *imperator*, no longer merely following the ancient custom by which others as well as Caesar had often been saluted as a result of their wars, nor even as those who received some independent command or other authority were called by this name, but giving him once for all the same title that is now granted to those who hold successively the supreme power. And such excessive flattery did they employ as even to vote that his sons and grandsons should be given the same title, though he had no child and was already an old man. From him this title has come down to all subsequent emperors, as one peculiar to their office, just like the title "Caesar." The ancient custom has not, however, been thereby overthrown, but both usages exist side by side. Consequently the emperors are invested with it a second time when they gain some such victory as has been mentioned. For those who are *imperatores* in the special sense use

ταύτῃ, ὥσπερ[1] ταῖς ἄλλαις, καὶ πρώτῃ γε
5 χρῶνται· οἳ[2] δ' ἂν καὶ διὰ πολέμων ἄξιόν τι
αὐτῆς κατορθώσωσι, καὶ ἐκείνην τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ
ἀρχαίου προσλαμβάνουσι, κἀκ τούτου καὶ δεύ-
τερόν τις καὶ τρίτον πλεονάκις τε, ὁσάκις ἂν
παράσχῃ οἱ, αὐτοκράτωρ ἐπονομάζεται.
6 Ταῦτά τε οὖν τότε τῷ Καίσαρι, καὶ οἰκίαν
ὥστε ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ οἰκεῖν, ἱερομηνίαν τε
ἐξαίρετον ὁσάκις ἂν νίκη τέ τις συμβῇ καὶ θυσίαι
ἐπ' αὐτῇ γίγνωνται, κἂν μήτε συστρατεύσηται
μήθ' ὅλως ἐπικοινωνήσῃ[3] τῶν καταπραχθέντων,
45 ἔδοσαν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνα μὲν εἰ καὶ ὑπέρογκα
ἔξω τε τοῦ καθεστηκότος τισὶν[4] ἐδόκει εἶναι, οὔτι
γε καὶ ἀδημοκράτητα ἦν· ἕτερα δὲ δὴ τοιάδε
ἐψηφίσαντο δι' ὧν καὶ μόναρχον αὐτὸν ἄντικρυς
ἀπέδειξαν. τάς τε γὰρ ἀρχὰς αὐτῷ καὶ τὰς τοῦ
πλήθους ἀνέθεσαν, καὶ ὕπατον αὐτὸν ἐπὶ δέκα
ἔτη, ὥστε καὶ δικτάτορα πρότερον, προεχειρί-
2 σαντο· στρατιώτας τε μόνον ἔχειν καὶ τὰ δημόσια
χρήματα μόνον διοικεῖν ἐκέλευσαν, ὥστε μηδενὶ
ἄλλῳ μηδετέρῳ αὐτῶν, ὅτῳ μὴ[5] ἐκεῖνος ἐπι-
τρέψειεν, ἐξεῖναι χρῆσθαι. καὶ τότε μὲν ἀν-
δριάντα αὐτοῦ ἐλεφάντινον, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ ἅρμα
ὅλον ἐν ταῖς ἱπποδρομίαις μετὰ τῶν θείων
3 ἀγαλμάτων πέμπεσθαι ἔγνωσαν. ἄλλην τέ τινα
εἰκόνα ἐς τὸν τοῦ Κυρίνου[6] ναὸν Θεῷ ἀνικήτῳ
ἐπιγράψαντες, καὶ ἄλλην ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον
παρὰ τοὺς βασιλεύσαντάς ποτε ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ

[1] ὥσπερ Bk., ὥσπερ ἐν L. [2] οἳ Dind., οἷς L.
[3] κἂν μήτε συστρατεύσηται μήθ' ὅλως ἐπικοινωνήσῃ Naber, καὶ μήτε συστρατεύσῃ τις μήθ' ὅλως ἐπικοινωνῆσαι L.
[4] τισὶν Naber, σφίσιν L. [5] μὴ Bk., μηδὲ L.
[6] Κυρίνου R. Steph., κυιρίνου L.

this title once, as they do the other titles, and place it before the others; but those of them who also accomplish in war some deed worthy of it acquire also the title handed down by ancient custom, so that a man is termed *imperator* a second or a third time, or as many more times as the occasion may arise. B.C. 45

These privileges they granted then to Caesar, as well as a house, so that he might live in state property, and a special thanksgiving whenever any victory should occur and sacrifices should be offered for it, even if he had not been on the campaign or had any hand at all in the achievements. Nevertheless, these measures, even though they seemed to some immoderate and contrary to precedent, were not thus far undemocratic. But the senate passed the following decrees besides, by which they declared him a monarch out and out. For they offered him the magistracies, even those belonging to the plebs, and elected him consul for ten years, as they previously had made him dictator. They ordered that he alone should have soldiers, and alone administer the public funds, so that no one else should be allowed to employ either of them, save whom he permitted. And they decreed at this time that an ivory statue of him, and later that a whole chariot, should appear in the procession at the games in the Circus, together with the statues of the gods. Another likeness they set up in the temple of Quirinus with the inscription, "To the Invincible God," and another on the Capitol beside the former kings

4 ἀνέθεσαν. καί μοι θαυμάσαι τῆς συντυχίας ἐπέρχεται· ὀκτὼ γὰρ ἅμα αὐτῶν (ἑπτὰ μὲν ἐκείνοις, ὀγδόης[1] δὲ τῷ γε[2] Βρούτῳ τῷ τοὺς Ταρκυνίους[3] καταλύσαντι) οὐσῶν παρὰ ταύτην τότε τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος ἔστησαν, καὶ δῆτα καὶ ἐκ τούτου ὅτι μάλιστα ὁ Βροῦτος ὁ Μᾶρκος κινηθεὶς ἐπεβούλευσεν αὐτῷ.

46 Ταῦτ' ἐπὶ τῇ[4] νίκῃ (λέγω[5] δὲ οὐ πάντα, ἀλλ' ὅσα ἀξιόλογα εἶναί μοι ἔδοξεν) οὐκ ἐν μιᾷ γε ἡμέρᾳ, ἀλλ' ὥς που καὶ ἔτυχεν, ἄλλο ἄλλῃ ἐκυρώθη· καί σφων ὁ Καῖσαρ τοῖς μὲν χρῆσθαι ἤρξατο τοῖς δὲ ἔμελλεν, εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστά τινα
2 αὐτῶν παρήκατο. τὴν δ' οὖν ἀρχὴν τὴν ὕπατον[6] παραχρῆμα μέν, καὶ πρὶν ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσελθεῖν, ἀνέλαβεν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ διὰ τέλους ἔσχεν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ γενόμενος ἀπεῖπέ τε αὐτὴν καὶ τῷ Φαβίῳ τῷ Κυΐντῳ τῷ τε Τρεβωνίῳ τῷ Γαΐῳ ἐνεχείρισε. καὶ ἐπειδή γε ὁ Φάβιος τῇ τελευταίᾳ τῆς ὑπατείας ἡμέρᾳ ἀπέθανεν, εὐθὺς ἀντ' αὐτοῦ ἕτερον πρὸς τὰς περιλοίπους ὥρας Γάιον
3 Κανίνιον[7] Ῥήβιλον[8] ἀνθείλετο. πρῶτον μὲν δὴ τότε τοῦτο παρὰ τὸ καθεστηκὸς ἐγένετο, τὸ μήτε ἐτησίαν μήτε ἐς πάντα τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον τοῦ ἔτους τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκείνην τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ ζῶντά τινα αὐτῆς καὶ μὴ ἀναγκασθέντα μήτε ἐκ τῶν πατρίων[9] μήτε ἐξ ἐπηγορίας τινὸς ἐκστῆναι,

[1] ὀγδόης Bk., ὀγδόωι L. [2] γε H. Steph., τε L.
[3] Ταρκυνίους R. Steph., ταρκυινίους L.
[4] τῇ supplied by Pflugk. [5] λέγω R. Steph., λέγων L.
[6] ὕπατον R. Steph., ὕπαυτον L.
[7] Κανίνιον R. Steph., κάννιον L (and so just below).
[8] Ῥήβιλον Wagner, ῥήβιον L.
[9] τῶν πατρίων Rk., πατρώιων L.

of Rome. Now it occurs to me to marvel at the coincidence: there were eight such statues,—seven to the kings, and an eighth to the Brutus who overthrew the Tarquins,—and they set up the statue of Caesar beside the last of these; and it was from this cause chiefly that the other Brutus, Marcus, was roused to plot against him. B.C. 45

These were the measures that were passed in honour of his victory (I do not mention all, but as many as have seemed to me notable), not in one day, to be sure, but just as it happened, at different times. Caesar began to avail himself of some, and was intending to use others in the future, however emphatically he declined some of them. Thus he took the office of consul immediately, even before entering the city, but did not hold it through the whole year; instead, when he got to Rome he renounced it, turning it over to Quintus Fabius and Gaius Trebonius. When Fabius died on the last day of his consulship, he straightway named another man, Gaius Caninius Rebilus, in his place for the remaining hours. This was the first violation of precedent at this time, that one and the same man did not hold that office for a year or even for all the rest of the same year, but while living withdrew from it without compulsion from either ancestral custom or any accusation, and another took

4 καὶ ἕτερον ἀντ' αὐτοῦ ἀντικαταστῆναι. δεύτερον
δὲ ὅτι ὁ Κανίνιος ἀπεδείχθη τε ἅμα ὕπατος καὶ
ὑπάτευσε καὶ ἐπαύσατο· ὅπερ καὶ ὁ Κικέρων
διασκώπτων τοσαύτῃ ἔφη τὸν ὕπατον καὶ ἀνδρείᾳ
καὶ φροντίδι ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ κεχρῆσθαι ὥστε μηδὲ τὸ
5 βραχύτατον ἐν αὐτῇ κεκοιμῆσθαι. ἐκ δ' οὖν τοῦ
χρόνου ἐκείνου οὐκέτι οἱ αὐτοὶ διὰ παντὸς τοῦ
ἔτους, πλὴν ὀλίγων πάλαι γε, ὑπάτευσαν, ἀλλ' ὥς
που καὶ ἔτυχον, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ πλείους οἱ δὲ ἐπ' ἐλάτ-
τους, οἱ μὲν μῆνας οἱ δὲ ἡμέρας, ἐπεὶ νῦν γε οὐδεὶς
οὔτε[1] ἐπ' ἐνιαυτὸν οὔτε ἐς πλείω διμήνου χρόνον
6 ὡς πλήθει σὺν ἑτέρῳ τινὶ ἄρχει. καὶ τὰ μὲν
ἄλλα οὐδὲν διαφέρομεν ἀλλήλων, τὴν δὲ
ἐξαρίθμησιν τῶν ἐτῶν οἱ κατὰ πρώτας αὐτῶν
ὑπατεύοντες καρποῦνται. καὶ ἐγὼ οὖν τῶν μὲν
ἄλλων τοὺς τοῖς πράγμασιν ἀναγκαίους ὀνομάσω,
πρὸς δὲ δὴ τὴν τῶν ἀεὶ πραττομένων δήλωσιν
τοὺς πρώτους ἄρξαντας,[2] κἂν μηδὲν ἔργον ἐς αὐτὰ
παράσχωνται.

47 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τοὺς ὑπάτους ταῦθ' οὕτως ἐγένετο·
οἱ δὲ δὴ ἄλλοι ἄρχοντες λόγῳ μὲν ὑπό τε τοῦ
πλήθους καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου κατὰ τὰ πάτρια
(τὴν γὰρ ἀπόδειξιν αὐτῶν ὁ Καῖσαρ οὐκ ἐδέξατο),
ἔργῳ δὲ ὑπ' ἐκείνου κατέστησαν, καὶ ἔς γε τὰ
2 ἔθνη ἀκληρωτὶ ἐξεπέμφθησαν. ἀριθμὸν δὲ οἱ
μὲν ἄλλοι ὅσοιπερ καὶ πρότερον, στρατηγοὶ δὲ
τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα ταμίαι τε τεσσαράκοντα ἀπε-
δείχθησαν. πολλοῖς γὰρ δὴ πολλὰ ὑπεσχημένος

[1] οὔτε Bk., οὐδε L. [2] ἄρξαντας Xyl., πράξαντας L.

his place. Again, there was the fact that Caninius was appointed consul, served, and ceased to serve all at the same time. Hence Cicero jestingly remarked that the consul had displayed such great bravery and prudence in office as never to fall asleep in it for the briefest moment. So after that period the same persons no longer (except a few in the beginning) acted as consuls through the whole year, but according to circumstances, some for a longer time, some for a shorter, some for months, others for days; indeed, at the present time no one serves with any one else, as a rule, for a whole year or for a longer period than two months. In general we consuls to-day do not differ from one another, but the naming of the years is the privilege of those who are consuls at the beginning. Accordingly, in the case of the other consuls I shall name only those who were closely connected with the events mentioned, but in order to secure perfect clearness with regard to the succession of events, I shall mention also those who first held office in each year, even if they make no contribution to its events. B.C. 45

While the consuls were appointed in this manner, the remaining magistrates were nominally elected by the plebs and by the whole people, in accordance with ancestral custom, since Caesar would not accept the appointment of them; yet really they were appointed by him, and were sent out to the provinces without casting lots. As for their number, all were the same as before, except that fourteen praetors and forty quaestors were appointed. For, since he had made many promises to many people,

οὐκ εἶχεν ὅπως σφᾶς ἄλλως ἀμείψηται, καὶ
3 διὰ τοῦτο ταῦτ' ἐποίει. καὶ προσέτι παμπληθεῖς μὲν ἐς[1] τὴν γερουσίαν, μηδὲν διακρίνων μήτ' εἴ τις στρατιώτης μήτ' εἴ τις ἀπελευθέρου παῖς ἦν, ἐσέγραψεν, ὥστε καὶ ἐνακοσίους[2] τὸ κεφάλαιον αὐτῶν γενέσθαι, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐς τοὺς εὐπατρίδας τούς τε ὑπατευκότας ἢ καὶ
4 ἄλλην[3] ἀρχήν τινα ἄρξαντας ἐγκατέλεξεν. εὐθυνομένους τε ἐπὶ δώροις τινὰς καὶ ἐξελεγχομένους γε ἀπέλυσεν, ὥστε καὶ αἰτίαν δωροδοκίας ἔχειν. προσσυνελάβετο γὰρ τοῦ λόγου τούτου ὅτι καὶ τοὺς χώρους τοὺς δημοσίους, οὐχ ὅτι τοὺς βεβήλους ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἱερούς, πάντας τε ἐξέθηκεν ἐς τὸ[4] πρατήριον, καὶ ἀπεκήρυξε τοὺς πλείονας.
5 συχνὰ δ' οὖν ὅμως καὶ ἐν ἀργυρίῳ τῇ τε πράσει τῶν χωρίων ἔστιν οἷς ἔνειμε· καὶ Λουκίῳ τινὶ Βασίλῳ[5] ἡγεμονίαν μὲν ἔθνους οὐδεμίαν καίτοι στρατηγοῦντι ἐπέτρεψε, χρήματα δὲ ἀντ' αὐτῆς πάμπολλα ἐχαρίσατο, ὥστε καὶ ἐπιβόητον αὐτὸν ἔν τε[6] τούτῳ γενέσθαι, καὶ ὅτι προπηλακισθεὶς ἐν τῇ στρατηγίᾳ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀντεκαρτέρησε.[7]
6 ταῦτα δὴ πάντα τοῖς μὲν λαμβάνουσί τι ἢ καὶ προσδοκῶσι λήψεσθαι ἀρεστὰ ἐγίγνετο, μηδὲν τοῦ κοινοῦ προτιμῶσι πρὸς τὸ ἀεὶ δι' αὐτῶν αὔξεσθαι· οἱ δὲ δὴ ἄλλοι πάντες δεινῶς ἔφερον, καὶ πολλά γε ἐλογοποίουν πρός τε ἀλλήλους, καὶ ὅσοις γε καὶ ἀσφάλειά τις ἦν, παρρησιαζόμενοι, καὶ βιβλία δὲ[8] ἀνώνυμα ἐκτιθέντες.

[1] ἐς Bs., ἐπὶ L. [2] ἐνακοσίους Bk., ἐννακοσίους L.
[3] ἄλλην supplied by Nipperdey.
[4] ἐξέθηκεν ἐς τὸ supplied by R. Steph.
[5] Βασίλῳ Bs., βασίλλωι L. [6] τε Bk., γε L.
[7] ἀντεκαρτέρησε Bs., ἀπεκαρτέρησε L. [8] δὲ St., τε L.

he had no other way to reward them, and hence took this method. Furthermore, he enrolled a vast number in the senate, making no distinction whether a man was a soldier or the son of a freedman, so that the sum of them grew to nine hundred; and he enrolled many also among the patricians and among the ex-consuls and such as had held some other office. He released some who were on trial for bribery and were being proved guilty, so that he was charged with bribe-taking himself. This report was strengthened by the fact that he also put up at auction all the public lands, not only the profane, but also the consecrated lots, and sold most of them. Nevertheless, he granted ample gifts to some persons in the form of money or the sale of lands; and in the case of a certain Lucius Basilus, who was praetor, instead of assigning him a province he bestowed a large amount of money upon him, so that Basilus became notorious both on this account as well as because, when insulted during his praetorship by Caesar, he had held out against him. All this suited those citizens who were receiving or even expecting to receive something, since they had no regard for the public weal in comparison with the chance of the moment for their own advancement by such means. But all the rest took it greatly to heart and had much to say about it to each other and also—as many as felt safe in so doing—in outspoken utterances and the publication of anonymous pamphlets. B.C. 45

48 Ἐν δ' οὖν τῷ ἔτει ἐκείνῳ ἐκεῖνά τε ἐπράχθη, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως δύο τῶν πολιανομούντων, ἐπειδὴ ταμίας οὐδεὶς προεκεχειροτόνητο, ἐγένοντο. ὥσπερ γάρ ποτε πρότερον, καὶ τότε ἐν τῇ ἀποδημίᾳ τῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος οἱ πολιανόμοι πάντα τὰ ἐν τῷ ἄστει πράγματα μετὰ τοῦ Λεπίδου
2 ἱππαρχοῦντος ἔσχον· καὶ αἰτιαθέντες γε ὅτι καὶ ῥαβδούχοις καὶ τῇ ἐσθῆτι τῷ τε δίφρῳ τοῖς ἀρχικοῖς, ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ ἵππαρχος, ἐκέχρηντο,[1] ἀφείθησαν, νόμον τινὰ προβαλλόμενοι δι' οὗ πᾶσι τοῖς παρὰ δικτάτορος ἀρχήν τινα λαβοῦσι
3 χρῆσθαι αὐτοῖς ἐδίδοτο. τὸ δ' οὖν κατὰ τὴν διοίκησιν, ἐξ ἐκείνου δι' ἅπερ εἶπον παρατραπέν, οὐκέτι τοῖς ταμίαις ἀεὶ ἐπετράπη, ἀλλὰ τὸ τελευταῖον τοῖς ἐστρατηγηκόσι προσετάχθη. τούς τε οὖν θησαυροὺς τοὺς δημοσίους δύο τότε τῶν πολιανομούντων διῴκησαν, καὶ τὰ Ἀπολλώνια ὁ ἕτερος αὐτῶν τῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος παρασκευῇ
4 ἐπετέλεσε. καὶ οἱ ἀγορανόμοι οἱ ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους τὰ Μεγαλήσια κατὰ δόγμα ἐποίησαν. πολίαρχός τέ τις ἐν ταῖς ἀνοχαῖς καταστὰς ἕτερον αὐτὸς τῆς ὑστεραίας ἀνθείλετο, καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἄλλον· ὃ μήτε πρότερον μήθ' ὕστερόν ποτε ἐγένετο.

49 Ταῦτα μὲν τότε ἐπράχθη· τῷ δὲ ἐχομένῳ ἔτει, ἐν ᾧ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐδικτατόρευσέ τε ἅμα τὸ πέμπτον, ἵππαρχον τὸν Λέπιδον προσλαβών, καὶ ὑπάτευσε τὸ πέμπτον, συνάρχοντα τὸν Ἀντώνιον προσελόμενος, στρατηγοί τε ἑκκαίδεκα ἦρξαν (καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ἐπὶ πολλὰ ἔτη . . .[2]), καὶ τὸ βῆμα ἐν μέσῳ που πρότερον τῆς ἀγορᾶς ὂν ἐς τὸν νῦν τόπον

[1] ἐκέχρηντο R. Steph., ἐκέχρητο L.
[2] Some word like ἐγίγνετο, ἐγένετο, or συνέβη has fallen out.

In addition to these measures carried out that year, two of the city prefects took charge of the finances, since no quaestor had been elected. For just as on former occasions, so now in the absence of Caesar, the prefects managed all the affairs of the city, in conjunction with Lepidus as master of the horse. And although they were censured for employing lictors and the magisterial garb and chair precisely like the master of the horse, they got off by citing a certain law which allowed all those receiving any office from a dictator to make use of such trappings. The administration of the finances, after being diverted at this time for the reasons I have mentioned, was no longer invariably assigned to the quaestors, but was finally assigned to ex-praetors. Two of the city prefects then managed the public treasuries, and one of them celebrated the Ludi Apollinares at Caesar's cost. The plebeian aediles conducted the Ludi Megalenses in accordance with a decree. A certain prefect, appointed during the Feriae, himself chose a successor on the following day, and the latter a third; this had never happened before, nor did it happen again. B.C. 45

These were the events at this time. The next year, during which Caesar was at once dictator for the fifth time, with Lepidus as master of the horse, and consul for the fifth time, choosing Antony as his colleague, sixteen praetors were in power,—a custom, indeed, that was continued for many years,—and the rostra, which was formerly in the centre of the Forum, was moved back to its present B.C. 44

ἀνεχωρίσθη, καὶ αὐτῷ ἡ τοῦ Σύλλου τοῦ τε
2 Πομπηίου εἰκὼν ἀπεδόθη. καὶ ἐπί τε[1] τούτῳ
εὔκλειαν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἔσχεν, καὶ ὅτι τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ
καὶ τῆς δόξης τοῦ ἔργου καὶ τῆς ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐπι-
γραφῆς παρεχώρησε. θέατρόν τέ τι κατὰ τὸν
Πομπήιον οἰκοδομῆσαι ἐθελήσας προκατεβάλετο[2]
μέν, οὐκ ἐξετέλεσε δέ. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν ὁ
Αὔγουστος μετὰ ταῦτα ἐκποιήσας ἀπὸ Μάρκου
3 Μαρκέλλου τοῦ ἀδελφιδοῦ[3] ἐπωνόμασε· τὰς δὲ
οἰκίας τούς τε ναοὺς τοὺς ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ ἐκείνῳ
ὄντας ὁ Καῖσαρ καθελὼν αἰτίαν ἔλαβεν, ὅτι
τε τὰ ἀγάλματα, ξύλινα πλὴν ὀλίγων ὄντα, κατέ-
καυσε, καὶ θησαυροὺς χρημάτων συχνοὺς εὑρὼν
πάντας αὐτοὺς ἐσφετερίσατο.

50 Ταῦτά τε ἐποίει καὶ νόμους ἐσέφερε τό τε
πωμήριον ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἐπεξήγαγε. καὶ ἐν μὲν τού-
τοις ἄλλοις τέ τισιν ὅμοια τῷ Σύλλᾳ πρᾶξαι
ἔδοξεν· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ τοῖς τε περιλειφθεῖσι τῶν
ἀντιπολεμησάντων οἱ τάς τε αἰτίας ἀφεῖναι καὶ
2 ἄδειαν ἐπί τε τῇ ἴσῃ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ ὁμοίᾳ δοῦναι, καὶ
ἐκείνων τε τὰς ἀρχὰς προαγαγεῖν καὶ ταῖς γυναιξὶ
τῶν ἀπολωλότων τὰς προῖκας ἀποδοῦναι, τοῖς τε
παισὶν αὐτῶν μέρη τῶν οὐσιῶν χαρίσασθαι, τήν
τε τοῦ Σύλλου μιαιφονίαν μεγάλως ἤλεγξε, καὶ
αὐτὸς οὐκ ἐπ' ἀνδρείᾳ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ χρησ-
τότητι ἰσχυρῶς εὐδοκίμησεν, καίτοι χαλεπὸν ὂν
ὡς πλήθει τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ
3 διαπρέψαι. τούτοις τε οὖν ἐσεμνύνετο, καὶ ὅτι
καὶ τὴν Καρχηδόνα τήν τε Κόρινθον ἀνέστησεν.

[1] τε supplied by Bk.
[2] προκατεβάλετο Leuncl., προκατελάβετο L.
[3] ἀδελφιδοῦ R. Steph., ἀδελφιδοὺς L.

position; also the statues of Sulla and of Pompey were restored to it. For this Caesar received praise, and also because he yielded to Antony both the glory of the work and the inscription on it. Being anxious to build a theatre, as Pompey had done, he laid the foundations, but did not finish it; it was Augustus who later completed it and named it for his nephew, Marcus Marcellus. But Caesar was blamed for tearing down the dwellings and temples on the site, and likewise because he burned up the statues, which were almost all of wood, and because on finding large hoards of money he appropriated them all. B.C. 44

Besides this, he introduced laws and extended the pomerium; in these and other matters his course was thought to resemble that of Sulla. Caesar, however, removed the ban from the survivors of those who had warred against him, granting them immunity on fair and uniform terms; he promoted them to office; to the wives of the slain he restored their dowries, and to their children he granted a share of the property, thus putting Sulla's cruelty mightily to shame and gaining for himself a great reputation not alone for bravery but also for goodness, although it is generally a difficult thing for the same man to excel both in war and in peace. This was a source of pride to him, as was also the fact that he had restored again Carthage and Corinth.

πολλὰς μὲν γὰρ καὶ ἄλλας ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ ἔξω πόλεις τὰς μὲν ἀνῳκοδόμησε, τὰς δὲ καὶ
4 *ἐκ καινῆς κατεστήσατο· ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν καὶ ἄλλοις τισὶν ἐπέπρακτο, τὴν δὲ δὴ Κόρινθον τήν τε Καρχηδόνα, πόλεις ἀρχαίας λαμπρὰς ἐπισήμους ἀπολωλυίας, ᾗ*[1] *μὲν ἀποικίας Ῥωμαίων ἐνόμισεν, ἀπῴκισεν, ᾗ*[1] *δὲ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις ὀνόμασιν*
5 *ἐτίμησεν, ἀπέδωκεν τῇ μνήμῃ τῶν ἐνοικησάντων ποτὲ αὐτάς, μηδὲν διὰ τὴν ἐκείνων ἔχθραν τοῖς χωρίοις τοῖς μηδέν σφας ἀδικήσασι μνησικακήσας.*

Καὶ αἱ μέν, ὥσπερ ἅμα πρότερον καθῃρέθησαν, οὕτω καὶ τότε ἅμα ἀνεβιώσκοντο καὶ ἔμελλον καὶ
51 *αὖθις ἀνθήσειν· πράττοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ ταῦτα ἐπιθυμία τε πᾶσι τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὁμοίως ἐσῆλθε τιμωρῆσαι τῷ τε Κράσσῳ καὶ τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ φθαρεῖσι, καὶ ἐλπὶς τότε, εἴπερ ποτέ, τοὺς Πάρθους καταστρέψεσθαι.*[2] *τόν τε οὖν πόλεμον τῷ Καίσαρι ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐψηφίσαντο, καὶ τὴν παρα-*
2 *σκευὴν*[3] *αὐτοῦ πολλὴν ἐποιοῦντο. τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα, καὶ ὅπως ἐκεῖνός τε πλείοσιν ὑπηρέταις χρῆσθαι ἔχῃ, καὶ ἡ*[4] *πόλις μήτ' ἄνευ ἀρχόντων ἐν τῇ ἀπουσίᾳ αὐτοῦ γένηται μήτ' αὖ καθ' ἑαυτὴν αἱρουμένη*[5] *τινὰς στασιάσῃ, διενοοῦντο μὲν καὶ ἐς τρία ἔτη αὐτοὺς προκαταστῆσαι (τοσούτου γὰρ χρόνου πρὸς τὴν στρατείαν χρῄζειν ἐδόκουν) οὐ*
3 *μέντοι καὶ πάντας προαπέδειξαν. ᾑρεῖτο δὲ τῷ μὲν λόγῳ*[6] *τοὺς ἡμίσεις ὁ Καῖσαρ, ἐν νόμῳ τινὶ*

[1] ᾗ R. Steph., ἡ L.
[2] καταστρέψεσθαι Bs., καταστρέψασθαι L.
[3] παρασκευὴν Rk., κατασκευὴν L. [4] ἡ Rk., ἥ τε L.
[5] αἱρουμένη R. Steph., αἱρουμένης L.
[6] δὲ τῷ μὲν λόγῳ Bs., μὲν τῶι λόγωι L.

To be sure, there were many other cities in and outside of Italy which he had either rebuilt or founded anew; still, other men had done as much. But in the case of Corinth and Carthage, those ancient, brilliant, and distinguished cities which had been laid in ruins, he not only colonized them, in that he regarded them as colonies of the Romans, but also restored them in memory of their former inhabitants, in that he honoured them with their ancient names; for he bore no grudge, on account of the hostility of those peoples, towards places that had never harmed the Romans. B.C. 44

So these cities, even as they had once been demolished together, now began to revive together and bade fair to flourish once more. But while Caesar was thus engaged, a longing came over all the Romans alike to avenge Crassus and those who had perished with him, and they felt some hope of subjugating the Parthians then, if ever. They unanimously voted the command of the war to Caesar, and made ample provision for it. Among other details, they decided that he should have a generous number of assistants, and also, in order that the city should neither be without officials in his absence nor, again, by attempting to choose some on its own responsibility, fall into strife, that the magistrates should be appointed in advance for three years, this being the length of time they thought necessary for the campaign. Nevertheless, they did not designate them all beforehand. Nominally Caesar chose half of them, having a certain legal right to do this, but in reality

τοῦτο ποιησάμενος, ἔργῳ δὲ πάντας. καὶ ἐς μὲν
τὸ πρῶτον ἔτος ταμίαι τεσσαράκοντα προεχειρί-
σθησαν ὥσπερ καὶ πρότερον, καὶ ἀγορανόμοι τότε
πρῶτον δύο μὲν καὶ ἐξ εὐπατριδῶν, τέσσαρες δὲ
ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους, ὧν οἱ δύο τὴν ἀπὸ τῆς Δήμητρος
ἐπίκλησιν φέρουσιν, ὅπερ που καὶ ἐς τόδε ἐξ ἐκεί-
4 νου καταδειχθὲν ἐμμεμένηκε. στρατηγοὶ δὲ ἀπε-
δείχθησαν μὲν ἑκκαίδεκα· ἀλλ' οὐ τοῦτο γράφω
(καὶ γὰρ πρόσθεν ἐγεγόνεσαν) ἀλλ' ὅτι[1] καὶ ὁ
Πούπλιος ὁ Οὐεντίδιος[2] ἐν αὐτοῖς ᾑρέθη. οὗτος
γὰρ τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖον ἐκ τοῦ Πικήνου, ὥσπερ εἴρη-
ταί μοι, ἦν, ἀντιπολεμήσας δὲ τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ὅτε
5 οἱ σύμμαχοί σφισιν ἐπολεμώθησαν, ἥλω τε ὑπὸ
τοῦ Πομπηίου τοῦ Στράβωνος καὶ ἐν τοῖς νικη-
τηρίοις αὐτοῦ δεδεμένος ἐπόμπευσε, καὶ μετὰ
τοῦτο ἀφεθεὶς ἔς τε τὸ συνέδριον χρόνῳ ὕστερον
ἐνεγράφη καὶ στρατηγὸς τότε ὑπὸ[3] τοῦ Καίσαρος
ἀπεδείχθη, καὶ ἐς τοσοῦτόν γε προϊὼν ἐπηυξήθη
ὥστε καὶ τοὺς Πάρθους νικῆσαι καὶ ἐπινίκια αὐτῶν
6 πέμψαι. οἱ μὲν οὖν τῷ πρώτῳ μετ' ἐκεῖνο ἔτει ἄρξ-
οντες πάντες προκατέστησαν, ἐς δὲ δὴ τὸ δεύτερον
οἵ τε ὕπατοι καὶ οἱ δήμαρχοι μόνοι· τοσοῦτον
7 ἐδέησε καὶ ἐς τὸ τρίτον τινὰ ἀποδειχθῆναι. καὶ
ἔμελλε καὶ αὐτὸς δικτάτωρ ἐν ἀμφοτέροις αὐτοῖς
ἄρξειν, τούς τε ἱππαρχήσοντας[4] ἄλλον τέ τινα
καὶ τὸν Ὀκτάουιον, καίπερ μειράκιον ἔτι καὶ τότε
8 ὄντα, προεχειρίσατο. ἔς τε τὸ παρόν, ἐν ᾧ ταῦτ'
ἐγίγνετο, ὕπατόν τε ἀνθ' ἑαυτοῦ τὸν Δολοβέλλαν
ἀντικατέστησε,[5] καίτοι τοῦ Ἀντωνίου πάντα τὸν

[1] ἀλλ' ὅτι Bk., ἀλλ' ὅτι ἄλλοι τε Rk., ἄλλόι τε L.
[2] Οὐεντίδιος R. Steph., οὐεντίλιος L. [3] ὑπὸ Rk., ἐπὶ L.
[4] τούς τε ἱππαρχήσοντας Leuncl., τοῦ τε ἱππαρχήσαντος L.
[5] ἀντικατέστησε R. Steph., ἀντεκατέστησε L.

he chose the whole number. For the first year, as previously, forty quaestors were elected, and now for the first time two patrician aediles as well as four from the plebs. Of the latter two have their title from Ceres,[1] a custom which, then introduced, has remained to the present day. And praetors were appointed to the number of sixteen; it is not of this, however, that I would write, since there had formerly been just as many, but of the fact that among those chosen was Publius Ventidius. He was originally from Picenum, as has been remarked, and fought against Rome when her allies were at war with her. He was captured by Pompeius Strabo,[2] and marched in chains in that general's triumph. Later he was released and subsequently was enrolled in the senate, and now was appointed praetor by Caesar; and he went on advancing until he finally conquered the Parthians and held a triumph over them. All were thus appointed in advance who were to hold office the first year after that, but for the second year only the consuls and tribunes; so far were they from appointing anybody for the third year. Caesar himself intended to be dictator both years, and designated as masters of horse another man and Octavius, though the latter was at that time a mere lad. For the time being, while this was going on, Caesar appointed Dolabella consul in his own stead, leaving Antony to finish out his B.C. 44

[1] The *Aediles Cereales.*
[2] The father of Pompey the Great.

ἐνιαυτὸν μέλλοντος ἄρξειν· καὶ τῷ Λεπίδῳ τήν τε Γαλατίαν τὴν περὶ Νάρβωνα καὶ τὴν Ἰβηρίαν τὴν πλησιόχωρον προστάξας, δύο ἀντ᾽ αὐτοῦ[1] ἑτέρους, ἰδίᾳ γε ἑκάτερον, ἱππαρχῆσαι ἐποίησε.
9 πολλοῖς γὰρ εὐεργεσίας[2] ὀφείλων διά τε τῶν τοιούτων αὐτὰς καὶ διὰ τῶν ἱερωσυνῶν ἀπεδίδου, ἔς τε τοὺς πεντεκαίδεκα ἕνα καὶ ἐς τοὺς ἑπτὰ αὖ καλουμένους τρεῖς ἑτέρους προσαποδείξας.

[1] αὐτοῦ St., αὐτῶν L. [2] εὐεργεσίας Leuncl., εὐεργεσίαν L.

year in office. To Lepidus he assigned Gallia Narbonensis and Hither Spain, and appointed two men masters of horse in his place, each to act separately. For owing favours, as he did, to many persons, he repaid them by such appointments as these and by priesthoods, adding one man to the Quindecimviri, and three others to the Septemviri, as they were called. B.C. 44

BOOK XLIV

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ τετταρακοστῷ τετάρτῳ τῶν Δίωνος Ῥωμαϊκῶν

α. Περὶ τῶν τῷ Καίσαρι ψηφισθέντων.
β. Περὶ τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς τῆς ἐπ' αὐτὸν συστάσης.
γ. Ὡς Καῖσαρ ἐσφάγη.
δ. Ὡς δόγμα ἐγένετο μὴ μνησικακεῖν αὐτοὺς ἀλλήλοις.
ε. Περὶ τῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος ταφῆς καὶ τοῦ λεχθέντος ἐπ' αὐτῷ λόγου.

Χρόνου πλῆθος μέρος τι[1] τῆς Ἰουλίου Καίσαρος δικτατορίας τὸ ε' μετὰ Αἰμιλίου Λεπίδου ἱππάρχου καὶ ὑπατείας τὸ ε' μετὰ Μάρκου Ἀντωνίου.

Ὁ μὲν οὖν Καῖσαρ ταῦθ' οὕτως ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς Πάρθους στρατεύσων ἔπραξεν, οἶστρος δέ τισιν ἀλιτηριώδης φθόνῳ τε τοῦ προήκοντος[2] καὶ μίσει τοῦ προτετιμημένου σφῶν προσπεσὼν ἐκεῖνόν τε ἀνόμως ἀπέκτεινε, καινὸν ἀνοσίου δόξης ὄνομα προσλαβών, καὶ τὰ ψηφισθέντα διεσκέδασε,
2 στάσεις τε αὖθις ἐξ ὁμονοίας καὶ πολέμους ἐμφυλίους τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις παρεσκεύασεν· ἔλεγον μὲν γὰρ καθαιρέται τε τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ ἐλευθερωταὶ τοῦ δήμου γεγονέναι, τὸ δὲ ἀληθὲς ἐκείνῳ τε ἀσεβῶς ἐπεβούλευσαν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὀρθῶς

[1] μέρος τι Bs., μέχρι L.
[2] προήκοντος Leuncl., προσήκοντος L.

BOOK XLIV

The following is contained in the Forty-fourth of Dio's *Rome*:—

About the decrees passed in honour of Caesar (chaps. 1–11).
About the conspiracy formed against him (chaps. 12–18).
How Caesar was murdered (chaps. 19–22).
How a decree was passed that the people should not bear malice against one another (chaps. 23–34).
About the burial of Caesar and the oration delivered over him (chaps. 35–53).

B.C. 44 Duration of time, a part of the fifth dictatorship of Julius Caesar, held in company with Aemilius Lepidus as master of the horse, and of his fifth consulship, held with Mark Antony.

All this Caesar did as a preliminary step to his campaign against the Parthians; but a baleful frenzy which fell upon certain men through jealousy of his advancement and hatred of his preferment to themselves caused his death unlawfully, while it added a new name to the annals of infamy; it scattered the decrees to the winds and brought upon the Romans seditions and civil wars once more after a state of harmony. His slayers, to be sure, declared that they had shown themselves at once destroyers of Caesar and liberators of the people: but in reality they impiously plotted against him, and they threw the city into disorder when at last it B.C. 44

2 ἤδη πολιτευομένην ἐστασίασαν. δημοκρατία γὰρ ὄνομα μὲν εὔσχημον ἔχει καί τινα καὶ ἰσομοιρίαν πᾶσιν ἐκ τῆς ἰσονομίας φέρειν δοκεῖ, ἐν δὲ δὴ τοῖς ἔργοις ἐλέγχεται μηδὲν ὁμολογοῦσα τῷ προσρήματι· καὶ τοὐναντίον ἡ μοναρχία δυσχερὲς μὲν ἀκοῦσαι, χρησιμώτατον δὲ ἐμπολιτεύσασθαι ἐστί. ῥᾷόν τε γὰρ ἕνα τινὰ χρηστὸν ἢ πολλοὺς
2 εὑρεῖν· ἄν τε[1] καὶ τοῦτο χαλεπόν τισιν εἶναι δοκῇ, πᾶσα ἀνάγκη[2] ἐκεῖνό γε ἀδύνατον ὁμολογηθῆναι εἶναι· οὐ γὰρ προσήκει τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀρετὴν κτᾶσθαι. εἰ δ' οὖν καὶ φαῦλός τις αὐταρχήσειεν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ γε[3] πλήθους τῶν ὁμοίων αἱρετώτερός ἐστιν, ὥσπερ που καὶ τὰ ἔργα τά τε τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τὰ τῶν βαρβάρων, τῶν τε Ῥωμαίων αὐτῶν,
3 τεκμηριοῖ. τά τε γὰρ ἀμείνω πολὺ μείζω καὶ πλείω καὶ πόλεσι καὶ ἰδιώταις ἐκ βασιλέων ἢ δήμων ἀεί ποτε ἐγένετο, καὶ τὰ δυσχερέστερα ἐν ταῖς μοναρχίαις ἢ ταῖς ὀχλοκρατίαις συμβαίνει.[4] εἰ γάρ που καὶ δημοκρατία τις ἤνθησεν, ἀλλ' ἔν γε βραχεῖ χρόνῳ ἤκμασεν, μέχρις οὗ μήτε μέγεθος μήτ' ἰσχὺν ἔσχον ὥστε ἢ ὕβρεις σφίσιν ἐξ εὐπραγίας ἢ φθόνους ἐκ φιλοτιμίας ἐγγενέσθαι.
4 πόλιν δὲ[5] αὐτήν τε τηλικαύτην οὖσαν καὶ τοῦ τε καλλίστου τοῦ τε πλείστου τῆς ἐμφανοῦς οἰκουμένης ἄρχουσαν, καὶ πολλὰ μὲν ἀνθρώπων ἤθη καὶ διάφορα κεκτημένην πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ μεγάλους πλούτους ἔχουσαν, ταῖς τε πράξεσι καὶ ταῖς

[1] τε Bk., γε L.
[2] πᾶσα ἀνάγκη R. Steph., πάσῃ ἀνάγκῃ L.
[3] γε H. Steph., τε L.
[4] One or more words with the meaning "fewer" or "more rarely" have evidently been lost from the text.
[5] δὲ Rk., τε L.

possessed a stable government. Democracy, indeed, has a fair-appearing name and conveys the impression of bringing equal rights to all through equal laws, but its results are seen not to agree at all with its title. Monarchy, on the contrary, has an unpleasant sound, but is a most practical form of government to live under. For it is easier to find a single excellent man than many of them, and if even this seems to some a difficult feat, it is quite inevitable that the other alternative should be acknowledged to be impossible; for it does not belong to the majority of men to acquire virtue. And again, even though a base man should obtain supreme power, yet he is preferable to the masses of like character, as the history of the Greeks and barbarians and of the Romans themselves proves. For successes have always been greater and more frequent in the case both of cities and of individuals under kings than under popular rule, and disasters do [not] happen [so frequently] under monarchies as under mob-rule. Indeed, if ever there has been a prosperous democracy, it has in any case been at its best for only a brief period, so long, that is, as the people had neither the numbers nor the strength sufficient to cause insolence to spring up among them as the result of good fortune or jealousy as the result of ambition. But for a city, not only so large in itself, but also ruling the finest and the greatest part of the known world, holding sway over men of many and diverse natures, possessing many men of great wealth, occupied with every imaginable pursuit, enjoying every imaginable fortune, both B.C. 44

τύχαις παντοδαπαῖς καὶ ἰδίᾳ καὶ δημοσίᾳ χρωμένην, ἀδύνατον μὲν ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ σωφρονῆσαι, ἀδυνατώτερον δὲ μὴ σωφρονοῦσαν ὁμονοῆσαι.
5 ὥστ' εἴπερ ταῦτα οὕτως ὅ τε Βροῦτος ὁ Μᾶρκος καὶ ὁ Κάσσιος ὁ Γάιος ἐξελογίσαντο, οὐκ ἄν ποτε τόν τε προστάτην καὶ τὸν κηδεμόνα αὐτῆς ἀπέκτειναν, οὐδ' ἂν μυρίων αἴτιοι κακῶν καὶ ἑαυτοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς τότε ἀνθρώποις ἐγένοντο.

3 Ἔσχε δὲ ὧδε, καὶ αἰτίαν τήνδε ὁ θάνατος αὐτοῦ ἔλαβεν· οὐ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἀναίτιον πάντῃ τὸ ἐπίφθονον ἐκτήσατο, πλὴν καθ' ὅσον αὐτοὶ οἱ βουλευταὶ ταῖς τε καινότησι καὶ ταῖς ὑπερβολαῖς τῶν τιμῶν ἐξάραντές τε αὐτὸν καὶ φυσήσαντες ἔπειτα ἐπ' αὐταῖς ἐκείναις καὶ ἐμέμφοντο καὶ διέβαλλον ὡς ἡδέως τέ σφας λαμβάνοντα καὶ
2 ὀγκηρότερον ἀπ' αὐτῶν ζῶντα. ἔστι μὲν γὰρ ὅτε καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἥμαρτε, δεξάμενός τέ τινα τῶν ψηφισθέντων οἱ καὶ πιστεύσας ὄντως αὐτῶν ἀξιοῦσθαι, πλεῖστον δὲ ὅμως ἐκεῖνοι, οἵτινες ἀρξάμενοι τιμᾶν αὐτὸν ὡς καὶ ἄξιον, προήγαγον
3 ἐς αἰτίαν οἷς ἐψηφίζοντο. οὔτε[1] γὰρ διωθεῖσθαι πάντα αὐτὰ ἐτόλμα, μὴ καὶ ὑπερφρονεῖν νομισθείη, οὔτ' αὖ λαμβάνων ἀσφαλὴς εἶναι ἐδύνατο·[2] τὸ γὰρ ὑπερβάλλον τῶν τε τιμῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπαίνων χαυνοτέρους πως καὶ τοὺς πάνυ σώφρονας, ἄλλως τε[3] κἂν ἀληθῶς γίγνεσθαι δοκῶσι, ποιεῖ.

4 Ἐγένετο δὲ τὰ δοθέντα αὐτῷ μετ' ἐκεῖνα ὅσα εἴρηται τοσάδε καὶ τοιάδε· καθ' ἓν γάρ, εἰ καὶ μὴ πάντα ἅμα μήτε ἐσηνέχθη μήτε ἐκυρώθη,

[1] οὔτε Bk., οὐ L. [2] ἐδύνατο St., ἠδύνατο L.
[3] ἄλλως τε Rk., ὥστε L.

individually and collectively,—for such a city, I say, B.C. 44
to practise moderation under a democracy is impossible, and still more is it impossible for the people, unless moderation prevails, to be harmonious. Therefore, if Marcus Brutus and Gaius Cassius had only reflected upon these things, they would never have killed the city's head and protector nor have made themselves the cause of countless ills both to themselves and to all the rest of mankind then living.

It happened as follows, and his death was due to the cause now to be given. He had aroused dislike that was not altogether unjustified, except in so far as it was the senators themselves who had by their novel and excessive honours encouraged him and puffed him up, only to find fault with him on this very account and to spread slanderous reports how glad he was to accept them and how he behaved more haughtily as a result of them. It is true that Caesar did now and then err by accepting some of the honours voted him and believing that he really deserved them; yet those were most blameworthy who, after beginning to honour him as he deserved, led him on and brought blame upon him for the measures they had passed. He neither dared, of course, to thrust them all aside, for fear of being thought contemptuous, nor, again, could he be safe in accepting them; for excessive honour and praise render even the most modest men conceited, especially if they seem to be bestowed with sincerity.

The privileges that were granted him, in addition to all those mentioned, were as follows in number and nature; for I shall name them all together, even if they were not all proposed or passed at one

2 λελέξεται. τὰ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτα φέρεσθαί τε αὐτὸν
ἀεὶ καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει τὴν στολὴν τὴν ἐπι-
νίκιον ἐνδεδυκότα, καὶ καθέζεσθαι ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀρχικοῦ
δίφρου πανταχῇ πλὴν ἐν ταῖς πανηγύρεσιν,
ἐψηφίσαντο· τότε γὰρ ἐπί τε τοῦ δημαρχικοῦ
βάθρου καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἀεὶ δημαρχούντων θεᾶσθαι[1]
3 ἔλαβε. σκῦλά τέ τινα ὀπῖμα ἐς τὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ
Φερετρίου νεὼν ἀναθεῖναί οἱ ὥσπερ τινὰ πολέμιον
αὐτοστράτηγον αὐτοχειρίᾳ πεφονευκότι,[2] καὶ τοῖς
ῥαβδούχοις δαφνηφοροῦσιν ἀεὶ χρῆσθαι, μετά τε
τὰς ἀνοχὰς τὰς Λατίνας ἐπὶ κέλητος[3] ἐς τὴν πόλιν
4 ἐκ τοῦ Ἀλβανοῦ ἐσελαύνειν ἔδοσαν. πρός τε τού-
τοις τοιούτοις οὖσι πατέρα τε αὐτὸν τῆς πατρίδος
ἐπωνόμασαν καὶ ἐς τὰ νομίσματα ἐνεχάραξαν, τά
τε γενέθλια αὐτοῦ δημοσίᾳ θύειν ἐψηφίσαντο, καὶ
ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι τοῖς τε ναοῖς τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ
5 πᾶσιν ἀνδριάντα τινὰ αὐτοῦ εἶναι ἐκέλευσαν, καὶ
ἐπί γε τοῦ βήματος δύο, τὸν μὲν ὡς τοὺς πολίτας
σεσωκότος τὸν δὲ ὡς τὴν πόλιν ἐκ πολιορκίας
ἐξῃρημένου, μετὰ τῶν στεφάνων τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς
τοιούτοις νενομισμένων ἱδρύσαντο. νεών τε
Ὁμονοίας καινῆς, ὡς καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ[4] εἰρηνοῦντες,
οἰκοδομῆσαι, καὶ πανήγυριν αὐτῇ[5] ἐτησίαν ἄγειν
5 ἔγνωσαν. ὡς δὲ[6] ταῦτα ἐδέξατο, τά τε ἕλη οἱ τὰ
Πομπτῖνα[7] χῶσαι καὶ τὸν ἰσθμὸν τὸν τῆς Πελο-
ποννήσου διορύξαι βουλευτήριόν τέ τι καινὸν
ποιῆσαι προσέταξαν, ἐπειδὴ τὸ Ὁστίλιον καίπερ
2 ἀνοικοδομηθὲν καθῃρέθη, πρόφασιν μὲν τοῦ ναὸν

[1] θεᾶσθαι Rk., θεάσασθαι L.
[2] πεφονευκότι Bk., ποῖ πεφονευκότι L.
[3] κέλητος Reim., κέλητα L.
[4] αὐτοῦ R. Steph., αὐτῶν L. [5] αὐτῇ Leuncl., αὐτὴν L.
[6] ὡς δὲ Bk., ὥστε L. [7] Πομπτῖνα R. Steph., πομπινα L.

time. First, then, they voted that he should always ride, even in the city itself, wearing the triumphal dress, and should sit in his chair of state everywhere except at the games; for at those he received the privilege of watching the contests from the tribunes' benches in company with those who were tribunes at the time. And they gave him the right to offer *spolia opima*, as they are called, at the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, as if he had slain some hostile general with his own hand, and to have lictors who always carried laurel, and after the Feriae Latinae to ride from the Alban Mount into the city on horseback. In addition to these remarkable privileges they named him father of his country, stamped this title on the coinage, voted to celebrate his birthday by public sacrifice, ordered that he should have a statue in the cities and in all the temples of Rome, and they set up two also on the rostra, one representing him as the saviour of the citizens and the other as the deliverer of the city from siege, and wearing the crowns customary for such achievements. They also resolved to build a temple of Concordia Nova, on the ground that it was through his efforts that they enjoyed peace, and to celebrate an annual festival in her honour. When he had accepted these, they assigned to him the charge of filling the Pontine marshes, cutting a canal through the Peloponnesian isthmus, and constructing a new senate-house, since that of Hostilius, although repaired, had been demolished. The reason assigned for its destruction was that a B.C. 44

Εὐτυχίας ἐνταῦθ' οἰκοδομηθῆναι, ὃν καὶ ὁ Λέπιδος ἱππαρχήσας ἐξεποίησεν, ἔργῳ δὲ ὅπως μήτε ἐν ἐκείνῳ τὸ τοῦ Σύλλου ὄνομα σώζοιτο καὶ ἕτερον ἐκ καινῆς κατασκευασθὲν Ἰούλιον ὀνομασθείη, ὥσπερ που καὶ τόν τε μῆνα ἐν ᾧ ἐγεγέννητο[1] Ἰούλιον κἀκ τῶν φυλῶν μίαν τὴν κλήρῳ λα-
3 χοῦσαν Ἰουλίαν ἐπεκάλεσαν. καὶ αὐτὸν μὲν τιμητὴν καὶ μόνον καὶ διὰ βίου εἶναι, τά τε τοῖς δημάρχοις δεδομένα καρποῦσθαι, ὅπως, ἄν τις ἢ ἔργῳ ἢ καὶ λόγῳ αὐτὸν ὑβρίσῃ,[2] ἱερός τε ᾖ[3] καὶ ἐν τῷ ἄγει ἐνέχηται, τὸν δὲ δὴ υἱόν, ἄν τινα γεννήσῃ ἢ καὶ ἐσποιήσηται,[4] ἀρχιερέα ἀποδειχ-
6 θῆναι ἐψηφίσαντο. ὡς δὲ καὶ τούτοις ἔχαιρε, δίφρος τέ οἱ ἐπίχρυσος, καὶ στολὴ ᾗ ποτε οἱ βασιλῆς ἐκέχρηντο, φρουρά τε ἐκ τῶν ἱππέων καὶ ἐκ τῶν βουλευτῶν ἐδόθη· καὶ προσέτι καὶ εὔχεσθαι ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ δημοσίᾳ κατ' ἔτος ἕκαστον, τήν τε τύχην αὐτοῦ ὀμνύναι, καὶ τὰ πραχθησόμενα αὐτῷ πάντα κύρια ἕξειν ἐνόμισαν.
2 κἀκ τούτου καὶ πενταετηρίδα οἱ ὡς ἥρωι, ἱεροποιούς τε ἐς τὰς τοῦ Πανὸς γυμνοπαιδίας, τρίτην τινὰ ἑταιρίαν ἣν Ἰουλίαν ὠνόμασαν,[5] κἀν ταῖς ὁπλομαχίαις μίαν τινὰ ἀεὶ ἡμέραν καὶ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ
3 καὶ ἐν τῇ ἄλλῃ Ἰταλίᾳ ἀνέθεσαν. καὶ ἐπειδὴ καὶ τούτοις ἠρέσκετο, οὕτω δὴ ἔς τε τὰ θέατρα τόν τε δίφρον αὐτοῦ τὸν ἐπίχρυσον καὶ τὸν στέφανον τὸν διάλιθον καὶ διάχρυσον, ἐξ ἴσου τοῖς τῶν θεῶν, ἐσκομίζεσθαι κἀν ταῖς ἱπποδρομίαις ὀχὸν[6] ἐσάγεσ-

[1] ἐγεγέννητο R. Steph., ἐγεγένητο L.
[2] ὑβρίσῃ R. Steph., ὑβρίσαι L. [3] ᾖ Reim., ἦ L.
[4] ἐσποιήσηται Reim., ἐκποιήσηται L.
[5] ὠνόμασαν R. Steph., ὀνομάσαντες L.
[6] ὀχὸν Casaub., ὄχλον L.

temple of Felicitas was to be built there, which B.C. 44
Lepidus, indeed, brought to completion while master of the horse; but their real purpose was that the name of Sulla should not be preserved on it, and that another senate-house, newly constructed, might be named the Julian, even as they had called the month in which he was born July, and one of the tribes, selected by lot, the Julian. And they voted that Caesar should be sole censor for life and should enjoy the immunities granted to the tribunes, so that if any one insulted him by deed or word, that man should be an outlaw and accursed, and further that Caesar's son, should he beget or even adopt one, should be appointed high priest. As he seemed to like all this, a gilded chair was granted him, and a garb that the kings had once used, and a body-guard of knights and senators; furthermore they decided that prayers should be offered for him publicly every year, that they should swear by Caesar's Fortune, and should regard as valid all his future acts. Next they bestowed upon him a quadrennial festival, as to a hero, and a third priestly college, which they called the Julian, as overseers of the Lupercalia, and one special day of his own each time in connection with all gladiatorial combats both in Rome and the rest of Italy. When he showed himself pleased with these honours also, they accordingly voted that his golden chair and his crown set with precious gems and overlaid with gold should be carried into the theatres in the same manner as those of the gods, and that on the occasion of the games in the Circus his chariot should be brought in.

4 θαι ἐψηφίσαντο. καὶ τέλος Δία τε αὐτὸν ἄντικρυς Ἰούλιον προσηγόρευσαν, καὶ ναὸν αὐτῷ τῇ τ'[1] Ἐπιεικείᾳ αὐτοῦ τεμενισθῆναι ἔγνωσαν, ἱερέα σφίσι τὸν Ἀντώνιον ὥσπερ τινὰ Διάλιον προχειρισάμενοι.

7 Καὶ ἅ γε μάλιστα τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν ἐξέφηνεν, ἅμα τε ταῦτα ἐψηφίζοντο καὶ τάφον αὐτῷ ἐντὸς τοῦ πωμηρίου ποιήσασθαι ἔδοσαν· τά τε δόγματα τὰ περὶ τούτων γιγνόμενα ἐς μὲν στήλας ἀργυρᾶς χρυσοῖς γράμμασιν ἐνέγραψαν, ὑπὸ δὲ δὴ τοὺς πόδας τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Καπιτωλίου ὑπέθεσαν, δηλοῦντές οἱ καὶ μάλα ἐναργῶς ὅτι ἄνθρωπος εἴη.
2 ἤρξαντο μὲν γὰρ τιμᾶν αὐτὸν ὡς καὶ μετριάσοντα· προχωροῦντες δέ, ἐπειδὴ χαίροντα τοῖς ψηφιζομένοις ἑώρων (πλὴν γὰρ ὀλίγων τινῶν πάντα αὐτὰ ἐδέξατο), ἀεί[2] τι μεῖζον ἄλλος ἄλλο καθ' ὑπερβολὴν ἐσέφερον, οἱ μὲν ὑπερκολακεύοντες αὐτὸν οἱ
3 δὲ καὶ διασκώπτοντες. ἀμέλει καὶ γυναιξὶν ὅσαις ἂν ἐθελήσῃ[3] συνεῖναί οἱ ἐτόλμησάν τινες ἐπιτρέψαι, ὅτι πολλαῖς καὶ τότε ἔτι, καίπερ πεντηκοντούτης ὤν, ἐχρῆτο. ἕτεροι δέ, καὶ οἵ γε πλείους, ἔς τε τὸ ἐπίφθονον καὶ ἐς τὸ νεμεσητὸν προάγειν αὐτὸν ὅτι τάχιστα βουλόμενοι τοῦτ' ἐποίουν, ἵνα
4 θᾶσσον ἀπόληται. ὅπερ που ἐγένετο, καίτοι τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ δι' αὐτὰ ταῦτα θαρσήσαντος ὡς οὐκ ἄν ποτε οὔθ' ὑπ' ἐκείνων τοιαῦτά γε ψηφιζομένων οὔθ' ὑπ' ἄλλου τινὸς δι' αὐτοὺς ἐπιβουλευθησομένου, κἀκ τούτου οὐδὲ[4] σωματοφύλαξιν ἔτι χρησαμένου· τῷ γὰρ δὴ λόγῳ τὸ[5] πρός τε τῶν

[1] τ' supplied by Reim. [2] ἀεὶ R. Steph., ἀλλ' εἴ L.
[3] ἐθελήσῃ Bk., θελήσηι L. [4] οὐδὲ Bk., δὲ L.
[5] τὸ Leuncl., τῶι L.

And finally they addressed him outright as Jupiter Julius and ordered a temple to be consecrated to him and to his Clemency, electing Antony as their priest like some *flamen Dialis*. B.C. 44

At the same time with these measures they passed another which most clearly indicated their disposition: it gave him the right to place his tomb within the pomerium; and the decrees regarding this matter they inscribed in golden letters on silver tablets and deposited beneath the feet of Jupiter Capitolinus, thus pointing out to him very clearly that he was a mortal. When they had begun to honour him, it was with the idea, of course, that he would be reasonable; but as they went on and saw that he was delighted with what they voted,—indeed he accepted all but a very few of their decrees,—different men at different times kept proposing various extravagant honours, some in a spirit of exaggerated flattery and others by way of ridicule. At any rate, some actually ventured to suggest permitting him to have intercourse with as many women as he pleased, because even at this time, though fifty years old, he still had numerous mistresses. Others, and they were the majority, followed this course because they wished to make him envied and hated as quickly as possible, that he might the sooner perish. And this is precisely what happened, though Caesar was encouraged by these very measures to believe that he should never be plotted against by the men who had voted him such honours, nor, through fear of them, by any one else; and consequently he even dispensed henceforth with a body-guard. For nominally he accepted the privilege of being watched over

βουλευτῶν καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἱππέων τηρεῖσθαι προσέμενος,[1] καὶ τὴν ἐκ τοῦ πρὶν φρουρὰν προσκατέλυ-
8 σεν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐν μιᾷ ποτε ἡμέρᾳ τά τε πλείω καὶ τὰ μείζω σφῶν ψηφισάμενοι (πλὴν γὰρ τοῦ Κασσίου καί τινων ἄλλων, οἳ περιβόητοι ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἐγένοντο, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἔπαθόν τι, ἐξ οὗπερ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἡ ἐπιείκεια αὐτοῦ διεφάνη, τοῖς γε ἄλλοις ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἐγνώσθη) προσῆλθον αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ τοῦ Ἀφροδισίου προνάῳ καθημένῳ ὡς καὶ πάντες ἅμα τὰ δεδογμένα σφίσιν ἀπαγγελοῦντες
2 (ἀπόντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὰ τοιαῦτα, τοῦ μὴ δοκεῖν ἀναγκαστοὶ ἀλλ' ἐθελονταὶ αὐτὰ ποιεῖν, ἐχρημάτιζον), καθήμενός[2] σφας, εἴτ' οὖν θεοβλαβείᾳ τινὶ εἴτε καὶ περιχαρείᾳ, προσεδέξατο, καὶ ὀργὴν ἐκ τούτου πᾶσιν, οὐχ ὅτι τοῖς βουλευταῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, τοσαύτην ἐνέβαλεν ὥστε ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα πρόφασιν τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς τοῖς ἀποκτεί-
3 νασιν αὐτὸν παρασχεῖν. ἔλεγον μὲν γὰρ ἀπολογούμενοί τινες ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μετὰ ταῦτα ὅτι τῆς τε κοιλίας ἀκρατὴς ὑπὸ διαρροίας ἐγεγόνει, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο, ἵνα μὴ ἐξιδίσῃ, κατέμεινεν· οὐ μέντοι καὶ πείθειν τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐδύναντο διὰ τὸ μετ' οὐ πολὺ ἐξεγερθέντα αὐτὸν αὐτοποδίᾳ οἴκαδε κομισ-
4 θῆναι, ἀλλ' ὑπετόπουν τε[3] αὐτὸν ὑπεραυχεῖν, καὶ δὴ ἐμίσουν[4] ὡς ὑπερήφανον ὃν αὐτοὶ ταῖς ὑπερβολαῖς τῶν τιμῶν ὑπέρφρονα ἐπεποιήκεσαν. τούτου δὲ δὴ τοιούτου γενομένου προσεπηύξησε τὴν ὑποψίαν ὅτι καὶ δικτάτωρ διὰ βίου μετὰ ταῦτα ἀποδειχθεὶς ἠνέσχετο.

[1] προσέμενος Bs., προέμενος L.
[2] καθήμενος Xiph., καθήμενοι L.
[3] τε Pflugk, γε L. [4] δὴ ἐμίσουν Rk., διεμίσουν L.

by the senators and knights, and so dismissed the guard he had previously had. Indeed, when once they had voted to him on a single day an unusually large number of these honours of especial importance,—which had been granted unanimously by all except Cassius and a few others, who became famous for this action, yet suffered no harm, whereby Caesar's clemency was conspicuously revealed,—they then approached him as he was sitting in the vestibule of the temple of Venus in order to announce to him in a body their decisions; for they transacted such business in his absence, in order to have the appearance of doing it, not under compulsion, but voluntarily. And either by some heaven-sent fatuity or even through excess of joy he received them sitting, which aroused so great indignation among them all, not only the senators but all the rest, that it afforded his slayers one of their chief excuses for their plot against him. Some who subsequently tried to defend him claimed, it is true, that owing to an attack of diarrhoea he could not control the movement of his bowels and so had remained where he was in order to avoid a flux. They were not able, however, to convince the majority, since not long afterwards he rose up and went home on foot; hence most men suspected him of being inflated with pride and hated him for his haughtiness, when it was they themselves who had made him disdainful by the exaggerated character of their honours. After this occurrence, striking as it was, he increased the suspicion by permitting himself somewhat later to be chosen dictator for life. B.C. 44

9 Ἐνταῦθα οὖν αὐτοῦ ὄντος οὐδὲν ἔτι ἐνδοιαστῶς οἱ ἐπιβουλεύοντές οἱ ἔπραττον, ἀλλ' ὅπως δὴ καὶ τοῖς πάνυ φίλοις ἐν μίσει γένηται, ἄλλα τε ἐπὶ διαβολῇ αὐτοῦ ἐποίουν καὶ τέλος βασιλέα αὐτὸν προσηγόρευον, καὶ πολὺ τοῦτο τοὔνομα
2 καὶ κατὰ σφᾶς διεθρύλουν. ἐπειδή τε ἐξίστατο μὲν αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπετίμα πῃ τοῖς οὕτως αὐτὸν ἐπικαλοῦσιν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἔπραξέ τι δι' οὗ ἂν ἄχθεσθαι τῷ προσρήματι ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐπιστεύθη, τὴν εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος
3 ἑστῶσαν διαδήματι λάθρᾳ ἀνέδησαν. καὶ αὐτὸ Γαΐου τε Ἐπιδίου Μαρύλλου καὶ Λουκίου Καισητίου Φλάουου δημάρχων καθελόντων ἰσχυρῶς ἐχαλέπηνε, καίτοι μήτε τι ὑβριστικὸν αὐτῶν εἰπόντων, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐπαινεσάντων αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ πλήθει ὡς μηδενὸς τοιούτου δεόμενον. καὶ τότε μὲν καίπερ ἀσχάλλων ἡσύχασεν·
10 ὡς μέντοι μετὰ τοῦτο ἐσιππεύοντα αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀλβανοῦ βασιλέα αὖθίς τινες ὠνόμασαν, καὶ αὐτὸς μὲν οὐκ ἔφη βασιλεὺς ἀλλὰ Καῖσαρ καλεῖσθαι, οἱ δὲ δὴ δήμαρχοι ἐκεῖνοι καὶ δίκην τῷ πρώτῳ αὐτὸν εἰπόντι ἔλαχον, οὐκέτι τὴν ὀργὴν κατέσχεν, ἀλλ' ὡς καὶ ὑπ'[1] αὐτῶν ἐκείνων προσστασιαζόμενος[2] ὑπερηγανάκτησε.
2 καὶ ἐν μὲν τῷ παρόντι οὐδὲν δεινὸν αὐτοὺς ἔδρασεν, ὕστερον δέ σφων προγραφὴν[3] ἐκθέντων ὡς οὔτε ἐλευθέραν οὔτ' ἀσφαλῆ τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ κοινοῦ παρρησίαν ἐχόντων περιοργὴς ἐγένετο, καὶ παραγαγών σφας ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον κατη-

[1] ὑπ' R. Steph., ἀπ' L cod. Peir.
[2] προσστασιαζόμενος Reim., προστασιαζόμενος L cod. Peir.
[3] προγραφὴν R. Steph., προσγραφὴν L.

When he had reached this point, the men who were plotting against him hesitated no longer, but in order to embitter even his best friends against him, they did their best to traduce him, finally saluting him as king, a name which they often used also among themselves. When he kept refusing the title and rebuking in a way those who thus accosted him, yet did nothing by which it could be thought that he was really displeased at it, they secretly adorned his statue, which stood on the rostra, with a diadem. And when the tribunes, Gaius Epidius Marullus and Lucius Caesetius Flavus, took it down, he became violently angry, although they uttered no word of abuse and moreover actually praised him before the populace as not wanting anything of the sort. For the time being, though vexed, he held his peace. Subsequently, however, when he was riding in from the Alban Mount and some men again called him king, he said that his name was not king but Caesar; but when the same tribunes brought suit against the first man who had termed him king, he no longer restrained his wrath but showed great irritation, as if these very officials were really stirring up sedition against him. And though for the moment he did them no harm, yet later, when they issued a proclamation declaring that they were unable to speak their mind freely and safely on behalf of the public good, he became exceedingly angry and brought them into the senate-house, where he B.C. 44

γορίαν τε αὐτῶν ἐποιήσατο καὶ ψῆφον ἐπήγαγε.
3 καὶ οὐκ ἀπέκτεινε μὲν αὐτούς, καίτοι καὶ τούτου τινῶν τιμησάντων σφίσι, προαπαλλάξας δὲ ἐκ τῆς δημαρχίας διὰ Ἑλουίου Κίννου συνάρχοντος αὐτῶν ἀπήλειψεν ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἔχαιρόν τε ἐπὶ τούτῳ, ἢ καὶ ἐπλάττοντο, ὡς οὐδεμίαν ἀνάγκην ἕξοντες παρρησιαζόμενοι κινδυνεῦσαι, καὶ ἔξω τῶν πραγμάτων ὄντες τὰ
4 γιγνόμενα ὥσπερ ἀπὸ σκοπιᾶς[1] καθεώρων· ὁ δὲ δὴ Καῖσαρ καὶ ἐκ τούτου διεβλήθη, ὅτι δέον αὐτὸν τοὺς τὸ ὄνομά οἱ τὸ[2] βασιλέως προστιθέντας μισεῖν, ὁ δὲ ἐκείνους ἀφεὶς τοῖς δημάρχοις ἀντ' αὐτῶν ἐνεκάλει.

11 Τούτων δ' οὖν οὕτω γενομένων τοιόνδε τι ἕτερον, οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν συνενεχθέν, ἐπὶ πλέον ἐξήλεγξεν ὅτι λόγῳ μὲν διεκρούετο τὴν ἐπίκλησιν,
2 ἔργῳ δὲ λαβεῖν ἐπεθύμει. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐν τῇ τῶν Λυκαίων γυμνοπαιδίᾳ ἔς τε τὴν ἀγορὰν[3] ἐσῆλθε καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος τῇ τε ἐσθῆτι τῇ βασιλικῇ κεκοσμημένος καὶ τῷ στεφάνῳ τῷ διαχρύσῳ λαμπρυνόμενος ἐς[4] τὸν δίφρον τὸν κεχρυσωμένον ἐκαθίζετο, καὶ αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀντώνιος βασιλέα τε μετὰ τῶν συνιερέων προσηγόρευσε καὶ διαδήματι ἀνέδησεν, εἰπὼν ὅτι "τοῦτό σοι ὁ
3 δῆμος δι' ἐμοῦ δίδωσιν," ἀπεκρίνατο μὲν ὅτι "Ζεὺς[5] μόνος τῶν Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς εἴη," καὶ τὸ διάδημα αὐτῷ[6] ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἔπεμψεν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ὀργὴν ἔσχεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς τὰ ὑπομνήματα ἐγγραφῆναι ἐποίησεν ὅτι τὴν βασιλείαν παρὰ

[1] σκοπιᾶς Hemsterhuis, σκιᾶς L.
[2] τὸ Bk., τοῦ L.
[3] ἀγορὰν Xyl., βασιλείαν L.
[4] ἐς Bs., καὶ L.
[5] Ζεὺς supplied by R. Steph.
[6] αὐτῷ Rk., αὐτὸ L.

accused them and put their conduct to the vote. He did not put them to death, though some declared them worthy even of that penalty, but he first removed them from the tribuneship, on the motion of Helvius Cinna, their colleague, and then erased their names from the senate. Some were pleased at this, or pretended to be, thinking they would have no need to incur danger by speaking out freely, and since they were not themselves involved in the business, they could view events as from a watch tower. Caesar, however, received an ill name from this fact also, that, whereas he should have hated those who applied to him the name of king, he let them go and found fault with the tribunes instead. B.C. 44

Another thing that happened not long after these events proved still more clearly that, although he pretended to shun the title, in reality he desired to assume it. For when he had entered the Forum at the festival of the Lupercalia and was sitting on the rostra in his gilded chair, adorned with the royal apparel and resplendent in his crown overlaid with gold, Antony with his fellow-priests saluted him as king and binding a diadem upon his head, said: "The people offer this to you through me." And Caesar answered: "Jupiter alone is king of the Romans," and sent the diadem to Jupiter on the Capitol; yet he was not angry, but caused it to be inscribed in the records that he had refused to accept the kingship when offered to him by the

τοῦ δήμου διὰ τοῦ ὑπάτου διδομένην οἱ οὐκ
ἐδέξατο. ὑπωπτεύθη τε οὖν ἐκ συγκειμένου τινὸς
αὐτὸ πεποιηκέναι, καὶ ἐφίεσθαι μὲν τοῦ ὀνόματος,
βούλεσθαι δὲ ἐκβιασθῆναί πως λαβεῖν αὐτό,
4 καὶ δεινῶς ἐμισήθη. κἀκ τούτου τούς τε δη-
μάρχους ἐκείνους ὑπάτους τινὲς ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαι-
ρεσίαις προεβάλοντο, καὶ τὸν Βροῦτον τὸν
Μᾶρκον τούς τε ἄλλους τοὺς φρονηματώδεις ἰδίᾳ
τε προσιόντες ἀνέπειθον καὶ δημοσίᾳ προσπαρω-
12 ξυνον. γράμματά τε γάρ, τῇ ὁμωνυμίᾳ αὐτοῦ
τῇ πρὸς τὸν πάνυ Βροῦτον τὸν τοὺς Ταρκυνίους[1]
καταλύσαντα καταχρώμενοι, πολλὰ ἐξετίθεσαν,
φημίζοντες αὐτὸν ψευδῶς ἀπόγονον ἐκείνου εἶναι·
ἀμφοτέρους γὰρ τοὺς παῖδας, τοὺς μόνους οἱ
γενομένους, μειράκια ἔτι ὄντας ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ
2 οὐδὲ ἔγγονον ὑπελίπετο.[2] οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ τοῦτό
τε οἱ πολλοί, ὅπως ὡς καὶ γένει προσήκων[3] αὐτῷ
ἐς[4] ὁμοιότροπα ἔργα προαχθείη, ἐπλάττοντο, καὶ
συνεχῶς ἀνεκάλουν αὐτόν, "ὦ Βροῦτε Βροῦτε"
ἐκβοῶντες, καὶ προσεπιλέγοντες ὅτι "Βρούτου
3 χρῄζομεν." καὶ τέλος τῇ τε τοῦ παλαιοῦ Βρούτου
εἰκόνι ἐπέγραψαν "εἴθε ἔζης," καὶ τῷ τούτου
βήματι (ἐστρατήγει γὰρ καὶ βῆμα καὶ τὸ τοιοῦτο
ὀνομάζεται ἐφ' οὗ τις ἱζόμενος δικάζει) ὅτι
"καθεύδεις, ὦ Βροῦτε" καὶ "Βροῦτος οὐκ εἶ."
13 Ταῦτά τε οὖν αὐτόν, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς
ἀντιπολεμήσαντα τῷ Καίσαρι, ἀνέπεισεν ἐπιθέσ-
θαι οἱ καίπερ εὐεργέτῃ μετὰ τοῦτο γενομένῳ,

[1] Ταρκυνίους R. Steph., ταρκυινίους L.
[2] ὑπελίπετο R. Steph., ὑπελείπετο L.
[3] προσήκων Leuncl., προσηκον L.
[4] ἐς R. Steph., ὡς καὶ L.

people through the consul. It was accordingly suspected that this thing had been deliberately arranged and that he was anxious for the name, but wished to be somehow compelled to take it; consequently the hatred against him was intense. After this certain men at the elections proposed for consuls the tribunes previously mentioned, and they not only privately approached Marcus Brutus and such other persons as were proud-spirited and attempted to persuade them, but also tried to incite them to action publicly. Making the most of his having the same name as the great Brutus who overthrew the Tarquins, they scattered broadcast many pamphlets, declaring that he was not truly that man's descendant; for the older Brutus had put to death both his sons, the only ones he had, when they were mere lads, and left no offspring whatever. Nevertheless, the majority pretended to accept such a relationship, in order that Brutus, as a kinsman of that famous man, might be induced to perform deeds as great. They kept continually calling upon him, shouting out "Brutus, Brutus!" and adding further "We need a Brutus." Finally on the statue of the early Brutus they wrote "Would that thou wert living!" and upon the tribunal of the living Brutus (for he was praetor at the time and this is the name given to the seat on which the praetor sits in judgment) "Brutus, thou sleepest," and "Thou art not Brutus." B.C. 44

Now these were the influences that persuaded Brutus to attack Caesar, whom he had opposed from the beginning in any case, although he had later accepted benefits from him. He was also influenced

καὶ ὅτι τοῦ Κάτωνος τοῦ Οὐτικησίου κληθέντος, ὥσπερ εἶπον, καὶ ἀδελφιδοῦς καὶ γαμβρὸς ἦν. καὶ μόνη γε γυναικῶν ἡ γαμετὴ αὐτοῦ ἡ Πορκία
2 τὴν ἐπιβουλήν, ὥς φασι, συνέγνω. φροντίζοντι γάρ τι αὐτῷ περὶ αὐτῶν τούτων ἐπιστᾶσα ἀνεπύθετο ὅ τι σύννους εἴη, καὶ ἐπειδὴ μηδὲν ἀπεκρίνατο, ὑπώπτευσέ τε διὰ τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἀσθένειαν ἀπιστεῖσθαι, μὴ καὶ ἄκουσά τι ἐκ βασάνων ἐξείπῃ, καὶ πρᾶγμα μέγα ἐτόλμησε.
3 τὸν γὰρ μηρὸν τὸν ἑαυτῆς κρύφα κατέτρωσεν, ὅπως πειραθείη εἰ δύναιτο πρὸς αἰκισμοὺς ἀντικαρτερῆσαι· καὶ ἐπειδὴ μὴ περιήλγησε, κατεφρόνησε τοῦ τραύματος καὶ προσελθοῦσα αὐτῷ ἔφη "σὺ μέν, ὦ ἄνερ, καίτοι τῇ ψυχῇ μου πιστεύων ὅτι οὐδὲν ἐκλαλήσει, ὅμως ἠπίστεις τῷ σώματι, καὶ ἔπασχές γέ τι ἀνθρώπινον· ἐγὼ
4 δὲ καὶ τοῦτο εὕρηκα σιωπᾶν δυνάμενον." ταῦτα εἰποῦσα τόν τε μηρὸν ἐπέδειξέν οἱ, καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ γεγονότος ἐκφήνασα ἔφη "λέγε τοίνυν θαρσῶν πάνθ' ὅσα συγκρύπτεις· ἐμὲ γὰρ οὐ πῦρ, οὐ μάστιγες, οὐ κέντρα ἀναγκάσει τι ἐκλαλῆσαι· οὐχ οὕτω γυνὴ γεγένημαι. ὥς, ἄν γε ἀπιστήσῃς μοι ἔτι, καλῶς ἔχει μοι[1] τεθνάναι μᾶλλον ἢ ζῆν· ἢ μηκέτι με μηδεὶς μήτε Κάτωνος θυγατέρα μήτε
14 σὴν γυναῖκα νομιζέτω." ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Βροῦτος ἐθαύμασε, καὶ οὐδὲν ἔτ' αὐτὴν ἀπεκρύψατο, ἀλλὰ αὐτός τε ἐπὶ μᾶλλον ἐρρώσθη καὶ
2 ἐκείνῃ πάντα διηγήσατο. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὸν Κάσσιον τὸν Γάϊον, σωθέντα μὲν καὶ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ προσέτι καὶ στρατηγίᾳ τιμηθέντα, τῆς δὲ[2] ἀδελφῆς ἄνδρα ὄντα, προσέλαβε. κἀκ τού-

[1] ἔχει μοι R. Steph., ἔχοιμι L. [2] δὲ Bk., τε L.

by the fact that he was both nephew and son-in-law of that Cato who was called Uticensis, as I have stated. And his wife Portia was the only woman, as they say, who was privy to the plot. For she came upon him while he was pondering over these very matters and asked him why he was so thoughtful. When he made no answer, she suspected that she was distrusted on account of her physical weakness, for fear she might reveal something, however unwillingly, under torture; hence she ventured to do a noteworthy deed. She secretly inflicted a wound upon her own thigh, to test herself and see if she could endure torture. And as soon as the first intense pain was past, she despised the wound, and coming to him, said: "You, my husband, though you trusted my spirit that it would not betray you, nevertheless were distrustful of my body, and your feeling was but human. But I have found that my body also can keep silence." With these words she disclosed her thigh, and making known the reason for what she had done, she said: "Therefore fear not, but tell me all you are concealing from me, for neither fire, nor lashes, nor goads will force me to divulge a word; I was not born to that extent a woman. Hence, if you still distrust me, it is better for me to die than to live; otherwise let no one think me longer the daughter of Cato or your wife." Hearing this, Brutus marvelled; and he no longer hid anything from her, but felt strengthened himself and related to her the whole plot. After this he obtained as an associate Gaius Cassius, who had also been spared by Caesar and moreover had been honoured with the praetorship; and he was the husband of Brutus' sister. Next they pro- B.C. 44

του καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς τὰ αὐτά σφισι βουλομέ-
3 νους ἤθροιζον. καὶ ἐγένοντο μὲν οὐκ ὀλίγοι· ἐγὼ
δὲ τὰ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ὀνόματα οὐδὲν δέομαι
καταλέγειν, ἵνα μὴ καὶ δι' ὄχλου γένωμαι, τὸν δὲ
δὴ Τρεβώνιον τόν τε Βροῦτον τὸν Δέκιμον,[1] ὃν καὶ
Ἰούνιον Ἀλβῖνόν τε ἐπεκάλουν, οὐ δύναμαι
4 παραλιπεῖν. πλεῖστα γὰρ καὶ οὗτοι εὐεργετη-
θέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος, καὶ ὅ γε Δέκιμος[1] καὶ
ὕπατος ἐς τὸ δεύτερον ἔτος ἀποδεδειγμένος καὶ τῇ
Γαλατίᾳ τῇ πλησιοχώρῳ προστεταγμένος,
ἐπεβούλευσαν αὐτῷ.
15 Καὶ ὀλίγου γε ἐφωράθησαν ὑπό τε τοῦ πλήθους
τῶν συνειδότων, καίτοι τοῦ Καίσαρος μήτε λόγον
τινὰ περὶ τοιούτου τινὸς προσδεχομένου καὶ πάνυ
ἰσχυρῶς τοὺς ἐσαγγέλλοντάς τι τοιουτότροπον
2 κολάζοντος, καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ διαμέλλειν. αἰδῶ τε
γὰρ αὐτοῦ[2] καὶ ὣς ἔχοντες, καὶ φοβούμενοι,
καίπερ μηδεμιᾷ ἔτι φρουρᾷ χρωμένου, μὴ καὶ ὑπὸ
τῶν ἄλλων τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἀεί ποτε ὄντων
φθαρῶσι, διῆγον, ὥστε καὶ κινδυνεῦσαι ἐλεγχθέν-
3 τες ἀπολέσθαι. καὶ ἔπαθον ἂν τοῦτο, εἰ μὴ
συνταχῦναι τὸ ἐπιβούλευμα καὶ ἄκοντες ἠναγ-
κάσθησαν. λόγου γάρ τινος, εἴτ' οὖν ἀληθοῦς
εἴτε καὶ ψευδοῦς, οἷά που φιλεῖ λογοποιεῖσθαι,
διελθόντος ὡς τῶν ἱερέων τῶν πεντεκαίδεκα
καλουμένων διαθροούντων ὅτι ἡ Σίβυλλα
εἰρηκυῖα εἴη μήποτ' ἂν τοὺς Πάρθους ἄλλως πως
4 πλὴν ὑπὸ βασιλέως ἁλῶναι, καὶ μελλόντων διὰ
τοῦτο αὐτῶν τὴν ἐπίκλησιν ταύτην τῷ Καίσαρι
δοθῆναι ἐσηγήσεσθαι, τοῦτό τε πιστεύσαντες

[1] Δέκιμον, Δέκιμος Leuncl., δέκιον, δέκιος L (and so in ch. 18).
[2] αὐτοῦ R. Steph., αὖ που L.

ceeded to get together all the others who were of the same mind as themselves and these proved to be not a few in number. There is no need to give a full list of the names, for I might thus become wearisome, but I cannot omit to mention Trebonius and Decimus Brutus, who was also called Junius and Albinus. For these joined in the plot against Caesar, notwithstanding that they also had received many benefits at his hands; Decimus, in fact, had been appointed consul for the next year and had been assigned to Hither Gaul. B.C. 44

They came very near being detected for two reasons. One was the number of those who were privy to the plot, although Caesar would not receive any information about anything of the sort and punished very severely those who brought any news of the kind. The second reason was their delay; for they stood in awe of him, for all their hatred of him, and kept putting the matter off, fearing, in spite of the fact that he no longer had any guard, that they might be killed by some of the men who were always with him; and thus they ran the risk of being discovered and put to death. Indeed, they would have suffered this fate had they not been forced even against their will to hasten the plot. For a report, whether true or false, got abroad, as reports will spread, that the priests known as the *Quindecimviri* were spreading the report that the Sibyl had said the Parthians would never be defeated in any other way than by a king, and were consequently going to propose that this title be granted to Caesar. The conspirators believed this to be true, and

ἀληθὲς εἶναι, καὶ ὅτι καὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν, ὧνπερ καὶ ὁ Βροῦτος καὶ ὁ Κάσσιος ἦν, ἡ ψῆφος ἅτε καὶ ὑπὲρ τηλικούτου βουλεύματος ἐπαχθήσοιτο, καὶ οὔτ' ἀντειπεῖν τολμῶντες[1] οὔτε σιωπῆσαι ὑπομένοντες, ἐπέσπευσαν τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν πρὶν καὶ ὁτιοῦν περὶ αὐτοῦ χρηματισθῆναι.

16 Ἐδέδοκτο δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν ποιήσασθαι. τόν τε γὰρ Καίσαρα ἥκιστα ἐνταῦθα ὑποτοποῦντά τι πείσεσθαι εὐαλωτότερον ἔσεσθαι, καὶ σφίσιν εὐπορίαν ἀσφαλῆ ξιφῶν ἐν κιβωτίοις ἀντὶ γραμματείων τινῶν ἐσκομισθέντων ὑπάρξειν, τούς τε ἄλλους οὐ δυνήσεσθαι,[2] οἷά
2 που καὶ ἀόπλους ὄντας, ἀμῦναι προσεδόκων· εἰ δ' οὖν τις καὶ τολμήσειέ που, ἀλλὰ τούς γε μονομάχους, οὓς πολλοὺς ἐν τῷ Πομπηίου[3] θεάτρῳ, πρόφασιν ὡς καὶ ὁπλομαχήσοντας, προπαρεσκευάσαντο, βοηθήσειν σφίσιν ἤλπιζον· ἐκεῖ γάρ που ἐν οἰκήματί τινι τοῦ περιστῴου συνεδρεύειν ἔμελλον. καὶ οἱ μέν, ἐπειδὴ ἡ κυρία ἧκεν, ἔς τε τὸ βουλευτήριον ἅμα ἕῳ[4] συνελέγησαν καὶ τὸν
17 Καίσαρα παρεκάλουν· ἐκείνῳ δὲ προέλεγον μὲν καὶ μάντεις τὴν ἐπιβουλήν, προέλεγε δὲ καὶ ὀνείρατα. ἐν γὰρ τῇ νυκτὶ ἐν ᾗ ἐσφάγη ἥ τε γυνὴ αὐτοῦ τήν τε οἰκίαν σφῶν συμπεπτωκέναι καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα συντετρῶσθαί τε ὑπό τινων καὶ ἐς τὸν κόλπον αὐτῆς καταφυγεῖν ἔδοξε, καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπί τε τῶν νεφῶν μετέωρος αἰωρεῖσθαι καὶ τῆς
2 τοῦ Διὸς χειρὸς ἅπτεσθαι. πρὸς δ' ἔτι καὶ σημεῖα οὔτ' ὀλίγα οὔτ' ἀσθενῆ αὐτῷ ἐγένετο· τά

[1] τολμῶντες R. Steph., τολμῶντος L.
[2] δυνήσεσθαι R. Steph., δυνηθήσεσθαι L.
[3] Πομπηίου H. Steph., πομπηίῳ L. [4] ἕῳ Rk., ὡς L.

because a vote would be demanded of the magistrates, among whom were Brutus and Cassius, owing to the importance of the measure, and they neither dared to oppose it nor would submit to remain silent, they hastened forward their plot before any business connected with the measure should come up. B.C. 44

It had been decided by them to make the attempt in the senate, for they thought that there Caesar would least expect to be harmed in any way and would thus fall an easier victim, while they would find a safe opportunity by having swords instead of documents brought into the chamber in boxes, and the rest, being unarmed, would not be able to offer any resistance. But in case any one should be so rash, they hoped at least that the gladiators, many of whom they had previously stationed in Pompey's Theatre under the pretext that they were to contend there, would come to their aid; for these were to lie in wait somewhere there in a certain room of the peristyle. So the conspirators, when the appointed day was come, gathered in the senate-house at dawn and called for Caesar. As for him, he was warned of the plot in advance by soothsayers, and was warned also by dreams. For the night before he was slain his wife dreamed that their house had fallen in ruins and that her husband had been wounded by some men and had taken refuge in her bosom; and Caesar dreamed he was raised aloft upon the clouds and grasped the hand of Jupiter. Moreover, omens not a few and not without significance

τε γὰρ ὅπλα τὰ Ἄρεια παρ' αὐτῷ τότε ὡς καὶ παρὰ ἀρχιερεῖ κατά τι πάτριον κείμενα ψόφον τῆς νυκτὸς πολὺν ἐποίησε, καὶ αἱ θύραι τοῦ δωματίου ἐν ᾧ ἐκάθευδεν αὐτόμαται ἀνεῴχθησαν.[1]
3 τά τε ἱερὰ ἃ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐθύσατο οὐδὲν αἴσιον ὑπέφηνε, καὶ οἱ ὄρνιθες δι' ὧν ἐμαντεύετο οὐκ ἐπέτρεπον αὐτῷ ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας ἐξελθεῖν. ἤδη δέ τισι καὶ τὸ τοῦ δίφρου τοῦ ἐπιχρύσου ἐνθύμιον μετά γε τὴν σφαγὴν αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, ὅτι αὐτὸν ὁ ὑπηρέτης βραδύνοντος τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐξεκόμισεν ἐκ τοῦ συνεδρίου, νομίσας μηκέτ' αὐτοῦ χρείαν ἔσεσθαι.

18 Χρονίζοντος δ' οὖν διὰ ταῦτα τοῦ Καίσαρος, δείσαντες οἱ συνωμόται μὴ ἀναβολῆς γενομένης (θροῦς γάρ τις διῆλθεν ὅτι οἴκοι τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην μενεῖ) τό τε ἐπιβούλευμά σφισι διαπέσῃ καὶ αὐτοὶ φωραθῶσι, πέμπουσι τὸν Βροῦτον τὸν Δέκιμον, ὅπως ὡς καὶ πάνυ φίλος αὐτῷ δοκῶν εἶναι ποιήσῃ
2 αὐτὸν ἀφικέσθαι. καὶ ὃς τά τε προταθέντα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ φαυλίσας, καὶ τὴν γερουσίαν σφόδρα ἐπιθυμεῖν ἰδεῖν αὐτὸν εἰπών, ἔπεισε προελθεῖν. κἀν τούτῳ εἰκών τις αὐτοῦ, ἣν ἐν τοῖς προθύροις ἀνακειμένην εἶχε, κατέπεσεν ἀπὸ ταὐτομάτου καὶ
3 συνεθραύσθη. ἀλλ' ἔδει γὰρ αὐτὸν τότε μεταλλάξαι, οὐδὲν οὔτε[2] τούτου ἐφρόντισε οὔτε τινὸς τὴν ἐπιβουλήν οἱ μηνύοντος ἤκουσε. καὶ βιβλίον τι παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβών, ἐν ᾧ πάντα τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἐπίθεσιν παρεσκευασμένα ἀκριβῶς ἐνεγέγραπτο, οὐκ ἀνέγνω, νομίσας ἄλλο τι αὐτὸ τῶν οὐκ ἐπει-
4 γόντων ἔχειν. τό τε σύμπαν οὕτως ἐθάρσει ὥστε

[1] ἀνεῴχθησαν Dind., ἠνεῴχθησαν L, Xiph.
[2] οὔτε Bk., οὐδὲ L.

came to him: the arms of Mars, at that time deposited in his house, according to ancient custom, by virtue of his position as high priest, made a great noise at night, and the doors of the chamber where he slept opened of their own accord. Moreover, the sacrifices which he offered because of these occurrences were not at all favourable, and the birds he used in divination forbade him to leave the house. Indeed, to some the incident of his golden chair seemed ominous, at least after his murder; for the attendant, when Caesar delayed his coming, had carried it out of the senate, thinking that there now would be no need of it. B.C. 44

Caesar, accordingly, was so long in coming that the conspirators feared there might be a postponement,—indeed, a rumour got abroad that he would remain at home that day,—and that their plot would thus fall through and they themselves would be detected. Therefore they sent Decimus Brutus, as one supposed to be his devoted friend, to secure his attendance. This man made light of Caesar's scruples and by stating that the senate desired exceedingly to see him, persuaded him to proceed. At this an image of him, which he had set up in the vestibule, fell of its own accord and was shattered in pieces. But, since it was fated that he should die at that time, he not only paid no attention to this but would not even listen to some one who was offering him information of the plot. He received from him a little roll in which all the preparations made for the attack were accurately recorded, but did not read it, thinking it contained some indifferent matter of no pressing importance. In brief, he was so confident

καὶ πρὸς τὸν μάντιν τὸν τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην φυλάσσεσθαί ποτε αὐτῷ προαγορεύσαντα εἰπεῖν ἐπισκώπτων "ποῦ δῆτά σου τὰ μαντεύματα; ἢ οὐχ ὁρᾷς ὅτι τε ἡ ἡμέρα ἣν ἐδεδίεις πάρεστι, καὶ ἐγὼ ζῶ;" καὶ ἐκεῖνος τοσοῦτον, ὥς φασι, μόνον ἀπεκρίνατο, ὅτι "ναὶ[1] πάρεστιν, οὐδέπω δὲ παρελήλυθεν."

19 Ὡς δ' οὖν ἀφίκετό ποτε πρὸς τὸ συνέδριον, Τρεβώνιος μὲν Ἀντώνιον ἔξω που ἀποδιέτριψεν. ἐβουλεύσαντο μὲν γὰρ καὶ τοῦτον τόν τε Λέπιδον
2 ἀποκτεῖναι· φοβηθέντες δὲ μὴ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ἀπολομένων διαβληθῶσιν ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ δυναστείᾳ ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπ' ἐλευθερώσει τῆς πόλεως, ἣν[2] προεβάλλοντο, τὸν Καίσαρα πεφονευκότες, οὐδὲ παρεῖναι τὸν Ἀντώνιον τῇ σφαγῇ αὐτοῦ ἠθέλησαν, ἐπεὶ ὅ γε Λέπιδος ἐξεστράτευτο καὶ ἐν τῷ
3 προαστείῳ ἦν. ἐκείνῳ μὲν δὴ Τρεβώνιος διελέγετο· οἱ δὲ δὴ ἄλλοι τὸν Καίσαρα ἐν τούτῳ ἀθρόοι περιστάντες (εὐπρόσοδός τε γὰρ καὶ φιλοπροσήγορος ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα ἦν) οἱ μὲν ἐμυθολόγουν, οἱ δὲ ἱκέτευον δῆθεν αὐτόν, ὅπως ἥκιστά τι ὑποπ-
4 τεύσῃ. ἐπεί τε ὁ καιρὸς ἐλάμβανε, προσῆλθέ τις αὐτῷ ὡς καὶ χάριν τινὰ γιγνώσκων, καὶ τὸ ἱμάτιον αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὤμου καθείλκυσε, σημεῖόν τι[3] τοῦτο κατὰ τὸ συγκείμενον τοῖς συνωμόταις αἴρων· κἀκ τούτου προσπεσόντες αὐτῷ ἐκεῖνοι
5 πολλαχόθεν ἅμα κατέτρωσαν αὐτόν, ὥσθ' ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους αὐτῶν μήτ' εἰπεῖν μήτε πρᾶξαί τι τὸν Καίσαρα δυνηθῆναι, ἀλλὰ συγκαλυψάμενον σφαγῆναι πολλοῖς τραύμασι. ταῦτα μὲν τἀληθέσ-

[1] ναὶ Xiph., καὶ L. [2] ἣν supplied by R. Steph.
[3] τι H. Steph., τε L.

that to the soothsayer who had once warned him to beware of that day he jestingly remarked: "Where are your prophecies now? Do you not see that the day which you feared is come and that I am alive?" And the other, they say, answered merely: "Ay, it is come but is not yet past." B.C. 44

Now when he finally reached the senate, Trebonius kept Antony employed somewhere at a distance outside. For, though they had planned to kill both him and Lepidus, they feared they might be maligned as a result of the number they destroyed, on the ground that they had slain Caesar to gain supreme power and not to set free the city, as they pretended; and therefore they did not wish Antony even to be present at the slaying. As for Lepidus, he had set out on a campaign and was in the suburbs. While Trebonius, then, talked with Antony, the rest in a body surrounded Caesar, who was as easy of access and as affable as any one could be; and some conversed with him, while others made as if to present petitions to him, so that suspicion might be as far from his mind as possible. And when the right moment came, one of them approached him, as if to express his thanks for some favour or other, and pulled his toga from his shoulder, thus giving the signal that had been agreed upon by the conspirators. Thereupon they attacked him from many sides at once and wounded him to death, so that by reason of their numbers Caesar was unable to say or do anything, but veiling his face, was slain

τατα· ἤδη δέ τινες καὶ ἐκεῖνο εἶπον, ὅτι πρὸς τὸν Βροῦτον ἰσχυρῶς[1] πατάξαντα[2] ἔφη "καὶ σύ, τέκνον;"

20 Θορύβου δ' οὖν πολλοῦ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν τε ἔνδον ὄντων καὶ τῶν[3] ἔξωθεν προσεστηκότων πρός τε τὸ αἰφνίδιον τοῦ πάθους, καὶ ὅτι ἠγνόουν τούς τε σφαγέας καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τήν τε διάνοιαν αὐτῶν, γενομένου πάντες ὡς καὶ κινδυνεύσοντες
2 ἐταράσσοντο, καὶ αὐτοί τε ἐς φυγὴν ὥρμησαν ᾗ ἕκαστος ἐδύνατο, καὶ τοὺς προστυγχάνοντάς σφισιν ἐξέπλησσον, σαφὲς μὲν οὐδὲν λέγοντες, αὐτὰ δὲ ταῦτα μόνον βοῶντες, "φεῦγε, κλεῖε,
3 κλεῖε." καὶ αὐτὰ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ παραλαμβάνοντες παρ' ἀλλήλων ὡς ἕκαστος διεβόων,[4] καὶ τήν τε πόλιν θρήνων ἐπλήρουν, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔς τε τὰ ἐργαστήρια καὶ ἐς τὰς οἰκίας ἐσπίπτοντες ἀπεκρύπτοντο, καίτοι τῶν σφαγέων ἔς τε τὴν ἀγορὰν ὥσπερ εἶχον ὁρμησάντων, καὶ τοῖς τε σχήμασιν ἐνδεικνυμένων καὶ προσεκβοώντων μὴ φοβεῖσθαι.
4 ἐκεῖνοι μὲν γὰρ τοῦτό τε ἅμα ἔλεγον καὶ τὸν Κικέρωνα συνεχῶς ἀνεκάλουν, ὁ δὲ ὅμιλος οὔτ' ἄλλως[5] ἐπίστευέ σφισιν ἀληθεύειν οὔτε ῥᾳδίως καθίστατο· ὀψὲ δ' οὖν ποτε καὶ μόλις, ὡς οὔτε τις ἐφονεύετο οὔτε συνελαμβάνετο, θαρσήσαντες
21 ἡσύχασαν. καὶ συνελθόντων αὐτῶν ἐς ἐκκλησίαν πολλὰ μὲν κατὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς δημοκρατίας οἱ σφαγεῖς εἶπον, θαρσεῖν τέ σφας καὶ μηδὲν δεινὸν προσδέχεσθαι ἐκέλευον·

[1] ἰσχυρῶς Xiph., τὸν ἰσχυρῶς L.
[2] πατάξαντα Xiph., παρατάξαντα L.
[3] τῶν supplied by R. Steph.
[4] διεβόων R. Steph., διαβοῶν L.
[5] οὔτ' ἄλλως Pflugk, οὐδ' ἄλλως L.

with many wounds. This is the truest account, though some have added that to Brutus, when he struck him a powerful blow, he said: "Thou, too, my son?" B.C. 44

A great outcry naturally arose from all the rest who were inside and also from those who were standing near by outside, both at the suddenness of the calamity and because they did not know who the assassins were, their numbers, or their purpose; and all were excited, believing themselves in danger. So they not only turned to flight themselves, every man as best he could, but they also alarmed those who met them by saying nothing intelligible, but merely shouting out the words: "Run! bolt doors! bolt doors!" Then all the rest, severally taking up the cry one from another, kept shouting these words, filled the city with lamentations, and burst into the workshops and houses to hide themselves, even though the assassins hurried just as they were to the Forum, urging them both by their gestures and their shouts not to be afraid. Indeed, while they were telling them this, they kept calling for Cicero; but the crowd did not believe in any case that they were sincere, and was not easily calmed. At length, however, and with difficulty, they took courage and became quiet, as no one was killed or arrested. And when they met in the assembly, the assassins had much to say against Caesar and much in favour of democracy, and they bade the people take courage and not expect any harm. For they

οὔτε γὰρ ἐπὶ δυναστείᾳ οὔτ' ἐπ' ἄλλῃ πλεονεξίᾳ οὐδεμιᾷ ἀπεκτονέναι αὐτὸν ἔφασαν, ἀλλ' ἵν' ἐλεύθεροί τε καὶ αὐτόνομοι ὄντες ὀρθῶς πολιτεύωνται.
2 τοιαῦτα ἄττα εἰπόντες τοὺς μὲν πολλοὺς κατέστησαν, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι οὐδένα ἠδίκουν· αὐτοὶ δὲ δὴ φοβούμενοι καὶ ὥς μή τις σφίσιν ἀντεπιβουλεύσῃ, ἀνῆλθον ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ὡς καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς προσευξόμενοι, καὶ ἐκεῖ τήν τε ἡμέραν καὶ
3 τὴν νύκτα ἐνδιέτριψαν. καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς τῶν πρώτων ἀφ' ἑσπέρας, τῆς μὲν ἐπιβουλῆς οὐ συμμετασχόντες, τῆς δὲ ἀπ' αὐτῆς δόξης, ὡς καὶ ἐπαινουμένους σφᾶς ἑώρων, καὶ τῶν ἄθλων ἃ
4 προσεδέχοντο μεταποιησόμενοι,[1] συνεγένοντο. καὶ συνέβη γε αὐτοῖς ἐς τοὐναντίον τὸ πρᾶγμα δικαιότατα περιστῆναι· οὔτε γὰρ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἔργου ἅτε μηδὲν αὐτοῦ προσκοινωνήσαντες ἔλαβον, καὶ τοῦ κινδύνου τοῦ τοῖς δράσασιν αὐτὸ συμβάντος ὡς καὶ συνεπιβουλεύσαντές[2] σφισι μετέσχον.

22 Ἰδὼν δὲ ταῦτα ὁ Δολοβέλλας οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἠξίου τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν, ἀλλ' ἔς τε τὴν ὕπατον ἀρχὴν καίπερ μηδέπω οἱ προσήκουσαν ἐσῆλθε, καὶ δημηγορήσας τι περὶ τῶν παρόντων ἐς τὸ
2 Καπιτώλιον ἀνέβη. τούτων δὲ ἐνταῦθα ὄντων, ὁ Λέπιδος μαθὼν τὰ γεγενημένα τήν τε ἀγορὰν μετὰ τῶν στρατιωτῶν τῆς νυκτὸς κατέλαβε, καὶ κατὰ τῶν σφαγέων ἅμα ἕῳ ἐδημηγόρει. ὁ οὖν Ἀντώνιος, καίτοι παραχρῆμα μετὰ τὸν τοῦ Καίσαρος θάνατον φυγὼν καὶ τήν τε ἐσθῆτα τὴν ἀρχικήν, ὅπως διαλάθῃ, ῥίψας καὶ τὴν νύκτα
3 κρυφθείς, ὅμως ἐπειδὴ τούς τε σφαγέας ἐν τῷ

[1] μεταποιησόμενοι H. Steph., μεταποιησάμενοι L.
[2] συνεπιβουλεύσαντές Leuncl., ἐπιβουλεύσαντές L.

had killed him, they declared, not to secure power or any other advantage, but in order that they might be free and independent and be governed rightly. By speaking such words they calmed the majority, especially since they injured no one. But fearing, for all that, that somebody might plot against them in turn, they themselves went up to the Capitol, in order, as they claimed, to pray to the gods, and there they spent the day and night. And at evening they were joined by some of the other prominent men, who had not, indeed, shared in the plot, but were minded, when they saw the perpetrators praised, to lay claim to the glory of it, as well as to the prizes which they expected. But for them the event proved most justly the very opposite of their expectations; for they did not secure any reputation for the deed, because they had not had a hand in it in any way, but they did share the danger which came to those who committed it just as much as if they themselves had been in the plot. B.C. 44

Seeing this, Dolabella likewise thought it incumbent on him not to keep quiet, but entered upon the office of consul, even though it did not yet belong to him, and after making a short speech to the people on the situation ascended to the Capitol. While affairs were in this state Lepidus, learning what had taken place, occupied the Forum by night with his soldiers and at dawn delivered a speech against the assassins. As to Antony, although he had fled immediately after Caesar's death, casting away his robe of office in order to escape notice and concealing himself through the night, yet when he ascertained that the assassins were on the Capitol

Καπιτωλίῳ καὶ τὸν Λέπιδον ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ὄντα ᾔσθετο, τήν τε γερουσίαν ἐς τὸ τῆς Γῆς τέμενος ἤθροισε καὶ γνώμας ὑπὲρ τῶν παρόντων προέθηκε.[1] καὶ εἶπον ἄλλοι τε ἄλλα, ὡς ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ἐγίγνωσκε, καὶ ὁ Κικέρων τάδε, οἷσπερ καὶ ἐπείσθησαν·

23 "Ἀεὶ μὲν ἔγωγε οἶμαι χρῆναι μηδένα μηδὲν μήτε πρὸς[2] χάριν μήτε πρὸς φιλονεικίαν λέγειν, ἀλλ' ὃ βέλτιστον ἕκαστος εἶναι νομίζει, τοῦτ'
2 ἀποφαίνεσθαι. δεινὸν γὰρ εἰ τοὺς μὲν στρατηγοῦντας τούς θ' ὑπατεύοντας πάντα ἀπὸ ὀρθῆς τῆς διανοίας ποιεῖν ἀξιώσομεν, κἂν ἄρα πως σφαλῶσιν,[3] εὐθύνας παρ' αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς τύχης ἀπαιτήσομεν, ἐν δὲ δὴ τῷ βουλεύεσθαι, ἐν ᾧ κυριώτατοι τῆς ἡμετέρας αὐτῶν γνώμης ἐσμέν, τὰ κοινῇ συμφέροντα τῶν ἰδίων ἕνεκα πλεονεξιῶν προησό-
3 μεθα. ἀεὶ μὲν δὴ διὰ ταῦτα, ὦ πατέρες, πάντα ἁπλῶς καὶ δικαίως ἡγοῦμαι δεῖν ἡμᾶς συμβουλεύειν ὑμῖν, μάλιστα δὲ ἐν τοῖς παροῦσι πράγμασιν, ἐν οἷς ἂν μὲν[4] μηδὲν[5] πολυπραγμονήσαντες ὁμονοήσωμεν, αὐτοί τε σωθησόμεθα καὶ
4 τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας[6] περιποιήσομεν, ἂν δ' ἀκριβῶς πάντα ἐξετάσαι ἐθελήσωμεν, δέδοικα μὴ κακῶς—δυσχερὲς δ' οὐδὲν ἀρχόμενος τῶν λόγων
24 εἰπεῖν βούλομαι. πρότερον μὲν γάρ, οὐκ ὀλίγος ἐξ οὗ χρόνος, οἱ τὰ ὅπλα ἔχοντες καὶ τῆς πολιτείας ἐγκρατεῖς ὡς τὸ πολὺ ἐγίγνοντο, ὥστ' αὐτοὺς ὅ τι δεῖ βουλεύειν ὑμῖν ἐπιτάττειν, ἀλλ'

[1] προέθηκε Reim., προτέθεικε L.
[2] μηδὲν μήτε πρὸς Reim., μηδενὸς μήτε πρὸς Rk., μηδενὸς L.
[3] σφαλῶσιν R. Steph., σφάλλωσιν L.
[4] μὲν added by Bk. [5] μηδὲν R. Steph., μηδὲ ἓν L.
[6] ἅπαντας Rk., ἄκοντας L.

and Lepidus in the Forum, he assembled the senate in the precinct of Tellus and brought forward the business of the hour for deliberation. When some had said one thing and some another, according to what was in their thoughts, Cicero, whose advice they actually followed, spoke to this effect: B.C. 44

"No one ought ever, I think, to say anything either out of favour or out of spite, but every one ought to declare what he believes to be best. We demand that those serving as praetors or consuls shall do everything from upright motives, and if they make any errors, we demand an accounting from them even for their misfortune; how absurd, then, if in discussion, where we are complete masters of our own opinion, we shall sacrifice the general welfare to our private interests! For this reason, Conscript Fathers, I have always thought that we ought to advise you with sincerity and justice on all matters, but especially in the present circumstances, when, if without being over-inquisitive we come to an agreement, we shall both be preserved ourselves and enable all the rest to survive, whereas, if we wish to inquire into everything minutely, I fear that ill—but at the very opening of my remarks I do not wish to say anything that might offend. Formerly, not very long ago, those who had the arms usually also got control of the government and consequently issued orders to you as to the subjects on which you were to deliberate, instead of your

οὐχ ὑμᾶς ὅ τι χρὴ πράττειν ἐκείνους προσκοπεῖν·
2 νῦν δ' ἐς τοῦτο καιροῦ πάνθ' ὡς εἰπεῖν τὰ πράγ-
ματα πάρεστιν ὥστε ἐφ' ὑμῖν[1] τε αὐτὰ εἶναι
καὶ ἐς ὑμᾶς[1] ἀνακεῖσθαι, καὶ παρ' ὑμῶν[1] ἤτοι
τὴν ὁμόνοιαν καὶ μετὰ ταύτης τὴν ἐλευθερίαν,
ἢ στάσεις καὶ πολέμους ἐμφυλίους αὖθις καὶ
3 ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ δεσπότην λαβεῖν. ὅ τι γὰρ ἂν
τήμερον ψηφίσησθε, τούτῳ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες
ἀκολουθήσουσι.[2] τούτων οὖν οὕτως, ὥς γε
ἐμαυτὸν πείθω, ἐχόντων φημὶ δεῖν ἡμᾶς τὰς
μὲν πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔχθρας ἢ φιλονεικίας, ἢ
ὅπως ἄν τις αὐτὰς ὀνομάσῃ, καταλύσασθαι,
πρὸς δὲ δὴ τὴν παλαιὰν ἐκείνην εἰρήνην καὶ
4 φιλίαν καὶ ὁμόνοιαν ἐπανελθεῖν, ἐνθυμηθέντας
τοῦτό γε, εἰ μηδὲν ἄλλο, ὅτι τέως μὲν ἐκείνως
ἐπολιτευόμεθα, καὶ χώρας καὶ πλούτους καὶ
δόξαν καὶ συμμάχους ἐκτησάμεθα, ἀφ' οὗ δὲ ἐς
τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλους κακὰ προήχθημεν, οὐχ ὅσον
οὐκ ἀμείνους ἀλλὰ καὶ πολὺ χείρους ἐγενόμεθα.
5 καὶ ἔγωγε τοσούτου[3] δέω νομίζειν[4] ἄλλο τι
σῶσαι ἂν ἐν[5] τῷ παρόντι τὴν πόλιν, ὥστ' ἂν
μή τι τήμερον καὶ ἤδη γε ὅτι τάχιστα προβου-
λεύσωμεν, οὐδ' ἀναλαβεῖν δυνησόμεθα.
25 "Σκοπεῖτε δὲ ὡς ἀληθῆ λέγω, πρός τε τὰ
παρόντα ἀπιδόντες καὶ τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἀναλογισάμενοι.
ἢ οὐχ ὁρᾶτε μὲν τὰ γιγνόμενα, καὶ ὅτι διαιρεῖταί
τε καὶ περισπᾶται ὁ δῆμος αὖθις, καὶ οἱ μὲν
ταῦτα οἱ δὲ ἐκεῖνα προαιρούμενοι διχῇ τε ἤδη

[1] ὑμῖν, υμᾶς, ὑμῶν R. Steph., ἡμῖν, ἡμᾶς, ἡμῶν L.
[2] ἀκολουθήσουσι R. Steph., ἀκολουθήσωσι L.
[3] τοσούτου Bk., τοσούτωι L. [4] νομίζειν Xyl., ὀνομάζειν L.
[5] ἐν Polak, μὲν ἐν L.

determining what it was their business to do. But now practically everything is at such an opportune point that matters are in your hands and depend upon you; and from yourselves you may obtain either harmony and with it liberty, or seditions and civil wars once more and a master at the close of them. For whatever you decide on to-day, all the rest of the citizens will follow. This being the state of the case, as I am convinced, I declare that we ought to give up our mutual enmities, or jealousies, or whatever name should be applied to them, and return to that old-time state of peace and friendship and harmony. For you should remember this, if nothing else, that so long as we conducted our government in that way we acquired lands, riches, glory, and allies, but ever since we were led into injuring one another, so far from becoming better off, we have become decidedly worse off. Now I am so firmly convinced that nothing else at present can save the city that if we do not to-day, at once, with all possible speed, adopt some policy, I believe we shall never be able to regain our position at all. B.C. 44

"That you may see, now, that I am speaking the truth, look at present conditions and then consider our position in olden times. Do you not see what is taking place—that the people are again being divided and torn asunder and that, with some choosing this side and some that, they have already fallen into two

2 νενέμηνται καὶ διχῇ στρατοπεδεύονται, καὶ οἱ μὲν τὸ Καπιτώλιον προκατειλήφασιν ὥσπερ τινὰς Γαλάτας φοβούμενοι, οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς πολιορκεῖν αὐτοὺς παρασκευάζονται καθάπερ Καρχηδόνιοί τινες ἀλλ' οὐ Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ αὐτοὶ
3 ὄντες; οὐκ ἀκούετε δὲ ὅτι καὶ πρότερον πολλάκις διχογνωμονησάντων τινῶν ὥστε καὶ τὸν Ἀουεντῖνόν ποτε καὶ τὸ Καπιτώλιον, ἔστι δ' οὓς αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ὄρος κατασχεῖν, ὁσάκις μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἴσοις, ἢ καὶ βραχύ τι συγχωρήσαντες οἱ ἕτεροι τοῖς ἑτέροις, κατηλλάγησαν, μισοῦντές
4 τε ἀλλήλους εὐθὺς ἐπαύσαντο, καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ὁμονοίᾳ τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ χρόνου διήγαγον οὕτως ὥστε καὶ πολλοὺς καὶ μεγάλους πολέμους κοινῇ κατορθῶσαι· ὁσάκις δὲ δὴ πρὸς φόνους καὶ σφαγὰς ἐχώρησαν, οἱ μὲν δικαιώσει τοῦ ἀμύνεσθαι τοὺς προϋπάρξαντας, οἱ δὲ καὶ φιλονεικίᾳ τοῦ μηδενὸς ἐλασσοῦσθαι δοκεῖν ἀπατη-
5 θέντες, οὐδὲν πώποτε χρηστὸν ἐγένετο; τί γὰρ δεῖ πρὸς οὐδὲν ἧττον ὑμᾶς εἰδότας τὸν Οὐαλέριον, τὸν Ὁράτιον, τὸν Σατορνῖνον, τὸν Γλαυκίαν, τοὺς Γράκχους λέγοντα[1] διατρίβειν; τοιαῦτ' οὖν παραδείγματα, καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἀλλότρια ἀλλ'
6 οἰκεῖα ἔχοντες, μὴ μελλήσητε τὰ μὲν ζηλῶσαι τὰ δὲ φυλάξασθαι, ἀλλ' ἅτε ἀπ' αὐτῶν τῶν πραγμάτων τὴν πεῖραν τῆς ἐκβάσεως ὧν βουλεύεσθε προειληφότες, μηκέτι τοὺς ἐμοὺς λόγους ὡς καὶ ῥήματα διασκοπεῖτε, ἀλλὰ τὰ[2] τῷ κοινῷ διαφέροντα ὡς καὶ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ ἤδη ὄντα θεωρεῖτε.
7 οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀσαφεῖ τινι ἐνθυμήσει τἀφανὲς τῆς

[1] λέγοντα R. Steph., λέγοντας L.
[2] τὰ added by Pflugk.

parties and two camps, and that the one side has seized the Capitol as if they feared the Gauls or somebody, while the others with headquarters in the Forum are preparing, as if they were so many Carthaginians and not Romans, to besiege them? Have you not heard how, though formerly citizens often quarrelled, even to the extent of occupying the Aventine once, and the Capitol, and some of them the Sacred Mount, yet as often as they were reconciled on fair terms, or by yielding a little one to the other, they at once stopped hating one another, and lived the rest of their lives in such peace and harmony that together they carried through successfully many great wars? And how, on the other hand, as often as they had recourse to murders and bloodshed, the one side deluded by the plea of defending themselves against aggression, and the other side by an ambition to appear to be inferior to none, no good ever came of it? Why need I waste time by reciting to you, who know them equally well, the names of Valerius, Horatius, Saturninus, Glaucia, the Gracchi? With such examples before you, examples chosen not from foreign countries but from your own, do not hesitate to imitate the right course and to guard against the wrong, but in the conviction that you have already had in the events themselves a proof of the outcome of the plans you are now making, do not any longer look upon what I say as mere words, but consider that the interests of the state are already involved. For thus you will not be led by any vague notion to put to the hazard B.C. 44

ἐλπίδος ἀναρρίψετε, ἀλλ' ἐχεγγύῳ πίστει τὸ βέβαιον τοῦ λογισμοῦ προνοήσετε.

26 "Ὑπάρχει μὲν οὖν ὑμῖν[1] τοῦθ', ὅπερ εἶπον, οἴκοθεν καὶ παρὰ τῶν προγόνων λαβοῦσιν ὀρθῶς βουλεύσασθαι· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲ ξενικοῖς παραδείγμασι χρῆσθαι ἠθέλησα, μυρία ἂν εἰπεῖν ἔχων. ἓν δ' οὖν ὅμως τῆς ἀρίστης καὶ ἀρχαιοτάτης πόλεως, παρ' ἧς οὐδ' οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν ἐπάγεσθαί τινας νόμους ἀπηξίωσαν, παρέξομαι·
2 καὶ γὰρ αἰσχρὸν ἂν εἴη τοσοῦτον ἡμᾶς καὶ τῇ ῥώμῃ καὶ τῇ γνώμῃ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὑπερέχοντας χεῖρον αὐτῶν βουλεύεσθαι. ἐκεῖνοι τοίνυν (λέγω δὲ ὃ πάντες ἴστε) στασιάσαντές ποτε, καὶ ἐκ τούτου καὶ ὑπὸ[2] τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων καταπολεμηθέντες καὶ ὑπὸ[2] τῶν δυνατωτέρων πολιτῶν
3 τυραννηθέντες, οὐ πρότερον ἀπηλλάγησαν τῶν κακῶν πρὶν συνθέσθαι καὶ διομολογήσασθαι τῶν τε συμβεβηκότων σφίσι, πολλῶν που καὶ δεινῶν ὄντων, ἐπιλήσεσθαι, καὶ μηδὲν τὸ παράπαν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν μήτε ἐγκαλέσειν ποτὲ μήτε μνησικακήσειν
4 τινί. τοιγάρτοι σωφρονήσαντες οὕτως οὐχ ὅτι τυραννούμενοι καὶ στασιάζοντες ἐπαύσαντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσιν εὐθένησαν[3] καὶ τήν τε πόλιν ἀνεκτήσαντο καὶ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀρχῆς ἀντεποιήσαντο, καὶ τέλος κύριοι καὶ σῶσαι καὶ ἀπολέσαι καὶ τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους αὐτοὺς καὶ
5 τοὺς Θηβαίους πολλάκις ἐγένοντο. καίτοι εἰ ἠθελήκεσαν[4] ἐκεῖνοι οἱ τὴν Φυλὴν καταλαβόντες καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιῶς κατελθόντες τιμωρήσασθαι

[1] ὑμῖν R. Steph., ἡμῖν L. [2] ὑπὸ Pflugk, ἐκ L.
[3] εὐθένησαν Dind., εὐθήνησαν L.
[4] ἠθελήκεσαν St., ἐτεθελήκεσαν L.

your hopes, doubtful at best, but will foresee with justifiable confidence the certainty of your calculations. B.C. 44

"It is in your power, then, if you will receive this evidence that I mentioned from your own land and your own ancestors, to decide rightly; and that is why I did not wish to cite examples from abroad, though I might have mentioned countless such. One example, however, I will offer from the best and most ancient city, from which even our fathers did not disdain to introduce certain laws; for it would be disgraceful for us, who so far surpass the Athenians in might and intelligence, to deliberate less wisely than they. Now they were once at variance among themselves, as you all know, and as a result were overcome in war by the Lacedaemonians and were subjected to a tyranny of the more powerful citizens; and they did not obtain a respite from their ills until they made a compact and agreement to forget their past injuries, though these were many and severe, and never to bring any accusation whatever or to bear any malice against any one because of them. Accordingly, when they had thus come to their senses, they not only ceased being subject to tyrannies and seditions, but flourished in every way, regaining their city, laying claim to the sovereignty of the Greeks, and finally gaining the authority, as often happened, to save or destroy the Lacedaemonians themselves and also the Thebans. And yet, if the men who seized Phyle and returned from the Peiraeus had chosen to take vengeance

τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ ἄστεως ὑπὲρ ὧν ἠδίκηντο, εὔλογον μὲν ἂν πρᾶγμα πεποιηκέναι ἐδεδόχεσαν, πολλὰ δ' ἂν καὶ ἐδεδράκεσαν κακὰ καὶ ἐπεπόνθεσαν.
6 ὥσπερ γὰρ κρείττους αὐτῶν παρὰ τὴν ἐλπίδα ἐγένοντο, τάχ' ἄν τι καὶ ἠλαττώθησαν αὖθις.
27 οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις βέβαιον οὐδέν, οὐδ'[1] ἐξ ὧν ἰσχύει τις, πρὸς ἐπικράτησιν, ἀλλὰ πάμπολλοι μὲν θαρσοῦντες ἔπταισαν, πάμπολλοι δὲ ζητοῦντες ἀμύνασθαί τινα προσαπώλοντο.
2 οὔτε γὰρ τὸ πλεονεκτούμενον ἔν τινι πάντως εὐτυχεῖ, διότι καὶ ἀδικεῖται, οὔτε τὸ δυνάμει προῦχον πάντως κατορθοῖ, διότι καὶ προήκει,[2] ἀλλ' ἀμφότερα ἀπὸ τῆς ἴσης καὶ τῷ παραλόγῳ τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου καὶ τῷ ἀσταθμήτῳ τῆς τύχης ὑποκείμενα, καὶ τὴν ῥοπὴν πολλάκις οὐ πρὸς τὸ σφέτερον εὔελπι ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ ἐκείνων ἀδόκητον
3 λαμβάνει. ὅθεν ἔκ τε τούτων καὶ ἐκ τῆς φιλονεικίας (δεινὸν γάρ ἐστιν ἄνθρωπος ἀδικηθεὶς ἢ νομίσας γε ἀδικεῖσθαι ὑπὲρ δύναμιν θρασύνασθαι) καὶ πολλοὶ πολλάκις καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἰσχὺν ἐπαίρονται διακινδυνεύειν ὡς καὶ κρατήσοντες ἢ
4 οὔτι γε καὶ ἀναιμωτὶ διολούμενοι, καὶ οὕτω[3] τὰ μὲν νικῶντες τὰ δὲ ἡττώμενοι, καὶ τοτὲ μὲν ἀντεπικρατοῦντες ἄλλων τοτὲ δὲ ἀντελαττούμενοι, οἱ μὲν πασσυδὶ συναπόλλυνται, οἱ δὲ τήν τε Καδμείαν λεγομένην νίκην νικῶσιν, καὶ ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ, ὅτ' οὐδὲν ὄφελός ἐστιν, αἰσθάνονται ὅτι κακῶς ἐβουλεύσαντο.

28 "Καὶ ὅτι ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχει, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἔργῳ μεμαθήκατε. σκοπεῖτε δέ· ἴσχυσέ τινα χρόνον

[1] οὐδ' Pflugk, οὔτ' L. [2] προήκει Leuncl., πρόηκες L.
[3] οὕτω Bk., οὗτοι L.

on the city party for the wrongs they had suffered, B.C. 44
while they would, to be sure, have been thought to have performed a justifiable action, yet they would have suffered, as well as caused, many evils. For just as they exceeded their hopes by defeating their foes, they might perhaps in turn have been unexpectedly worsted. Indeed, in such matters there is no certainty with regard to victory, even as a result of one's power, but vast numbers who are confident fail and vast numbers who seek to take vengeance upon others perish at the same time themselves. For the one who is overreached in any transaction is not bound to be fortunate just because he is wronged, nor is the one who has the greater power bound to be successful just because he surpasses, but both are equally subject to the perversity of human affairs and to the instability of fortune, and the turn of the scale often corresponds, not to their own hopefulness, but to the unexpected play of these other factors. As a result of this and of rivalry (for man is very prone when wronged or believing himself wronged to become bold beyond his power) many are frequently encouraged to incur dangers even beyond their strength, with the idea that they will conquer or at least will not perish unavenged. So it is that, now conquering and now defeated, sometimes triumphing in turn and in turn succumbing, some perish utterly, while others gain a Cadmean victory,[1] as the saying goes; and at a time when the knowledge can avail them nothing they perceive that they have planned unwisely.

"That this is true you also have learned by experience. Consider a moment: Marius for a

[1] A proverbial expression for a victory which is of doubtful advantage to the conqueror.

ἐν τοῖς στασιωτικοῖς ο Μάριος, εἶτ' ἐκπεσὼν καὶ δύναμιν ἀθροίσας ἴστε οἷα εἰργάσατο. ὁμοίως ὁ Σύλλας, ἵνα μὴ τὸν Κίνναν μηδὲ τὸν Στράβωνα μηδὲ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς διὰ μέσου καταλέγω, δυνηθεὶς τὴν πρώτην, εἶτ' ἐλαττωθείς, ἔπειτα δυναστεύσας οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐχὶ τῶν δεινοτάτων ἔπραξε. τί γὰρ δεῖ τὸν Μάριον τὸν[1] δεύτερον ἢ τὸν Κίνναν ἐκεῖνον αὐτὸν ἢ τὸν Κάρβωνα ὀνο-
2 μάζειν;[2] μετὰ ταῦτα Λέπιδος ἰδίαν τέ τινα, ὡς δὴ καὶ τούτοις ἐπεξιών, στάσιν ἤγειρε, καὶ πᾶσαν ὀλίγου τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐτάραξεν. ὡς δ' ἀπηλλάγημέν ποτε καὶ τούτου, μέμνησθε ὅσα αὖ καὶ οἷα πρός τε τοῦ Σερτωρίου καὶ πρὸς τῶν ἄλλων τῶν
3 μετ' αὐτοῦ φυγόντων ἐπάθομεν. τί δ' ὁ Πομπήιος, τί δ' ὁ Καῖσαρ αὐτὸς οὗτος; ἵνα μηδὲν ἐνταῦθα μήτε τοῦ Κατιλίνου μήτε τοῦ Κλωδίου μνημονεύσω. οὐ πρότερον μὲν[3] ἐπολέμησαν ἀλλήλοις, καὶ ταῦτα συγγενεῖς ὄντες, ἔπειτα μυρίων κακῶν οὐ μόνον τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν ἢ καὶ τὴν λοιπὴν Ἰταλίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσαν ὡς εἰπεῖν τὴν οἰκου-
4 μένην ἀνέπλησαν; ἆρ' οὖν μετά τε τὸν τοῦ Πομπηίου θάνατον καὶ τὸν πολὺν ἐκεῖνον τῶν πολιτῶν ὄλεθρον ἡσυχία τις ἐγένετο; πόθεν; πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ. οἶδε δὲ ἡ Ἀφρική, οἶδεν ἡ Ἰβηρία τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἑκατέρωθι ἀπολομένων.
5 τί οὖν; ἐπί γε τούτοις εἰρηνήσαμεν; καὶ πῶς; ὁπότε κεῖται μὲν αὐτὸς ὁ Καῖσαρ οὕτω σφαγείς, κατέχεται δὲ τὸ Καπιτώλιον, καὶ πεπλήρωται μὲν ἡ ἀγορὰ τῶν ὅπλων, πεπλήρωται δὲ καὶ πᾶσα

[1] τὸν Xyl., τὸ L.
[2] This sentence savours strongly of an interpolation. Reiske bracketed it. [3] μὲν added by Bk.

time was strong amid civil strife; then he was driven out, collected a force, and accomplished— you know what. Likewise Sulla,—not to speak of Cinna or Strabo or the rest who came between,— powerful at first, later defeated, finally making himself master, was guilty of every possible cruelty. And why name the second Marius, or even that same Cinna, or Carbo?[1] After that Lepidus, ostensibly with the purpose of punishing these men, got together a faction of his own and stirred up almost all Italy. When we at last got rid of him, too, remember what we suffered from Sertorius and from his fellow-exiles. What did Pompey, what did this Caesar himself do, to make no mention here of Catiline or Clodius? Did they not at first fight against each other, and that in spite of their relationship, and then fill with countless evils not only our own city or even the rest of Italy, but practically the entire world? Well then, after Pompey's death and that great slaughter of the citizens,[2] did any quiet appear? By no means. How could it? Africa knows, Spain knows, the multitudes who perished in each of those lands. What then? Did we have peace after this? Peace, when Caesar himself lies slain in this fashion, when the Capitol is occupied, when the Forum is filled with arms and the whole city B.C. 44

[1] See note on Greek text.
[2] At Pharsalus.

29 ἡ πόλις τοῦ φόβου. οὕτως ἐπειδὰν ἄρξωνταί
τινες στασιάζειν, καὶ τὰ βίαια ἀεὶ τοῖς βιαίοις
ἀμύνεσθαι ζητῶσι, καὶ τὰς τιμωρίας μήτε πρὸς
τὸ ἐπιεικὲς μήτε πρὸς τὸ ἀνθρώπινον ἀλλὰ πρός
τε τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τὴν ἐκ τῶν
ὅπλων ποιῶνται, κύκλος τις ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἀεὶ τῶν
κακῶν γίγνεται καὶ ἀνταπόδοσις ἐκ διαδοχῆς τῶν
2 δεινῶν συμβαίνει. τό τε γὰρ εὐτυχῆσαν ὕβρει τε
πλεονάζει καὶ οὐδένα ὅρον τῆς πλεονεξίας ποιεῖται,
καὶ τὸ πταῖσαν ὀργῇ τῆς συμφορᾶς, ἄν γε μὴ
παραχρῆμα ἀπόληται, ἀντιτιμωρήσασθαι τὸν
ἀδικήσαντα ἐπιθυμεῖ μέχρις ἂν τὸν θυμὸν ἐκ-
3 πλήσῃ. καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν πλῆθος, κἂν
μὴ συμμετάσχῃ τῶν πραγμάτων, ἀλλὰ τότε γε
τῷ τε ἐλέῳ τοῦ νενικημένου καὶ τῷ φθόνῳ τοῦ
κεκρατηκότος, δεῖσάν τε ἅμα μὴ καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ
ἐκείνῳ πάθῃ, καὶ ἐλπίσαν τὰ αὐτὰ τούτῳ δράσειν,
4 συναίρεται. καὶ οὕτω καὶ τὰ μέσα τῶν πολιτῶν
στασιάζειν προάγεται, καὶ ἄλλοι τε ἐπ' ἄλλοις
τὸ κακόν, προφάσει τιμωρίας τῶν ἀεὶ ἐλαττου-
μένων, ὥσπερ τι ἔννομον καὶ ἐγκύκλιον πρᾶγμα,
ἀνταμυνόμενοι διαδέχονται, καὶ αὐτοὶ μὲν ὡς
ἕκαστοι ἀπαλλάσσουσι, τὸ δὲ δὴ κοινὸν ἐξ
30 ἅπαντος τρόπου φθείρουσιν. ἢ οὐχ ὁρᾶτε πόσον
μὲν χρόνον κατατετρίμμεθα πολεμοῦντες ἀλλή-
λοις, ὅσα δὲ καὶ οἷα ἐν αὐτῷ πεπόνθαμεν, καὶ ὅ γε
ἔτι[1] τούτου δεινότερόν ἐστι, καὶ δεδράκαμεν;
2 καὶ τίς ἂν ἀριθμῆσαι[2] δύναιτο τὸ πλῆθος τῶν
χρημάτων ἃ τούς τε συμμάχους περιδύοντες καὶ
τοὺς θεοὺς περισυλῶντες, καὶ προσέτι καὶ αὐτοὶ

[1] καὶ ὅ γε ἔτι Bs., καὶ ὅ γε Bk., καίτοι τί L.
[2] ἂν ἀριθμῆσαι Leuncl., ἀνταριθμῆσαι L.

with fear? In this way, when men begin sedition and seek ever to repay violence with violence and inflict vengeance without regard to decency or humanity, but according to their desires and the power that arms give them, there necessarily occurs each time a kind of cycle of ills, and alternate requitals of outrages take place. For the fortunate side abounds in insolence and sets no limit to its greed, and the defeated side, if it does not perish immediately, rages at its misfortune and is eager to take vengeance on the oppressor, until it sates its wrath. And the remaining multitude, also, even though it has not taken sides, now through pity for the vanquished and envy of the victorious side coöperates with the oppressed, fearing that it may itself suffer the same evils as the one party, and hoping also that it may cause the same evils as the other. Thus the citizens who have remained neutral are brought into the dispute, and one class after another, on the pretext of avenging the side which is for the moment at a disadvantage, takes up the sorry business of reprisals as if it were a legitimate, everyday affair; and while individually they escape, they ruin the state in every way. Or do you not see how much time we have wasted in fighting one another, how many great evils we have meanwhile endured, and, what is worse than this, inflicted? And who could count the vast amount of money of which we have stripped our allies and robbed the gods and moreover have even contributed ourselves from what B.C. 44

ἐξ ὧν οὐκ εἴχομεν συνεσφέροντες, ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις
3 δεδαπανήμεθα; τίς τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἀνδρῶν τῶν
ἀπολωλότων, οὐχ ὅτι τῶν ἄλλων, ἐπεὶ τοῦτό
γ' ἀνεξεύρετόν ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἱππέων
καὶ τῶν βουλευτῶν, ὧν εἷς ἕκαστος καὶ πᾶσαν
τὴν πόλιν ἐν τοῖς ὀθνείοις πολέμοις σῶσαι
4 καὶ ζῶν καὶ ἀποθανὼν ἐδύνατο; πόσοι μὲν γὰρ
Κούρτιοι, πόσοι δὲ Δέκιοι Φάβιοι Γράκχοι Μάρ-
κελλοι Σκιπίωνες τεθνήκασιν; οὐ μὰ Δί' οὐχ ἵνα
Σαυνίτας ἢ Λατίνους ἢ Ἴβηρας ἢ Καρχηδονίους
ἀμύνωνται, ἀλλ' ἵνα . . .[1] καὶ αὐτοὶ προσαπόλων-
5 ται. καὶ τῶν μὲν ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις τετελευτηκότων, εἰ
καὶ τὰ μάλιστα καὶ ἐκείνων ὀδύραιτο ἄν τις, ἀλλ'
ἧττόν γε ἄξιόν ἐστιν ὀλοφύρασθαι· ἔς τε γὰρ τὰς
μάχας ἐθελονταί, εἴγε ἐθελοντὰς τοὺς ἀναγκασ-
θέντας φόβῳ καλεῖν δεῖ, ἦλθον, καὶ θάνατον εἰ
καὶ ἄδικον ἀλλὰ ἀνδρεῖόν γε ὑπέμειναν, ἔν τε
ἀγῶνι ἰσοπαλεῖ καὶ ἐν ἐλπίδι τοῦ κἂν περιγενέσ-
6 θαι καὶ κρατῆσαι ἔπεσον[2] ἀναισθήτως. τοὺς δὲ ἔν
τε ταῖς οἰκίαις καὶ ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς τῇ τε ἀγορᾷ τῷ τε
βουλευτηρίῳ αὐτῷ τῷ τε Καπιτωλίῳ αὐτῷ βιαίως,
οὐχ ὅπως ἄνδρας ἀλλὰ καὶ γυναῖκας, οὐχ ὅπως
ἀκμάζοντας ἀλλὰ καὶ γέροντας καὶ παῖδας, οἰκ-
τρῶς ἐξολωλότας πῶς ἄν τις κατ' ἀξίαν θρηνήσειε;
7 καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι τοιαῦτα καὶ τοσαῦτα[3] οἷα καὶ
ὅσα οὔτ' αὐτοί ποτε πρὸς πάντων ἅμα τῶν πολε-
μίων ἐπάθομεν οὔτε ἐκείνους ἐδράσαμεν, διατιθέν-
τες ἀλλήλους οὐχ ὅσον οὐκ ἀχθόμεθα, οὐδ'[4] ἀπαλ-
λαγῆναί ποτε αὐτῶν ἀνδρικῶς ἐθέλομεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ
χαίρομεν καὶ ἑορτάζομεν καὶ εὐεργέτας τοὺς ποι-

[1] Lacuna recognized by Reim.
[2] ἔπεσον Oddey, ἔπαιον L.
[3] καὶ τοσαῦτα supplied by Bk.
[4] οὐδ' Rk., οὔτ' L.

we did not possess, only to expend it against one another? Or who could number the multitude of men who have been lost, not only of ordinary persons (for that is beyond computation) but of knights and senators, each one of whom was able in foreign wars to preserve the whole city by his life or by his death? How many Curtii, how many Decii, Fabii, Gracchi, Marcelli, and Scipios have been killed? And not, by Jupiter, to repel Samnites or Latins or Spaniards or Carthaginians, but [to kill citizens(?)] and to perish also themselves. As for those who have died under arms, no matter how much we may mourn their loss, yet there is less reason to lament in their case. For they entered their battles as volunteers (if it is proper to call by the name of volunteers men compelled by fear), and they met a death which, even if uncalled for, was at least a brave one; in an equal struggle and in the hope that they might really survive and conquer they fell without suffering. But how can one mourn as they deserve those who have perished miserably in their homes, in the streets, in the Forum, in the very senate-chamber, on the very Capitol, all by violence—not only men, but women, too, not only those in their prime, but also old men and children? And yet, while subjecting one another to so many and so terrible reprisals as all our enemies put together never inflicted upon us nor we upon them, so far from loathing such acts and manfully wishing to have done with them, we even rejoice and hold festivals B.C. 44

8 οὖντας αὐτὰ ὀνομάζομεν· καίτοι ἔγωγε οὐδ' ἀν-
θρώπινόν τινα βίον ἡγοῦμαι τοῦτον ἡμᾶς βεβιωκέ-
ναι, ἀλλά τινων θηρίων, ἃ δι' ἀλλήλων φθείρεται.

31 "Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἤδη συμβεβηκότα τί ἂν ἐπὶ πλέον
ὀδυραίμεθα; οὐ γάρ που καὶ ἀγένητα ἂν[1] αὐτὰ
ποιησαίμεθα· τῶν δὲ δὴ μελλόντων προϊδώμεθα·
2 διὰ γὰρ ταῦτα καὶ ἐκείνων ἐμνημόνευσα, οὐχ ἵνα
τὰς κοινὰς συμφοράς, ἅς γε μηδὲ γενέσθαι ὤφελε,
καταλέξω, ἀλλ' ἵν' ὑμᾶς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀναπείσω τὰ
γοῦν λοιπὰ διασῶσαι· τοῦτο γὰρ ἄν τις[2] μόνον
τῶν κακῶν ἀπόναιτο, τὸ μηδὲν αὖθις ὅμοιόν σφισι
3 παθεῖν φυλάξασθαι. ἔξεστι δὲ τοῦθ' ὑμῖν ἐν τῷ
παρόντι μάλιστα ποιῆσαι, ἕως ἔτι τὸ δεινὸν
ἄρχεται καὶ οὔτε πολλοί πω[3] συνεστήκασιν, οἵ
τε κεκινημένοι οὔτε πεπλεονεκτήκασιν ἀπ' ἀλλή-
λων οὔτ' ἠλάττωνται, ὥστ' ἢ[4] ἐλπίδι τοῦ κρείτ-
τονος ἢ[5] ὀργῇ τοῦ καταδεεστέρου καὶ παρὰ τὸ
συμφέρον σφίσιν ἀπερισκέπτως κινδυνεῦσαι προ-
4 αχθῆναι. καὶ τοῦτο μέντοι τηλικοῦτο ὂν[6] κατ-
ορθώσετε μήτε πόνον τινὰ πονήσαντες μήτε κιν-
δυνεύσαντες, μὴ χρήματα ἀναλώσαντες, μὴ σφαγὰς
ποιήσαντες, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο μόνον ψηφισάμενοι,
32 μὴ μνησικακεῖν ἀλλήλοις. εἰ γάρ τοί τινα καὶ
ἡμάρτηταί τισιν, ἀλλ' οὔτι γε καιρός ἐστιν οὔτε
πολυπραγμονῆσαι αὐτὰ οὔτε ἐξελέγξαι οὔτε
τιμωρήσασθαι. οὐδὲ γὰρ δικάζετέ τισιν ἐν[7] τῷ
παρόντι, ὥστε τὸ[8] πάνυ ἀκριβὲς δίκαιον ζητηθῆναι
δεῖν, ἀλλὰ βουλεύεσθε περὶ τῶν ἐνεστηκότων,

[1] ἂν supplied by St.
[2] ἄν τις supplied by Xyl.
[3] πω Pflugk, που L.
[4] ὥστ' ἢ Rk., ὡς τῆι L.
[5] ἢ supplied by Reim.
[6] ὂν supplied by Pflugk.
[7] ἐν Leuncl., ἂν ἐν L.
[8] ὥστε τὸ Xyl., ὡς τότε L.

and term those who are guilty of them benefactors. B.C. 44
Verily, I do not regard this life that we have been leading as human; it is rather that of wild beasts which are destroyed by one another.

"Yet why should we lament further what is already past? We cannot now prevent its having happened. Let us rather provide for the future. This, indeed, is the reason why I have been recalling former events, not for the purpose of giving a list of our public calamities (would to Heaven they had never occurred!) but that by means of them I might persuade you to save at least what is left. For this is the only benefit one can derive from evils, to guard against having ever again to suffer their like. And this is within your power especially at the present moment, while the danger is just beginning, while not many have yet united, and while those who have been stirred to action have gained no advantage over one another nor suffered any set-back, that they should be led by hope of their superiority or anger at their inferiority to incur danger heedlessly and contrary to their own interests. Great as this task is, however, you will deal with it successfully without incurring any hardship or danger, without spending money or causing bloodshed, but simply by voting this one thing, to bear no malice against one another. Even if mistakes have been made by certain persons, this is no time to enquire minutely into them, to convict, or to punish. For you are not at the present moment sitting in judgment upon any one, that you should need to search out with absolute accuracy what is just, but you are deliberating about the situation that has arisen and

2 ὅπως ὡς ἀσφαλέστατα καταστῇ. τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἂν ὑπάρξειεν ἡμῖν, εἰ μή τι παρίδοιμεν, ὥσπερ που καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν παίδων ποιεῖν εἰώθαμεν. οὔτε γὰρ πάντα ἀκριβῶς ἐπ' αὐτῶν ἐκλογιζόμεθα, καὶ πολλὰ καὶ παρορῶμεν ἀναγκαίως· τῶν γὰρ μετρίων ἁμαρτημάτων ἕνεκα οὐδέν'[1] ἀνηκέστως δεῖ
3 κολάζειν, ἀλλὰ πρᾴως σωφρονίζειν. καὶ νῦν οὖν, ἅτε καὶ κοινοὶ παντὸς τοῦ δήμου πατέρες οὐ μόνον ὀνομαζόμενοι ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀληθῶς ὄντες, μὴ καὶ πάντα ἀκριβολογώμεθα, ἵνα μὴ καὶ πάντες ἀπολώμεθα, ἐπεί τοι πολλὰ μὲν ἄν τις καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ Καίσαρι ἐγκαλέσειεν, ὥστε καὶ δικαίως αὐτὸν
4 πεφονεῦσθαι δόξαι, πολλὰ δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀποκτείναντας αὐτὸν αἰτιάσαιτο, ὥστε καὶ τιμωρίας αὐτοὺς ἀξίους εἶναι νομισθῆναι. ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν ἀνδρῶν ἔργον ἐστὶ στασιάσαι αὖθις ἐπιθυμούντων· δεῖ δὲ τοὺς ὀρθῶς βουλευομένους μὴ τὸ πάντῃ δίκαιον ἐξακριβοῦντας βλάπτεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ
5 ἐπιεικεῖ προσχρωμένους σώζεσθαι. ὥστε τὰ μὲν γεγενημένα ταῦτα χαλάζης τέ τινος καὶ κατακλυσμοῦ τρόπον συμβεβηκέναι νομίσαντες λήθῃ παράδοτε· γνωρίσαντες δὲ νῦν γε ἀλλήλους, ἅτε καὶ ὁμόφυλοι καὶ πολῖται συγγενεῖς τε ὄντες, ὁμονοήσατε.

33 "Καὶ ὅπως γε μηδεὶς ὑμῶν ὑποπτεύσῃ με χαρίσασθαί τι τοῖς τὸν Καίσαρα ἀποκτείνασιν, ἵνα μὴ δίκην δῶσιν, ὅτι ποτὲ ἐν τῇ τοῦ Πομπηίου μερίδι
2 ἐγενόμην, βούλεσθαι,[2] ἕν τι ὑμῖν ἐρῶ. καὶ γάρ τοι καὶ νομίζω πάντας ὑμᾶς πεπεῖσθαι σαφῶς ὅτι οὔτε φιλίαν οὔτε ἔχθραν πρὸς οὐδένα πώποτε δι' ἐμαυτὸν ἀνειλόμην, ἀλλ' ἀεὶ πάντας ὑμῶν ἕνεκα

[1] οὐδέν' Reim., οὐδὲν L. [2] βούλεσθαι Leuncl., βούλεσθε L.

as to how it may in the safest way be righted. B.C. 44 But this is something we cannot accomplish unless we overlook some things, as we are wont to do in the case of children. When dealing with them, now, we do not take careful account of everything, but of necessity overlook many things, since for moderate errors it is not right to punish one of them remorselessly, but rather to admonish him gently. And now, since we are in common the fathers of all the people, not in name only, but in reality, let us not enter into a discussion of all the fine points, lest we all perish. For that matter anybody could find much to blame in Caesar himself, so that he would seem to have been justly slain, or again might bring numerous charges against those who killed him, so that they would be thought to deserve punishment. But such a course is for men who are eager to stir up strife again, whereas it is necessary for those who deliberate wisely not to cause their own hurt by meting out strict justice, but to secure their own safety by employing clemency with justice. Regard this, then, that has happened as if it were some hail-storm or deluge that had taken place, and consign it to oblivion. And learn at last to know one another, since you are countrymen and fellow-citizens and relatives, and so live in harmony.

"In order, now, that none of you may suspect me of wishing to grant any indulgence to Caesar's slayers to prevent their paying the penalty, in view of the fact that I was once a member of Pompey's party, I will make one statement to you. For I think that all of you are firmly convinced that I have never adopted an attitude of friendship or hostility toward any one for purely personal

καὶ τῆς κοινῆς καὶ ἐλευθερίας καὶ ὁμονοίας τοὺς μὲν ἐμίσησα τοὺς δὲ ἠγάπησα. δι' οὖν τοῦτο[1] τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἐάσω, βραχὺ δέ τι ὑμῖν μόνον φράσω.
3 τοσούτου γὰρ δέω τοῦτο ποιεῖν καὶ μὴ τῆς κοινῆς σωτηρίας προσκοπεῖν, ὥστε καὶ τοῖς ἑτέροις οὐχ ὅτι τὴν ἄδειαν ἁπάντων ὧν ἐπιπολάσαντες ἐπὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἔξω τοῦ καθεστηκότος ἐποίησαν δοθῆναί φημι χρῆναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς τιμὰς καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς δωρεάς, ὅσας ἔλαβον παρ' αὐτοῦ, καίπερ οὐκ ἀρεσκόμενός τισιν αὐτῶν, φυλαχθῆναι.
4 πρᾶξαι μὲν γὰρ ἔτι[2] καὶ προχειρίσασθαί τι τοιοῦτον οὐκ ἂν ὑμῖν συμβουλεύσαιμι· ἐπειδὴ δὲ γέγονεν, οὐδὲν οὐδὲ ἐκείνων οἶμαι δεῖν ὑμᾶς πολυπραγμονῆσαι. τί γὰρ ἂν καὶ ζημιωθείητε τοσοῦτον, ἄν τι[3] ὁ δεῖνα ἢ ὁ δεῖνα ἔξω τοῦ δικαίου καὶ παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν λαβὼν ἔχῃ, ὅσον ὠφεληθείητε μήτε φόβον μήτε ταραχὴν τοῖς γε δυνηθεῖσι τότε παρασχόντες;

5 "Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῷ παρόντι πρὸς τὸ κατεπεῖγον ἤδη λέγω· ἐπειδὰν δὲ καταστῇ τὰ πράγματα, τότε καὶ περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν σκεψώμεθα."

34 Κικέρων μὲν τοιαῦτα εἰπὼν ἔπεισε τὴν γερουσίαν μηδένα μηδενὶ μνησικακῆσαι ψηφίσασθαι· ἐν ᾧ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐγίγνετο, καὶ οἱ σφαγεῖς ὑπέσχοντο τοῖς στρατιώταις μηδὲν τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος
2 πραχθέντων καταλύσειν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ δεινῶς αὐτοὺς ἀγανακτοῦντας ᾔσθοντο μὴ καὶ τῶν δοθέντων σφίσιν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ στερηθῶσιν, ἔσπευσαν, πρὶν καὶ ὁτιοῦν τὴν βουλὴν διαγνῶναι, προκατα-

[1] τοῦτο Bk., ταῦτα L.
[2] ἔτι Bk., τι L.
[3] τι supplied by Bk.

reasons, but that it was always for your sake and for the public freedom and harmony that I hated the one side and loved the other; for this reason I will pass over everything else and make merely one brief statement to you. So far, indeed, am I from acting in the way I have mentioned, instead of looking out for the public safety, that I affirm that the others, too, should not only be granted immunity for their high-handed acts, contrary to established law, in Caesar's lifetime, but that they also should keep the honours, offices and gifts which they received from him, though I am not pleased with some of these. I should not, indeed, advise you to do or to grant anything further of the kind; but since it has been done, I think you ought not to be troubled overmuch about any of these matters, either. For what loss could you sustain, even if this man or that does hold something that he has obtained apart from justice and contrary to his deserts, so far-reaching as the benefits you would obtain by not causing fear or disturbance to the men who were formerly powerful. B.C. 44

"This is what I have to say for the present, in face of the pressing need. But when matters have become settled, let us then consider the questions that remain."

Cicero by the foregoing speech persuaded the senate to vote that no one should bear malice against any one else. While this was being done, the assassins also promised the soldiers that they would not undo any of Caesar's acts. For as soon as they perceived that the troops were very ill at ease for fear that they would be deprived of what he had given them, they made haste, before the senate reached any decision whatever, to get them on their

λαβεῖν αὐτούς, κἀκ τούτου τούς τε παρόντας αὐτοῦ κάτω προκαλοῦντες ἐς ἐπήκοον διελέγοντό
3 σφισι τὰ προσήκοντα, καὶ ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν γράμματα καταπέμποντες ἐπηγγέλλοντο μήτ'[1] ἀφαιρήσεσθαι[2] μηδένα μηδὲν μήτ' ἄλλως λυπήσειν, τό τε κῦρος σύμπασι[3] τοῖς πραχθεῖσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐκβεβαιοῦν· καὶ ἐς τὴν ὁμόνοιαν αὐτοὺς προετρέποντο,[4] ὅρκοις τοῖς μεγίστοις ἦ μὴν ἀψευ-
4 δήσειν πάντα πιστούμενοι. ὡς οὖν καὶ τὰ τῇ βουλῇ δόξαντα διηγγέλθη, οὔτε οἱ στρατιῶται τῷ Λεπίδῳ ἔτι προσεῖχον οὔτε ἐκεῖνοι δέος τι αὐτοῦ ἔσχον, ἀλλ' ἐς τὰς καταλλαγάς, τοῦ Ἀντωνίου τὰ μάλιστα ἐνάγοντός σφας, καὶ παρὰ τὴν γνώμην
5 αὐτοῦ ὥρμησαν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Λέπιδος πρόσχημα τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος τιμωρίαν ποιούμενος νεωτέρων πραγμάτων ἐπεθύμει, καὶ ἅτε καὶ στρατεύματα ἔχων τήν τε δυναστείαν αὐτοῦ διαδέξεσθαι[5] καὶ ἐν κράτει γενήσεσθαι προσεδόκα, καὶ διὰ ταῦτ'
6 ἐπολεμοποίει· ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος τά τε ἐκείνου τοιαῦθ' ὁρῶν ὄντα, καὶ αὐτὸς μηδεμίαν ἰσχὺν περιβεβλημένος, οὔτε τι ἐτόλμησε τότε γε νεοχμῶσαι, καὶ τὸν Λέπιδον ἡττηθῆναι τοῦ πλείονος, ἵνα μὴ μείζων γένηται, προσανέπεισεν. συνέβησαν μὲν οὖν ἐφ' οἷσπερ ἐψήφιστο, οὐ μέντοι καὶ πρότερον οἱ ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ ὄντες κατέβησαν πρὶν τόν τε τοῦ Λεπίδου καὶ τὸν τοῦ Ἀντωνίου παῖδα ἐν ὁμήρων λόγῳ λαβεῖν. καὶ Βροῦτος μὲν πρὸς τὸν
7 Λέπιδον (καὶ γὰρ ἐν γένει αὐτῷ ἦν), Κάσσιος δὲ

[1] μήτ' Pflugk, μηδ' L.
[2] ἀφαιρήσεσθαι Pflugk, ἀφαιρεθήσεσθαι L.
[3] σύμπασι Xyl., σὺν πᾶσι L.
[4] προετρέποντο H. Steph., προετράποντο L.
[5] διαδέξεσθαι R. Steph., διαδέξασθαι L.

side. Next they invited those who were present at the foot of the Capitol to come within hearing distance and addressed suitable words to them; and they also sent down a letter to the Forum announcing that they would not confiscate anybody's goods or cause injury in other ways, and that they confirmed the validity of all the acts of Caesar. They also urged them to harmony, binding themselves by the strongest oaths that they would faithfully carry out these promises. When, therefore, the action of the senate also was made known, the soldiers no longer paid heed to Lepidus nor did the conspirators have any fear of him, but all hastened to become reconciled, chiefly at the instance of Antony, and quite contrary to Lepidus' purpose. For Lepidus, while making a pretence of avenging Caesar, was really eager for a revolution, and inasmuch as he had legions also at his command, he expected to succeed to Caesar's position as ruler and to come to power; with these motives he was disposed to begin war. Antony, perceiving his rival's favourable situation and having himself no force at his back, did not dare to begin any revolutionary movement for the time being, and in order to prevent the other from becoming stronger, he furthermore persuaded him to bow to the will of the majority. So they came to an agreement on the terms that had been voted, but those on the Capitol would not come down till they had secured the son of Lepidus and the son of Antony as hostages; then Brutus [descended] to Lepidus, to whom he was related, and Cassius to B.C. 44

πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐπ' ἀσφαλείᾳ . . . . . .[1] συνδειπνούντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἄλλα τε, ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ, πολλὰ ἐλέγετο, καὶ ἐπήρετο τὸν Κάσσιον ὁ Ἀντώνιος "ἆρά γε καὶ νῦν ξιφίδιόν τι ὑπὸ μάλης[2] ἔχεις;" καὶ ὃς "μάλα" ἔφη "μέγα, ἄν γε καὶ σὺ τυραννῆσαι ἐπιθυμήσῃς."

35 Τότε μὲν δὴ ταῦθ' οὕτως ἐπράχθη, καὶ δεινὸν οὐδὲν οὔτε ἐγίγνετο οὔτε ἠλπίζετο, ἀλλ' οἵ τε πολλοὶ ἔχαιρον τῆς[3] δυναστείας τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀπηλλαγμένοι (καί τινες καὶ ἄταφον τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ ῥῖψαι ἐνενόουν), καὶ ἐκεῖνοι εὐθυμοῦντο μήτε προσπεριεργαζόμενοί τι καὶ ἐλευθερωταὶ
2 τυραννοφόνοι τε ὀνομαζόμενοι. τῆς δὲ διαθήκης αὐτοῦ μετὰ ταῦτα ἀναγνωσθείσης, μαθὼν ὁ δῆμος ὅτι τόν τε Ὀκτάουιον υἱὸν πεποίηται, καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον τόν τε Δέκιμον καί τινας ἄλλους τῶν σφαγέων ἐπιτρόπους τε αὐτοῦ καὶ κληρονόμους τῆς οὐσίας, ἄν γε μὴ ἐς ἐκεῖνον ἔλθῃ,[4] καταλέλοιπε,
3 καὶ προσέτι καὶ δωρεὰς ἄλλοις τέ τινας καὶ τῇ πόλει τούς τε κήπους τοὺς παρὰ τὸν Τίβεριν καὶ δραχμάς, ὡς μὲν αὐτὸς ὁ Ὀκτάουιος γράφει, τριάκοντα, ὡς δὲ ἕτεροι, πέντε καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα ἑκάστῳ σφῶν δοθῆναι κεκέλευκεν, ἐταράχθησαν.
4 καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐπιπαρώξυνε, τόν τε νεκρὸν ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἀνοητότατα[5] κομίσας, καὶ προθέμενος ᾑματωμένον τε, ὥσπερ εἶχε, καὶ τραύματα ἐκφαίνοντα, καί τινα καὶ λόγον ἐπ' αὐτῷ, ἄλλως μὲν[6] περικαλλῆ καὶ λαμπρόν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ

[1] Lacuna recognized by Bs.
[2] μάλης Xiph., μασχάλης L.
[3] τῆς Bk., τῆς τε L.
[4] ἔλθῃ Dind., ἔλθοι L.
[5] Here begins Codex Marcianus 395 (M).
[6] μὲν Pflugk, τε LM.

Antony, under promise of safety. And while they were dining together they naturally, at such a juncture, discussed a variety of topics and Antony asked Cassius: "Have you perchance a dagger under your arm even now?" To which he answered: "Yes, and a big one, if you too should desire to make yourself tyrant." B.C. 44

This was the way things went at that time. No injury was inflicted or expected, but instead the majority were glad to be rid of Caesar's rule, some of them even conceiving the idea of casting his body out unburied, and the conspirators, well pleased at being called liberators and tyrannicides, did not busy themselves with any further undertaking. But later, when Caesar's will was read and the people learned that he had adopted Octavius as his son and had left Antony along with Decimus and some of the other assassins to be the young man's guardians and heirs to the property in case it should not come to him, and, furthermore, that he not only had made various bequests to individuals but had also given his gardens along the Tiber to the city and one hundred and twenty sesterces, according to the record of Octavius himself, or three hundred, according to some others, to each of the citizens,—at this the people became excited. And Antony aroused them still more by bringing the body most inconsiderately into the Forum, exposing it all covered with blood as it was and with gaping wounds, and then delivering over it a speech, which was very

συμφέροντα τοῖς τότε παροῦσιν, εἰπών. ἔλεξε
γάρ τοιάδε·
36 "Εἰ μὲν οὗτος ἰδιωτεύων ἐτεθνήκει κἀγὼ ἐν
ἰδιωτείᾳ ὢν ἐτύγχανον, οὔτ' ἂν πολλῶν, ὦ
Κυιρῖται, λόγων ἐδεήθην, οὔτ' ἂν πᾶσι τοῖς ὑπ'
αὐτοῦ πεπραγμένοις ἐπεξῆλθον, ἀλλ' ὀλίγα ἂν
περί τε τοῦ γένους καὶ περὶ τῆς παιδείας τῶν τε
τρόπων αὐτοῦ εἰπών, καί πῃ καὶ τῶν ἐς τὸ κοινὸν
αὐτῷ πεπολιτευμένων μνησθείς, ἠρκέσθην, ἵνα μὴ
καὶ δι' ὄχλου τοῖς οὐδέν οἱ προσήκουσι γένωμαι.
2 ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὗτός τε τὴν μεγίστην ἐν ὑμῖν
ἡγεμονίαν ἔχων ἀπόλωλε καὶ ἐγὼ τὴν δευτέραν
ἄρχω λαβών, τόν τε λόγον ἀνάγκη μοι διπλοῦν,
τὸν μὲν ὡς κληρονόμῳ γεγραμμένῳ τὸν δὲ ὡς
ἄρχοντι, ποιήσασθαι, καὶ μηδ' ὁτιοῦν τῶν
λεχθῆναι ὀφειλόντων παραλιπεῖν, ἀλλ' ἅπερ
ἂν ὁ σύμπας δῆμος ἀπὸ μιᾶς γλώσσης, εἴγε μίαν
3 φωνὴν ἠδυνήθη λαβεῖν, ὕμνησεν, εἰπεῖν. εὖ μὲν
γὰρ οἶδα τοῦθ', ὅτι χαλεπόν ἐστι τῆς διανοίας
ὑμῶν τυχεῖν. ἄλλως τε γὰρ οὐ ῥᾴδιον τῶν
τηλικούτων ἐφικέσθαι· τίς γὰρ ἂν λόγος ἔργοις
μεγάλοις ἐξισωθείη; καὶ ὑμεῖς τὰ βουλήματα
ἄπληστα ἐξ ὧν σύνιστε ἔχοντες οὐκ εὐχερεῖς
4 αὐτῶν κριταὶ γενήσεσθε. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐν ἀγνῶσί
τισιν οἱ λόγοι ἐγίγνοντο, ῥᾷστον ἂν ἦν αὐτοὺς τῷ
γε[1] μεγέθει τῶν ἔργων ἐκπλήξαντα πεῖσαι· νῦν
δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ συνήθους ἔλαττον ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ[2] πᾶν
τὸ λεχθησόμενον τοῦ πεπραγμένου νομισθῆναι.
5 οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀλλότριοι, κἂν ἀπιστήσωσιν αὐτοῖς
διὰ φθόνον, ἀλλ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γε ἐκείνου πᾶν τὸ

[1] γε Rk., τε LM.
[2] ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ R. Steph., ἀναγκασθῇ LM.

ornate and brilliant, to be sure, but out of place on that occasion. He spoke somewhat as follows: B.C. 44

"If this man had died as a private citizen, Quirites, and I had happened to be in private life, I should not have required many words nor have rehearsed all his achievements, but after making a few remarks about his family, his education, and his character, and perhaps mentioning his services to the state, I should have been satisfied, desiring only not to become wearisome to those who were unrelated to him. But since this man when he perished held the highest position among you and I have received and hold the second, it is requisite that I should deliver a two-fold address, one as the man set down as his heir and the other in my capacity as magistrate, and I must not omit anything that ought to be spoken, but must mention the things which the whole people would have celebrated with one tongue if they could speak with one voice. Now I am well aware that it is difficult successfully to utter your thoughts; for it is no easy task in any case to measure up to so great a theme—indeed, what speech could equal the greatness of his deeds?—and you, whose wishes are not easily satisfied because you know the facts as well as I, will prove no lenient judges of my efforts. To be sure, if my words were being addressed to men ignorant of the subject, it would be very easy to win their approval by astounding them by the very magnitude of his achievements; but as the matter stands, because of your familiarity with them it is inevitable that everything that shall be said will be thought less than the reality. Strangers, even if through jealousy they doubt the deeds, yet for that very reason deem each

ἀκουσθὲν αὔταρκες ἡγοῦνται· τὸ δὲ ὑμέτερον ἀκόρεστον ὑπὸ τῆς εὐνοίας ἐξ ἀνάγκης γίγνεται. τῶν γὰρ ἀρετῶν τῶν τοῦ Καίσαρος αὐτοὶ πλεῖστον ἀπολελαυκότες καὶ τὸν ἔπαινον αὐτῶν οὐ φθονερῶς, ὡς οὐδὲν προσήκοντα, ἀλλ' εὐμενῶς,
6 ὡς οἰκεῖον, ἀπαιτεῖτε. σπουδάσω δ' οὖν ἐπὶ μακρότατον τὰς βουλήσεις ὑμῶν ἀποπληρῶσαι, εὖ εἰδὼς ὅτι οὐ πρὸς τὴν δύναμίν μου τῶν λόγων καὶ τὴν προαίρεσιν ἐξετάσετε, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς προθυμίας καὶ τὸ κατ' ἐκείνην ἐνδεὲς ἀνισώσετε.[1]

37 "Λέξω δὲ περὶ τοῦ γένους αὐτοῦ πρῶτον, οὐχ ὅτι λαμπρότατόν ἐστι· καίτοι καὶ τοῦτο οὐ σμικρὸν ἐς ἀρετῆς φύσιν φέρει, τὸ μήτε ἀπὸ ταὐτομάτου τινὰ ἀλλ' ἐκ παρασκευῆς συγγενοῦς
2 ἀγαθὸν γενέσθαι. οἱ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ ἐξ εὐγενῶν φύντες δύναιντο μὲν ἂν καὶ προσποιητῶς ἀνδραγαθίζεσθαι, δύναιντο δ' ἂν καὶ ἐλεγχθῆναί ποτε ἐς τὸ κακογενὲς ὑπὸ τοῦ συμφύτου· ὅσοις δὲ ἄνωθεν ἐκ πολλοῦ σπέρμα ἀνδραγαθίας ὑπάρχει, πᾶσα αὐτοὺς ἀνάγκη καὶ αὐτόφυτον καὶ
3 διαρκῆ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἔχειν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλ' ἔγωγε οὐ τοῦτο μάλιστα νῦν ἐπαινῶ τοῦ Καίσαρος, ὅτι τὰ μὲν νεώτατα ἐκ πολλῶν καὶ γενναίων ἀνδρῶν ἔφυ, τὰ δὲ ἀρχαιότατα ἐκ βασιλέων καὶ θεῶν ἐγίγνετο, ἀλλ' ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν ὅλης συγγενής ἐστιν (ἐκ γὰρ ὧν οὗτος ἐγεννήθη, πρὸς
4 τούτων ἡμεῖς ᾠκίσθημεν), ἔπειθ' ὅτι τῶν προπατόρων αὐτοῦ ἐς τὸ θεῖον δι' ἀρετὴν ἀνήκειν νομισθέντων οὐχ ὅπως ἐπηλήθευσε τὴν

[1] ἀνισώσετε Dind., ἀνασώσετε LM.

statement they hear strong enough; but your minds, B.C. 44 because of your good-will, must inevitably prove impossible to satisfy. For you yourselves have profited most by Caesar's virtues, and you demand their praises, not half-heartedly, as if he were unrelated to you, but with deep affection as for your own kinsman. I shall strive, therefore, to meet your wishes to the fullest extent, and I feel sure that you will not judge my good-will by the feebleness of my words, but will supply from my zeal whatever is lacking in that respect.

"I shall speak first about his lineage, though not because it is the most brilliant. Yet this, too, has considerable bearing on the nature of virtue, that a man should become good, not through force of circumstances, but by inherited power. Those, to be sure, who are not born of noble parents may disguise themselves as noble men, but may also some day be convicted of their base origin by their inborn character; those, however, who possess the seed of a noble nature, handed down through a long line of ancestors, cannot possibly help possessing a virtue both spontaneous and enduring. Still, I am praising Caesar now, not so much because his recent lineage is through many noble men, his ancient origin from kings and gods, but because, in the first place, he is a kinsman of our whole city,—for those who founded his line also founded our city,—and, secondly, because he not only confirmed the renown of his forefathers who were believed to have attained divinity through their virtue, but

φήμην, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπηύξησεν, ὥστ' εἰ καί τις
ἠμφεσβήτει[1] πρότερον μήποτ' ἂν ἐκ τῆς Ἀφροδί-
της τὸν Αἰνείαν γενέσθαι, νῦν δὴ πιστευσάτω.
5 θεοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἤδη τινὲς οὐκ ἄξιοι παῖδες
ἐπεφημίσθησαν· τούτου δὲ οὐδ' ἂν εἷς ἀπαξ-
ιώσειεν θεοὺς τοὺς προγόνους γεγονέναι.
ἐβασίλευσε μὲν γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Αἰνείας καὶ τῶν
ἐγγόνων αὐτοῦ τινες· τοσούτῳ δὲ οὗτος ἀμείνων
ἐκείνων ἐγένετο ὅσῳ οἱ μὲν Λαουινίου[2] καὶ
6 Ἄλβης ἐμονάρχησαν, οὗτος δὲ τῆς Ῥώμης οὐκ
ἠθέλησε βασιλεῦσαι, καὶ οἱ μὲν τὴν κρηπῖδα τῆς
πόλεως ἡμῶν προκατεβάλοντο, οὗτος δὲ ἐς
τοσοῦτον αὐτὴν ἐπῆρεν ὥστε τά τε ἄλλα καὶ
ἀποικίας μείζους ὧν ἐκεῖνοι πόλεων ἐβασίλευσαν
καταστήσασθαι.
38 "Τὰ μὲν οὖν τοῦ γένους οὕτως αὐτῷ ἔχει· ὅτι δὲ
δὴ τήν τε τροφὴν καὶ τὴν παιδείαν ἀκόλουθον τῷ
τῆς εὐγενείας ὄγκῳ ἔλαβε, πῶς ἄν τις μᾶλλον
κατανοήσειεν ἢ οἷς τὰ ἔργα πίστιν ἀναγκαίαν
2 αὐτῷ παρέχεται; ᾧ γὰρ τό τε σῶμα διαρκέστατον
καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ πολυαρκεστάτη πρὸς πάνθ' ὁμοίως
καὶ τὰ εἰρηναῖα καὶ τὰ πολέμια διαφανῶς[3]
ὑπῆρξε, πῶς οὐκ ἀνάγκη τοῦτον καὶ τεθράφθαι[4]
ἄριστα; καίτοι χαλεπὸν μὲν περικαλλέστατόν
τινα ἀνδρῶν ὄντα καρτερικώτατον γενέσθαι,
3 χαλεπὸν δὲ ἰσχυριζόμενόν τινα[5] τῷ σώματι
φρονιμώτατον ἐκβῆναι, παγχάλεπον δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν
καὶ ἐν τοῖς λόγοις καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις διαπρέψαι.
οὗτός γε[6] μήν — λέγω δὲ ἐν εἰδόσιν, ὥστε μήτε

[1] ἠμφεσβήτει Bs., ἠμφισβήτει LM.
[2] Λαουινίου Bk., λαβινίου LM. [3] διαφανῶς Reim., διαφανὲς LM.
[4] τεθράφθαι St., τετράφθαι LM.
[5] τινα Rk., τι LM. [6] γε R. Steph., τε LM.

actually enhanced it; so that if anyone was inclined B.C. 44 formerly to argue that Aeneas could never have been born of Venus, let him now believe it. For, although in times past some unworthy sons have been imputed to the gods, yet no one could deem this man unworthy to have had gods for his ancestors. Indeed, Aeneas himself ruled as king and so did some of his descendants; but this man proved himself so much superior to them that, whereas they were monarchs of Lavinium and Alba, he refused to become king of Rome; and whereas they laid the foundation of our city, he raised it to such a height that he even established colonies greater than the cities over which they ruled.

"So much, then, for his family. That he also received a nurture and a training corresponding to the dignity of his noble birth how could one better realize than by the cogent proof his deeds afford? For is it not inevitable that a man who possessed to a conspicuous degree a body that was altogether adequate and a spirit that was more than adequate for all contingencies alike of peace and of war, must have been reared in the best possible way? And yet it is difficult for any man of surpassing beauty to show the greatest endurance, and difficult for one who is powerful in body to attain to the greatest wisdom, but it is particularly difficult for one and the same man to shine both in words and in deeds. Yet this man—I speak among those who know the

τι ἀρχὴν ψεύσασθαι, καὶ γὰρ ἂν αὐτόφωρος ἁλισκοίμην, μήτε ἐπὶ τὸ μεῖζον ὀγκῶσαι, καὶ γὰρ ἂν[1] ἐς τοὐναντίον οὗ βούλομαι[2] καθισταίμην.
4 αὐτός τε γὰρ ἀλαζονεύεσθαι δικαιότατα, ἄν γέ τι τοιοῦτο[3] ποιήσω, ὑποπτευθήσομαι, καὶ τὴν τούτου ἀρετὴν ἐλάσσω τῆς ὑπαρχούσης αὐτῷ παρ' ὑμῖν δόξης φαίνεσθαι ποιεῖν νομισθήσομαι. πᾶς γὰρ λόγος ἐν τῷ τοιῷδε λεγόμενος, κἂν τὸ βραχύτατον ψεύδους[4] προσλάβῃ, οὐχ ὅσον οὐκ ἔπαινον αὐτῷ φέρει, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔλεγχον αὐτοῦ
5 ἔχει· τὸ γὰρ συνειδὸς τῶν ἀκροωμένων, οὐχ ὁμολογοῦν τῷ πεπλασμένῳ, πρός τε τὴν ἀλήθειαν φέρεται, καὶ τάχα ἀρκεσθὲν αὐτῇ μανθάνει τε ἅμα ὁποῖόν τινα ἐχρῆν εἶναι, καὶ παραβάλλον ἑκάτερα καταφωρᾷ τὸ λεῖπον. ἀληθεύων οὖν λέγω τοῦθ', ὅτι ὁ Καῖσαρ οὗτος τό τε σῶμα ἅμα ἱκανώτατος
6 καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν εὐκολώτατος ἐγένετο. τῇ τε γὰρ τῆς φύσεως ἰσχύι θαυμαστῇ ἐκέχρητο, καὶ παιδείᾳ παντοδαπῇ ἀκριβῶς ἤσκητο, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἀπεικότως καὶ γνῶναι πᾶν τὸ δέον ὀξύτατα καὶ ἑρμηνεῦσαι πιθανώτατα διαθέσθαι τε καὶ διοικῆσαι φρονιμώτατα ἀεὶ ἠδυνήθη, καὶ οὔτε τις αὐτὸν καιροῦ ῥοπὴ αἰφνιδίως οἱ προσπεσοῦσα προκατέλαβεν, οὔτ' ἀπόρρητος μέλλησις χρονί-
7 σασα διέλαθε.[5] πάντα γὰρ ἀεὶ πρὶν ἐπαρτηθῆναι[6] καὶ προδιεγίγνωσκε, καὶ πρὸς πάντα τὰ συμβῆναί τινι[7] δυνάμενα προπαρεσκεύαστο· τό

[1] ἂν supplied by Pflugk.
[2] βούλομαι V, βουλεύομαι LM.
[3] τοιοῦτο R. Steph., τοῦτο LM.
[4] τὸ βραχύτατον ψεύδους Bk., τὸ βραχὺ τὸ ψεῦδος LM.
[5] διέλαθε Rk., διελάθετο LM cod. Peir.
[6] ἐπαρτηθῆναι Rk., ἀπαρτηθῆναι L.
[7] τινι L (and M by cor.), τι cod. Peir. (and M originally).

facts, so that I shall not falsify in the least degree, since I should be caught in the very act, nor heap up exaggerated praises, since then I should accomplish the opposite of what I wish. For if I do anything of that sort, I shall be suspected with full justice of boasting, and it will be thought that I am making his virtue appear less than the belief in it which is already in your own minds. In fact, every utterance delivered under such conditions, in case it contains even the smallest amount of falsehood, not only bestows no praise upon its subject but actually involves censure of him; for the knowledge of the hearers, not agreeing with the fictitious report, takes refuge in the truth, where it quickly finds satisfaction, and not only learns what kind of man he ought to have been, but also, by comparing the two, detects what he lacked. Stating only the truth, therefore, I affirm that this Caesar was at the same time most capable in body and most versatile in spirit. For he enjoyed a wonderful natural force and had been carefully trained by the most liberal education, which always enabled him, not unnaturally, to comprehend everything that was needful with the greatest keenness, to interpret the need most convincingly, and then to arrange and handle the matter most prudently. No critical turn in a situation came upon him so suddenly as to catch him off his guard, nor did a secret menace, no matter how long the postponement, escape his notice. For he decided always with regard to every crisis before it was at hand, and was prepared beforehand for every contingency that could happen to one. He B.C. 44

τε κρυπτόμενον ἰσχυρῶς ἀνευρεῖν καὶ τὸ φαινόμενον πιθανῶς ψευδαγνοεῖν, τό τε λανθάνον[1] εἰδέναι προσποιήσασθαι καὶ τὸ γιγνωσκό-
8 μενον ἀποκρύψασθαι, τούς τε καιροὺς σφισιν ἐφαρμόσαι καὶ τοὺς λογισμοὺς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀποδοῦναι, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐπιτελέσαι καὶ ἐπεξελθεῖν πάνθ' ὡς ἕκαστα καλῶς ἠπίστατο.
39 τεκμήριον δέ, τά τε ἴδια εὐοικότατός τε ἅμα καὶ εὐδαπανώτατος ἐγένετο, ἀκριβὴς μὲν ὢν ἐς τὸ τὰ ὑπάρχοντα διαρκῶς φυλάξαι, δαψιλὴς δὲ ἐς τὸ τὰ προσήκοντα ἀφειδῶς ἀναλῶσαι, καὶ τοὺς συγγενεῖς πάντας πλὴν τῶν ἀνοσιωτάτων
2 ἰσχυρῶς ἠγάπησεν· οὔτε γὰρ δυστυχήσαντά τινα αὐτῶν ὑπερεῖδεν οὔτε εὐτυχήσαντί τινι ἐφθόνησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτοις τὰ προϋπάρχοντα συνεπηύξησε καὶ ἐκείνοις τὰ ἐλλείποντα ἀνεπλήρωσε, τοῖς μὲν χρήματα τοῖς δὲ χωρία τοῖς δὲ ἀρχὰς
3 τοῖς δὲ ἱερωσύνας δούς. καὶ μέντοι καὶ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους τούς τε ἄλλους τοὺς προσομιλοῦντάς οἱ θαυμαστῶς προσεφέρετο· οὔτε γὰρ ὑπερεφρόνει τινὰ αὐτῶν οὔθ' ὕβριζεν, ἀλλ' εὐπροσήγορος πᾶσιν ὁμοίως ὢν τούς τε ὑπουργοῦντάς τι πολλαπλασίως ἠμείβετο καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς εὐεργεσίαις ἀνηρτᾶτο, καὶ οὔτε λαμπρυνόμενόν τινα ἐβάσκηνέ ποτε οὔτ' αὐξανόμενον ἐταπεί-
4 νωσεν, ἀλλ' ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς διὰ πάντων σφῶν καὶ μεγαλυνόμενος καὶ ἰσχὺν καὶ κόσμον προσκτώμενος, ἔχαιρε πλείστους ἑαυτῷ παρισουμένους. τοιοῦτος μέντοι περὶ τοὺς φίλους καὶ περὶ τοὺς γνωρίμους ὢν οὐδ' ἐς τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὠμὸς οὐδ'

[1] λανθάνον Leuncl., λανθάνειν LM cod. Peir.

understood well how to discern shrewdly what was concealed, to dissimulate plausibly what was evident, to pretend to know what was hidden, to conceal what he knew, to adapt occasions to one another and to draw the proper inferences from them, and furthermore to accomplish and carry out in detail every enterprise. A proof of this is that in his private affairs he showed himself an excellent manager and very liberal at the same time, being careful to keep enough of what he had inherited, yet lavish in spending with an unsparing hand what he had acquired, and for all his relatives, except the most impious, he possessed a strong affection. For he did not neglect any of them in misfortune, nor did he envy those in good fortune, but he helped these to increase the property they already had, and made up to the others what they lacked, giving some of them money, some lands, some offices, and some priesthoods. Again, his conduct toward his friends and other associates was remarkable. He never scorned or insulted any of them, but while courteous to all alike, he rewarded many times over those who assisted him in any project and won the devotion of the rest by benefits, never disparaging any one of brilliant position, nor humiliating any one who was bettering himself, but, just as if he himself were being exalted through all of them and were acquiring strength and honour, he took delight in seeing great numbers become equal to himself. And yet, while he behaved thus toward his friends and acquaintances, he did not show himself cruel or B.C. 44

5 ἀπαραίτητος ἐγένετο, ἀλλὰ πολλοὺς μὲν καὶ τῶν ἰδίᾳ τι προσκρουσάντων οἱ ἀθῴους ἀφῆκε, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ τῶν προσπολεμησάντων ἀπέλυσε, καί τισιν αὐτῶν καὶ τιμὰς καὶ ἀρχὰς ἔδωκεν. οὕτω που πᾶς πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἐπεφύκει, καὶ κακίαν οὐ μόνον αὐτὸς οὐκ εἶχεν ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐν ἄλλῳ τινὶ ἐνεῖναι ἐπίστευεν.

40 "Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐς τούτους τοὺς λόγους ἀφικόμην,[1] ἄρξομαι περὶ τῶν κοινῶν αὐτοῦ πολιτευμάτων λέγειν. καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὲν ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ ἐβεβιώκει, τάχ' ἂν ἀνέλεγκτον[2] τὴν ἀρετὴν ἔσχεν· νῦν δὲ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον αὐξηθείς, καὶ μέγιστος οὐχ ὅτι τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἀνθρώπων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων τῶν τι δυνηθέντων γενόμενος, ἐκπρεπέστερον
2 αὐτὴν ἐπεδείξατο.[3] ἐκείνους μὲν γὰρ σχεδόν τι πάντας αὕτη ἡ ἐξουσία διήλεγξε, τοῦτον δὲ ἐπὶ μᾶλλον ἐξέφηνε. τῷ γὰρ μεγέθει τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀντιπάλους πράξεις λαβὼν ἰσοστάσιος αὐταῖς ηὑρέθη, καὶ μόνος ἀνθρώπων τηλικαύτην αὑτῷ τύχην ἐξ ἀνδραγαθίας κτησάμενος οὔτε διέβαλεν
3 αὐτὴν οὔθ' ὕβρισεν. ὅσα μὲν οὖν ἄλλως στρατευόμενος ἐλαμπρύνετο, ἢ ὅσα ἐν ταῖς ἐγκυκλίοις λειτουργίαις ἐμεγαλοφρονήσατο, παραλείψω, καίπερ τοσαῦτα ὄντα ὥστ' ἄλλῳ τινὶ καὶ πάνυ ἂν ἐς ἔπαινον ἐξαρκέσαι· πρὸς γάρ τοι τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα αὐτοῦ ἔργων σμικρολογεῖσθαι δόξω, ἂν καὶ ἐκεῖνα ἀκριβῶς ἐπεξίω· ὅσα δὲ δὴ ἄρχων[4] ὑμῶν ἔπραξε, ταῦτ'

[1] ἀφικόμην R. Steph., ἀφίκομαι LM cod. Peir.
[2] τάχ' ἂν ἀνέλεγκτον L, τάχ' ἂν ἀνανέλεγκτον M, τάχα ἀνέλεγκτον cod. Peir.
[3] ἐπεδείξατο Bk., ἀπεδείξατο LM cod. Peir.
[4] ἄρχων R. Steph., ὁ ἄρχων LM cod. Peir.

inexorable even to his enemies, but let off scot-free many of those who had come into collision with him personally and released many who had actually made war against him, even giving some of them honours and offices. So strong a natural bent had he toward virtue, and not only had no vice himself, but would not believe that it existed in anybody else. B.C. 44

"And since I have reached this topic, I will begin to speak about his public services. If he had lived in quiet retirement, perhaps his virtue would not have been clearly proved; but as it was, by being raised to the highest position and becoming the greatest not only of his contemporaries but of all others who ever wielded any power, he displayed it more conspicuously. For in the case of nearly all the others this authority had served only to reveal their weakness, but him it made more illustrious, since by reason of the greatness of his virtue he undertook correspondingly great deeds, and was found to be equal to them; he alone of men after obtaining for himself so great good fortune as a result of his nobility of character neither disgraced it nor treated it wantonly. I shall pass over, then, the brilliant successes which he regularly achieved in his campaigns and the high-mindedness he showed in his ordinary public services, although they were so great that for any other man they would warrant high praise; for, in view of the distinction of his subsequent deeds, I shall seem to be dealing in trivialities, if I also rehearse these scrupulously. I shall therefore only mention his achievements

4 ἐρῶ μόνα. καὶ οὐδὲ ταῦτα μέντοι πάντα καθ' ἕκαστον ἀκριβῶς διηγήσομαι· οὔτε γὰρ ἐξικέσθαι ποτ' ἂν αὐτῶν δυνηθείην, καὶ πάμπολυν ἂν ὑμῖν ὄχλον ἄλλως τε καὶ εἰδόσι ταῦτα παράσχοιμι.

41 "Ὁ γὰρ ἀνὴρ οὗτος πρῶτον μὲν πάντων στρατηγήσας ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ, καὶ ὕπουλον αὐτὴν εὑρών, οὐ περιεῖδέ σφας ὑπὸ τῷ τῆς εἰρήνης ὀνόματι ἀνανταγωνίστους γιγνομένους, οὐδ' εἵλετο αὐτὸς[1] ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ τὸν τῆς ἀρχῆς χρόνον διαγενεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ κοινῇ συμφέροντα πρᾶξαι, ἀλλ' ἐπειδήπερ ἑκόντες οὐ μετεμέλοντο, καὶ ἄκοντάς σφας ἐσω-
2 φρόνισεν, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς πρότερόν ποτε εὐδοκιμήσαντας κατ' αὐτῶν τοσοῦτον ὑπερβαλέσθαι ὅσον τὸ φυλάξαι τι τοῦ κτήσασθαι χαλεπώτερόν ἐστι, καὶ τὸ μηδ' αὖθίς ποτε νεωτερίσαι τινὰς δυνηθῆναι ἐξεργάσασθαι τοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν ὑπηκόους αὐτούς, ἀκεραίου τῆς δυνάμεώς σφισιν οὔσης,
3 ποιήσασθαι λυσιτελέστερον. τοιγάρτοι καὶ τὰ ἐπινίκια αὐτῷ διὰ τοῦτ' ἐψηφίσασθε καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τὴν ὕπατον εὐθὺς ἐδώκατε. ἐξ οὗ δὴ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα διεφάνη τοῦθ', ὅτι οὔτε ἐπιθυμίας οὔτε εὐκλείας οἰκείας ἕνεκα τόν τε πόλεμον ἐκεῖνον ἐποιήσατο καὶ πρὸς τὰ λοιπὰ παρεσκευάζετο.
4 παριδὼν γοῦν[2] τὴν πέμψιν[3] τῶν νικητηρίων διὰ τὸ τὰ πράγματα κατεπείγειν, καὶ χάριν μὲν ὑμῖν τῆς τιμῆς γνούς, ἀρκεσθεὶς δὲ αὐτῇ ἐκείνῃ πρὸς τὴν δόξαν, ὑπάτευσε.

42 "Καὶ ὅσα μὲν παρὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐν τῇ πόλει διῴκησεν, ἢ μυρία ἂν εἴη λέγειν· ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἔκ τε ἐκείνης ἐξῆλθε καὶ πρὸς τὸν Γαλα-

[1] αὐτὸς R. Steph., αὐτὸ LM cod. Peir.
[2] γοῦν Bk., οὖν LM cod. Peir.
[3] πέμψιν R. Steph., μέμψιν LM cod. Peir.

while he was your magistrate. Yet I shall not even relate all these with scrupulous detail, for I could never get to the end of them, and I should cause you excessive weariness, particularly since you already know them. B.C. 44

"First of all, then, this man was praetor in Spain, and finding it secretly disloyal, did not allow the inhabitants under the name of peace to become unconquerable, nor was it his own choice to spend the period of his governorship in quiet instead of accomplishing what was for the advantage of the state. Hence, since they would not willingly change their course, he brought them to their senses against their will, and in doing this he surpassed the men who had previously won glory against them in just so far as keeping a thing is more difficult than acquiring it, and reducing men to a condition where they can never again become rebellious is more profitable than making them subject in the first place, while their power is still undiminished. That is the reason why you voted him a triumph for this and immediately gave him the office of consul. Indeed, from this very circumstance it became most evident that he had waged that war, not for his own pleasure or glory, but as a preparation for the future. At all events he waived the celebration of the triumph because of the business that was pressing, and after thanking you for the honour he was content with that alone for his glory, and entered upon the consulship.

"Now all his administrative acts in the city during his tenure of that office would verily be countless to name. But as soon as he had ended it and had been

τικὸν πόλεμον ἐστάλη, θεωρήσατε ὅσα αὖ καὶ
2 ἡλίκα ἐνταῦθα κατειργάσατο. τοῖς μὲν γὰρ
συμμάχοις οὐχ ὅπως βαρὺς ἐγένετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ
προσεβοήθησεν, ἐπειδὴ μήτε τι αὐτοὺς ὑπώπτευσε
καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἀδικουμένους εἶδε· τοὺς δὲ δὴ
πολεμίους, οὐχ ὅτι τοὺς προσοικοῦντας αὐτοῖς
ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας τοὺς τὴν Γαλατίαν
νέμοντας, κατεστρέψατο, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν χώραν
παμπληθῆ τοῦτο δὲ καὶ πόλεις ἀναριθμήτους,
ὧν οὐδὲ τὰ ὀνόματα πρότερον ᾔδειμεν, προσεκτή-
3 σατο. καὶ ταῦτα μέντοι πάντα, μήτε δύναμιν
ἀξιόχρεων μήτε[1] χρήματα αὐτάρκη παρ' ὑμῶν
λαβών, οὕτω μὲν ταχέως κατέπραξεν ὥστε καὶ
πρὶν αἰσθέσθαι τινὰ ὑμῶν ὅτι πολεμεῖ νενικηκέναι,
οὕτω δὲ ἀσφαλῶς κατεστήσατο ὥστε[2] καὶ ἐπι-
βατὴν ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν Κελτικὴν καὶ τὴν
4 Βρεττανίαν ποιῆσαι. καὶ νῦν δεδούλωται μὲν
Γαλατία ἡ τούς τε Ἄμβρονας[3] καὶ τοὺς Κίμβρους
ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἀποστείλασα, καὶ γεωργεῖται πᾶσα
ὥσπερ αὐτὴ ἡ Ἰταλία, πλεῖται δὲ οὐ Ῥοδανὸς
ἔτι μόνος οὐδ' Ἄραρις, ἀλλὰ καὶ Μόσας καὶ
Λίγρος καὶ Ῥῆνος αὐτὸς καὶ ὠκεανὸς αὐτός.
5 ὧν γὰρ οὐδὲ τὰς ἐπικλήσεις ἀκούοντες ἐπιστεύο-
μεν αὐτὰ εἶναι, ταῦθ' ἡμῖν προσκατείργασται,
ἐμβατὰ μὲν τὰ πρὶν ἄγνωστα, πλωτὰ δὲ τὰ πρὶν
ἀδιερεύνητα ἀπό τε τῆς μεγαλοπρεπείας καὶ ἀπὸ
43 τῆς μεγαλογνωμοσύνης ποιήσας. καὶ εἴγε μὴ
φθονήσαντες αὐτῷ τινες, μᾶλλον δὲ ὑμῖν, ἐστασιά-

[1] μήτε St., μηδὲ LM cod. Peir.
[2] ὥστε cod. Peir., καὶ ὥστε LM.
[3] Ἄμβρονας LM, ἄμβρωνας cod. Peir.

sent to conduct this war against the Gauls, observe how many and how great were his achievements there. So far from becoming a burden to our allies, he even went to their assistance, because he was not at all suspicious of them and saw, moreover, that they were being wronged. But our foes, both those who dwelt near the friendly tribes, and all the rest who inhabited Gaul, he subjugated, acquiring, on the one hand, vast stretches of territory, and on the other, numberless cities of which we knew not even the names before. All this, moreover, he accomplished so quickly, though he had received neither a competent force nor sufficient money from you, that before any of you knew that he was at war, he had conquered; and he settled affairs on so firm a basis as to make these places stepping-stones to Germany and to Britain. So now Gaul is enslaved, which sent against us the Ambrones and the Cimbri, and is all under cultivation like Italy itself; and ships sail not only the Rhone and the Arar, but the Mosa, the Liger, the very Rhine, and very ocean itself. Places of which we had not even heard the names, to lead us to think that they existed, he likewise subdued for us; the formerly unknown he made accessible, the formerly unexplored he made navigable, by the greatness of his purpose and the greatness of his resolution. And had not certain persons in their envy of him, or rather of you, begun a revolt and B.C. 44

κεσαν, καὶ δεῦρο αὐτὸν πρὸ τοῦ προσήκοντος καιροῦ ἐπανελθεῖν ἠναγκάκεσαν,[1] πάντως ἂν καὶ τὴν Βρεττανίαν ὅλην μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων νήσων τῶν περικειμένων[2] αὐτῇ καὶ τὴν Κελτικὴν πᾶσαν μέχρι τοῦ ἀρκτικοῦ ὠκεανοῦ ἐκεχείρωτο, ὥσθ' ἡμᾶς ὅρους μὴ γῆν μηδ' ἀνθρώπους τὸ λοιπόν, ἀλλὰ
2 ἀέρα καὶ τὴν ἔξω θάλασσαν ἔχειν. διὰ γὰρ ταῦτα καὶ ὑμεῖς, ὁρῶντες τό τε μέγεθος τῆς διανοίας αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ ἔργα καὶ τὴν τύχην, ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἄρξαι αὐτῷ προσετάξατε· ὅπερ, ἀφ' οὗ ἐδημοκρατήθημεν, οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ ὑπῆρξε, λέγω δὲ τὸ ὀκτὼ ἔτεσιν ὅλοις ἐφεξῆς ἡγεμονεῦσαι. οὕτως αὐτὸν πάντα ἐκεῖνα ὑμῖν ὄντως προσκτᾶσθαι ἐνομίσατε, καὶ οὐδεπώποτε ἐφ' ὑμᾶς αὐξηθήσεσθαι ὑποπτεύσατε.
3 "Ἀλλὰ ὑμεῖς μὲν ἐπὶ μακρότατον αὐτὸν ἐγχρονίσαι τοῖς χωρίοις ἐκείνοις ἐπεθυμήσατε· οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπέτρεψαν οἱ τὴν πολιτείαν μηκέτι κοινὴν ἀλλ' ἰδίαν αὐτῶν[3] νομίζοντες εἶναι οὔτε τούτῳ τὰ λοιπὰ προσκαταστρέψασθαι οὔθ' ὑμῖν πάντων αὐτῶν κυριεῦσαι, ἀλλὰ τῇ ἀσχολίᾳ αὐτοῦ ἀποχρησάμενοι πολλὰ καὶ[4] ἀνόσια ἐτόλμησαν, ὥσθ' ὑμᾶς[5] τῆς παρ' αὐτοῦ βοηθείας
44 δεηθῆναι. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καταλιπὼν τὰ προκείμενα ταχέως ὑμῖν ἐπεκούρησε, καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἐκ τῶν ἐπαρτηθέντων αὐτῇ κινδύνων ἠλευθέρωσε, καὶ προσέτι τήν τε Ἰβηρίαν ἀλλο·

[1] ἠναγκάκεσαν Bk., ἠνάγκασαν LM.
[2] περικειμένων M cod. Peir., προκειμένων L.
[3] αὑτῶν Reim., αὐτῶν Rk., αὐτὴν LM cod. Peir.
[4] πολλὰ καὶ Bk., καὶ πολλὰ LM cod. Peir.
[5] ὑμᾶς R. Steph., ἡμᾶς LM cod. Peir.

forced him to return here before the proper time, he would certainly have subdued all Britain together with the other islands which surround it and all Germany to the Arctic Ocean, so that we should have had as our boundaries for the future, not land or people, but the air and the outer sea. For these reasons you also, beholding the greatness of his purpose, his deeds, and his good fortune, assigned him the right to hold office for a very long period,—a privilege which, from the time that we became a republic, no other man has enjoyed,—I mean holding the command during eight[1] whole years in succession. So fully did you believe that it was really for your sake he was making all these conquests and so far were you from ever suspecting that he would grow powerful to your hurt. B.C. 44

"Nay, you desired that he should tarry in those regions as long as possible. He was prevented, however, by those who regarded the government as belonging no longer to the public but as their own private property, from subjugating the remaining countries, and you were kept from becoming masters of them all; for these men, making an evil use of the opportunity afforded by his being occupied, ventured upon many impious projects, so that you came to require his aid. Therefore, abandoning the victories within his grasp, he quickly came to your assistance, freed all Italy from the dangers which threatened it, and furthermore won back Spain, which was being estranged. Then,

[1] See xxxix. 33 and note.

τριουμένην ἐκομίσατο, καὶ τὸν Πομπήιον τήν τε πατρίδα καταλιπόντα καὶ βασιλείαν ἰδίαν ἐν
2 Μακεδονίᾳ κατασκευάζοντα, καὶ ἐκεῖσε πάντα τὰ ὑμέτερα ἀγαθὰ μεταφέροντα, τούς τε ὑπηκόους ὑμῶν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς συσκευαζόμενον καὶ τοῖς χρήμασιν ὑμῶν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς χρώμενον ἰδὼν τὸ μὲν πρῶτον πεῖσαί πως ἠθέλησε, καὶ ἰδίᾳ καὶ κοινῇ προσπέμπων, παύσασθαι[1] καὶ μεταθέσθαι, πίστεις λαβόντα μεγίστας ἦ μὴν ἐν τοῖς ἴσοις καὶ ὁμοίοις[2]
3 αὖθις αὐτὸν γενήσεσθαι· ἐπεὶ δ' οὐδένα τρόπον ἠδυνήθη τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος τά τε ἄλλα καὶ τὴν συγγένειαν τὴν πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα αὐτῷ ὑπάρξασαν ὑπερβὰς ἀντιπολεμεῖν ὑμῖν εἵλετο, οὕτω δὴ καταναγκασθεὶς τοῦ ἐμφυλίου πολέμου προσάψασθαι τί μὲν δεῖ λέγειν[3] ὡς εὐτόλμως ἐπ'
4 αὐτόν, καίπερ χειμῶνος ὄντος, ἔπλευσε, τί δὲ ὡς εὐθαρσῶς αὐτῷ, καίτοι πάντα τὰ ἐκεῖ χωρία[4] ἔχοντι, συνέμιξε, τί δὲ ὡς ἀνδρικῶς αὐτοῦ, καίπερ πολὺ τῷ πλήθει τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐλαττούμενος, ἐκράτησεν; ἂν γάρ τις καθ' ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἐπεξελθεῖν ἐθελήσῃ, παῖδα ἂν ἀποδείξειε τὸν θαυμαστὸν ἐκεῖνον Πομπήιον· οὕτως ἐν πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς κατεστρατηγήθη.

45 "'Ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν ἐάσω· οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' αὐτὸς ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐσεμνύνατό ποτε ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, μισῶν ἀεὶ τὰ[5] τῆς ἀνάγκης· ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸ δαιμόνιον δικαιότατα τὴν μάχην ἔκρινε, τίνα μὲν τῶν τότε πρῶτον ἁλόντων ἀπέκτεινε, τίνα δὲ οὐκ ἐτίμησεν, οὐχ ὅτι

[1] παύσασθαι H. Steph., παύσεσθαι LM cod. Peir.
[2] καὶ ὁμοίοις Rk., ὁμοίως LM cod. Peir.
[3] δεῖ λέγειν R. Steph., διαλέγειν LM, δὴ λέγειν cod. Peir.
[4] ἐκεῖ χωρία Pflugk, ἐπιχώρια LM cod. Peir.
[5] ἀεὶ τὰ Kübler, αὐτὰ LM, αὖ τὰ cod. Peir.

when he saw that Pompey, who had abandoned his country and was setting up a kingdom of his own in Macedonia, was transferring thither all your possessions, equipping your subjects against you, and using your own money against you, he at first wished to persuade him somehow to stop and change his course, sending mediators to him both privately and publicly and offering the most solemn pledges that he should again attain an equal and like position with himself. When, however, he found himself unable in any way to effect this, but instead Pompey burst all restraints, even the relationship which had existed between himself and Caesar, and chose to fight against you, then at last he was compelled to begin the civil war. But what need is there of relating how daringly he sailed against him in spite of the winter, or how boldly he assailed him, though Pompey held all the strong positions, or how bravely he vanquished him, though much inferior in the number of his troops? Indeed, if one wished to recite the whole story in detail, he could show the renowned Pompey to have been a mere child, so completely was he outgeneralled at every point. B.C. 44

"But all this I will omit, since not even Caesar himself ever took any pride in it, always hating, as he did, the deeds enforced by necessity. But when Heaven had most justly decided the issue of the battle, whom of those then captured for the first time did he put to death? Whom, rather, did he

τῶν βουλευτῶν ἢ τῶν ἱππέων ἢ καὶ ὅλως τῶν πολιτῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν συμμάχων τῶν τε ὑπη-
2 κόων; οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἐκείνων τις οὔτ' ἀπέθανε βιαίως οὔτε αἰτίαν ἔλαβεν, οὐκ ἰδιώτης, οὐ βασιλεύς, οὐκ ἔθνος, οὐ πόλις· ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν καὶ συνεξητάσθησαν αὐτῷ, οἱ δὲ τὴν γοῦν ἄδειαν ἐντίμως ἔσχον, ὥστε τότε δὴ καὶ πάντας ὀδύρεσθαι τῶν
3 ἀπολωλότων. τοσαύτῃ γὰρ περιουσίᾳ φιλανθρωπίας ἐχρήσατο ὥστε τοὺς μὲν συναραμένους τῷ Πομπηίῳ ἐπαινέσαι καὶ πάντα σφίσι τὰ δοθέντα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ φυλάξαι, τὸν δὲ δὴ[1] Φαρνάκην καὶ τὸν Ὀρώδην μισῆσαι ὅτι οὐκ ἐπεκούρησαν φίλοι
4 αὐτοῦ ὄντες. καὶ διὰ τοῦτό γε οὐχ ἥκιστα τῷ μὲν οὐκ ἐς μακρὰν ἐπολέμησε, τῷ δὲ ἐπιστρατεύσειν ἔμελλε. πάντως δ' ἂν καὶ . . .[2] ζῶντα εἰλήφει. τεκμήριον δὲ ὅτι μήτε εὐθὺς αὐτὸν ἐπεδίωξεν ἀλλὰ κατὰ σχολὴν εἴασε φυγεῖν, καὶ
5 τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ ἀηδῶς ἤκουσε, τούς τε φονεύσαντας αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐπήνεσεν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνταπέκτεινεν οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον, καὶ αὐτόν γε τὸν Πτολεμαῖον, ὅτι καίτοι παῖς ὢν τὸν εὐεργέτην ἀπολόμενον περιεῖδε, προσδιέφθειρε.

46 "Μετὰ ταῦτα τοίνυν ὅπως μὲν τὴν Αἴγυπτον κατεστήσατο, καὶ ὅσα χρήματα ἐκεῖθεν ὑμῖν ἐκόμισε, περιττὸν ἂν εἴη λέγειν· στρατεύσας δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Φαρνάκην οὐκ ὀλίγα ἤδη τοῦ τε Πόντου καὶ τῆς Ἀρμενίας ἔχοντα, προσηγγέλθη τε ἅμα αὐτῷ προσιὼν καὶ ὤφθη παρὼν καὶ συνέβαλεν
2 αὐθημερὸν καὶ ἐνίκησεν. ἀφ' ὧνπερ οὐχ ἥκιστα διέδειξεν ὅτι οὐδὲν χείρων ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ

[1] δὴ cod. Peir., om. LM.
[2] Lacuna recognized by Xyl.

not honour, not alone of the senators or knights or of the citizens in general, but even of the allies and subjects? For no one, even of them, either died a violent death, or was censured,—no civilian, no king, no tribe, no city. On the contrary, some arrayed themselves on his side, and others obtained at least pardon with honour, so that all then lamented the fate of those who had perished. Such exceeding humanity did he show, that he praised those who had coöperated with Pompey and allowed them to keep everything that Pompey had given them, but hated Pharnaces and Orodes, because, though friends of the vanquished, they had not assisted him. It was chiefly for this reason that he not long afterward waged war on Pharnaces and was preparing to conduct a campaign against Orodes. And he certainly [would have spared] even [Pompey himself if] he had captured him alive. A proof of this is that he did not pursue him at once, but allowed him to flee at his leisure. Also he was grieved when he heard of Pompey's death and did not praise his murderers, but put them to death for it soon after, and moreover even destroyed Ptolemy himself, because, though a child, he had allowed his benefactor to perish. B.C. 44

"How after this he brought Egypt to terms and how much money he conveyed to you from there, it would be superfluous to relate. And when he made his campaign against Pharnaces, who already held a considerable part of Pontus and Armenia, he was on one and the same day reported to the king as approaching him, was seen confronting him, engaged him in conflict, and conquered him. This better than anything else showed that he had not become weaker in Alexandria and had not

ἐγένετο, οὐδ' ὑπὸ τρυφῆς ἐν αὐτῇ ἐνεχρόνισε· πῶς γὰρ ἂν ῥᾳδίως ἐκεῖνα ἔπραξε μὴ πολλῇ μὲν παρασκευῇ διανοίας πολλῇ δὲ καὶ ῥώμῃ χρώμενος;
3 ὡς δ' οὖν καὶ ὁ Φαρνάκης ἔφυγε, παρεσκευάζετο μὲν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸν Πάρθον στρατεῦσαι, στασιασάντων δὲ αὖθις ἐνταῦθά τινων ἀνεκομίσθη τε ἄκων, καὶ οὕτως αὖ καὶ ταῦτα διέθετο ὥστε
4 μηδ' ὅτι ἀρχὴν ἐταράχθη πιστευθῆναι. οὔτε γὰρ ἀπέθανεν οὔτε ἔφυγεν, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἠτιμώθη τὸ παράπαν ἐξ ἐκείνων τῶν πραγμάτων οὐδείς, οὐχ ὅτι οὐ δικαιότατα ἂν πολλοὶ ἐκολάσθησαν, ἀλλ' ὅτι τοὺς μὲν πολεμίους ἀφειδῶς ἀπολλύναι τοὺς δὲ δὴ πολίτας σώζειν, κἂν φαῦλοί τινες ὦσιν,
5 ἡγεῖτο δεῖν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῇ μὲν ἀνδρείᾳ τοὺς ἀλλοφύλους κατηγωνίζετο, τῇ δὲ φιλανθρωπίᾳ καὶ τοὺς στασιάζοντας τῶν πολιτῶν, καίτοι καὶ ἀναξίους πολλάκις τούτου γεγονότας ἀφ' ὧν ἔπραττον, διετήρει. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀφρικῇ τῇ τε Ἰβηρίᾳ αὖθις ἔπραξε, πάντας ὅσοι μὴ καὶ πρότερόν ποτε ἁλόντες ὑπ'[1] αὐτοῦ
6 ἠλέηντο[2] ἀφείς. τὸ μὲν γὰρ τοὺς πολλάκις ἐπιβουλεύοντάς οἱ ἀεὶ περιποιεῖσθαι μωρίαν, οὐ φιλανθρωπίαν ἐνόμιζε· τὸ δὲ ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις ἁμαρτήμασι συγγιγνώσκειν τισί, καὶ μήτ' ἀκατάλλακτον ὀργὴν ἔχειν καὶ προσέτι καὶ τιμὰς νέμειν, ἂν δὲ ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐμμένωσιν, ἀπαλλαγὴν αὐτῶν ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ πάνυ ἀνδρὸς ἔργον ἡγεῖτο
7 εἶναι. καίτοι τί τοῦτο εἶπον; πολλοὺς γάρ τοι καὶ ἐκείνων ἔσωσε, δοὺς τοῖς τε ἑταίροις ἅπασι καὶ τοῖς συννικήσασιν αὐτῷ ἕνα ἑκάστῳ τῶν ἁλόντων περιποιήσασθαι.

[1] ὑπ' R. Steph., ἐπ' LM cod. Peir.
[2] ἠλέηντο cod. Peir., ἐλέηντο LM.

delayed there out of voluptuousness. For how could he have won that victory so easily without having great mental vigour in reserve and great physical strength? When now Pharnaces had fled, he was preparing to conduct a campaign at once against the Parthian, but as certain men had begun a strife here he returned reluctantly and settled this dispute, too, so well that no one would believe there had been any disturbance at all. For not a person was killed or exiled or even disgraced in any way as a result of that trouble, not because many might not justly have been punished, but because he thought it right while destroying the enemy unsparingly to preserve the citizens, even if some of them are of little account. Therefore by his bravery he overcame foreigners in war, but by his humanity he kept unharmed even the seditious citizens, although many of them by their acts had often shown themselves unworthy of this favour. This same policy he followed again both in Africa and in Spain, releasing all who had not previously been captured and been pitied by him. For while he considered it folly, not humanity, always to spare the lives of those who frequently plotted against him, on the other hand, he thought it the duty of one who was truly a man to pardon opponents on the occasion of their first errors instead of harbouring implacable anger, yes, and even to assign honours to them, but if they clung to their original course, to get rid of them. Yet why do I relate this? Many of these also he spared by allowing all his associates and those who had helped him conquer to save the life of one captive each. B.C. 44

47 "Καὶ μέντοι καὶ ὅτι ταῦτα πάντα ἀπ' ἐμφύτου χρηστότητος, καὶ οὔτε προσποιητῶς οὔτε ἐπὶ κατασκευῇ πλεονεξίας τινός, ὥσπερ ἕτεροι συχνοὶ ἐφιλανθρωπεύσαντό τινα, ἔπραξε, μέγιστον μὲν καὶ ἐκεῖνο μαρτύριόν ἐστιν, ὅτι πανταχοῦ καὶ διὰ πάντων ὅμοιος ἐγένετο καὶ οὔτ' ὀργή τις αὐτὸν ἠγρίανεν οὔτε εὐπραγία διέφθειρεν, οὐ τὸ κράτος
2 ἠλλοίωσεν, οὐχ ἡ ἐξουσία μετέβαλεν. καίτοι χαλεπώτατον ἐν τοῖς[1] τοσούτοις καὶ τοιούτοις καὶ προσέτι καὶ ἐπαλλήλοις πράγμασιν ἐξετασθέντα, καὶ τὰ μὲν κατωρθωκότα τὰ δὲ ἐν χερσὶν ἔτ' ἔχοντα τὰ δ' ὑποπτεύοντα, χρηστόν τε[2] ἀεὶ δι' ἴσου γενέσθαι, καὶ μηδὲν τραχὺ μηδὲ δεινόν, εἰ καὶ μὴ πρὸς τιμωρίαν τῶν παρεληλυθότων, ἀλλὰ πρός γε[3] φυλακὴν τῶν μελλόντων ἐθελῆσαι ποιῆ-
3 σαι. ἱκανὰ μὲν καὶ ταῦτα τὴν χρηστότητα αὐτοῦ τεκμηριῶσαί ἐστιν· οὕτω γὰρ ἐκ θεῶν ὄντως ἔφυ ὥστε ἓν μόνον ἠπίστατο, σώζειν τούς γε σώζεσθαι δυναμένους· προσέτι δὲ καὶ ἐκεῖνα,[4] ὅτι τοῖς τε αὐτῷ[5] πολεμήσασι τὸ μηδ' ὑπ' ἄλλου τινὸς κολασθῆναι παρεσκεύασε, καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῷ πρὶν ἐπται-
4 κότας ἀνεκτήσατο. πᾶσι μὲν γὰρ τοῖς μετὰ τοῦ Λεπίδου καὶ μετὰ τοῦ Σερτωρίου γενομένοις ἄδειαν δοθῆναι ἐποίησε, πᾶσι δὲ ἐκ τούτου τοῖς ἐκ τῶν ἐπικηρυχθέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ Σύλλου περιλειφθεῖσι τὴν σωτηρίαν ὑπάρξαι παρεσκεύασε, καὶ αὐτοὺς μετὰ τοῦτο κατήγαγε, τούς τε παῖδας ἁπάντων τῶν ὑπ' ἐκείνου θανατωθέντων καὶ τιμῶν καὶ
5 ἀρχῶν ἠξίωσεν. καὶ[6] τὸ μέγιστον, πάντα ἁπλῶς

[1] ἐν τοῖς R. Steph., ἐς τοῖς LM.
[2] χρηστόν τε M, χρηστότε L.
[3] γε R. Steph., τε LM.
[4] ἐκεῖνα LM, ἐκεῖνο cod. Peir.
[5] αὐτῷ LM, ἑαυτῶι cod. Peir.
[6] καὶ Bk., καί τοι LM cod. Peir.

"That he did all this, moreover, from inherent goodness and not for appearances or to reap any advantage, as many others have displayed humaneness, there is this further very strong evidence, that everywhere and in all circumstances he showed himself the same: anger did not brutalize him, nor good fortune corrupt him; power did not alter, nor authority change him. Yet it is very difficult when tested in so many enterprises of such magnitude, in enterprises, moreover, that follow one another in rapid succession, when one has been successful in some, is still engaged in conducting others, and only surmises that others are yet to come, to prove equally good on all occasions and to refrain from wishing to do anything harsh or terrible, if not out of vengeance for the past, at least as a measure of safeguard for the future. This alone is enough to prove his goodness; for he was so truly a scion of gods that he understood but one thing, to save those who could be saved. But there is also this further evidence, that he took care not to have those who warred against him punished even by anyone else, and that he won back those who had met with misfortune earlier. For he caused amnesty to be granted to all who had been followers of Lepidus and Sertorius, and next arranged that safety should be afforded to all the survivors of those whom Sulla had proscribed; somewhat later he brought them home from exile and bestowed honours and offices upon the sons of all who had been slain by Sulla. Greatest of all, he burned absolutely all the secret B.C. 44

τὰ γράμματα ὅσα ἢ παρὰ τῷ Πομπηΐῳ ἢ παρὰ τῷ Σκιπίωνι ἀπόρρητα εὑρέθη κατέκαυσε, μήτ' ἀναγνούς τι αὐτῶν μήτε τηρήσας, ἵνα μηδ'[1] ἄλλῳ τινὶ πονηρευθῆναί τι δι' αὐτὰ ἐγγένηται. ὅτι δὲ ταῦθ' οὕτως οὐκ εἶπε μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔπραξε, δηλοῖ τὰ ἔργα· οὐδεὶς γοῦν ἐκ τῶν γραμμάτων ἐκείνων οὐχ ὅσον οὐκ ἔπαθέ τι δεινόν, ἀλλ' οὐδ'[2]
6 ἐφοβήθη. οὔκουν οὐδ'[2] οἶδεν οὐδεὶς τοὺς ἐξ αὐτῶν περιγενομένους[3] πλὴν αὐτῶν ἐκείνων. τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι παραδοξότατον καὶ μηδεμίαν ὑπερβολὴν ἔχον, ὅτι τε ἀφείθησαν πρὶν αἰτιαθῆναι καὶ ὅτι ἐσώθησαν πρὶν κινδυνεῦσαι, καὶ οὐδ' αὐτὸς ὁ περιποιήσας σφᾶς ἔμαθεν οὓς ἠλέησε.

48 "Καὶ γάρ τοι διά τε ταῦτα καὶ διὰ τἆλλα ὅσα ἐνομοθέτησε καὶ ἐπηνώρθωσε,[4] μεγάλα μὲν αὐτὰ καθ' ἑαυτὰ ὄντα, παρὰ μικρὸν δ' ἂν πρὸς ἐκεῖνα νομισθέντα, ἃ οὐ χρὴ ἀκριβῶς ἐπεξιέναι, καὶ ἐφιλήσατε αὐτὸν ὡς πατέρα καὶ ἠγαπήσατε ὡς εὐεργέτην, τιμαῖς τε οἵαις οὐδένα ἄλλον ἠγήλατε,
2 καὶ προστάτην διατελῆ τῆς τε πόλεως καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἁπάσης ἔχειν ἐπεθυμήσατε, μηδὲν περὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων διενεχθέντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντα αὐτῷ ὡς καὶ ἐλάττονα αὐτοῦ προσθέντες, ἵν' ὅσον καθ' ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἐκ τοῦ νομιζομένου πρὸς τὸ τελειότατον καὶ τῆς τιμῆς καὶ τῆς ἐξουσίας ἐνέδει, τοῦτο ἐκ τῆς παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων συντελείας ἀντανα-
3 πληρωθῇ. διὰ γὰρ τοῦτο ἀρχιερεὺς μὲν πρὸς τοὺς θεούς, ὕπατος δὲ πρὸς ἡμᾶς, αὐτοκράτωρ δὲ

[1] μηδ' Bk., μήτ' LM cod. Peir.
[2] οὐδ' St., οὔτ' LM cod. Peir.
[3] περιγενομένους Lenncl., περὶ γένους LM cod. Peir.
[4] ἐνομοθέτησε καὶ ἐπηνώρθωσε cod. Peir., ἐνομοθέτησεν ἐπηνώρθωσε LM.

documents found in the tent of either Pompey or Scipio, neither reading nor yet keeping any of them, in order that it might not happen that anyone else should use them for mischievous ends. And that this was not only what he said he had done, but what he actually did, the facts show clearly; at any rate, no one as a result of those letters was even frightened, much less suffered any harm. Hence no one even knows those who escaped this danger except the men themselves. This is a most astonishing fact and one without a parallel, that they were spared before they were accused and saved before they encountered danger, and that not even he who saved their lives learned who it was he pitied. B.C. 44

"For these and for all his other acts of legislation and reconstruction, great in themselves, but likely to be deemed small in comparison with those others which I need not recount in detail, you loved him as a father and cherished him as a benefactor, you exalted him with such honours as you bestowed on no one else and desired him to be continual head of the city and of the whole domain. You did not quarrel at all about titles, but applied them all to him, feeling that they were inadequate to his merits, and desiring that whatever each of them, in the light of customary usage, lacked of being a complete expression of honour and authority might be supplied by what the rest contributed. Therefore, for the gods he was appointed high priest,

πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας, δικτάτωρ δὲ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἀπεδείχθη. καὶ τί ταῦτ' ἐξαριθμοῦμαι, ὁπότε καὶ πατέρα αὐτὸν ἑνὶ λόγῳ[1] τῆς πατρίδος ἐπεκαλέσατε;[2] ἵνα μὴ τὰς ἄλλας αὐτοῦ προσηγορίας καταλέγω.

49 "'Αλλ' οὗτος ὁ πατήρ, οὗτος ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ὁ ἄσυλος ὁ ἥρως ὁ θεὸς τέθνηκεν, οἴμοι, τέθνηκεν οὐ νόσῳ βιασθείς, οὐδὲ γήρᾳ μαρανθείς, οὐδὲ ἔξω που ἐν πολέμῳ τινὶ τρωθείς, οὐδὲ ἐκ δαιμονίου τινὸς αὐτομάτως ἁρπασθείς,[3] ἀλλὰ ἐνταῦθα ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους ἐπιβουλευθεὶς ὁ καὶ ἐς Βρεττανίαν
2 ἀσφαλῶς στρατεύσας, ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐνεδρευθεὶς ὁ καὶ τὸ πωμήριον αὐτῆς ἐπαυξήσας, ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ κατασφαγεὶς ὁ καὶ ἴδιον ἄλλο κατασκευάσας, ἄοπλος ὁ εὐπόλεμος, γυμνὸς ὁ εἰρηνοποιός, πρὸς τοῖς δικαστηρίοις ὁ δικαστής, πρὸς ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ὁ ἄρχων, ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν ὃν μηδεὶς τῶν πολεμίων μηδ' ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἐκπεσόντα ἀποκτεῖναι ἠδυνήθη, ὑπὸ τῶν ἑταίρων ὁ πολλάκις αὐτοὺς ἐλεήσας.
3 ποῦ δῆτά σοι, Καῖσαρ, ἡ φιλανθρωπία, ποῦ δὲ ἡ ἀσυλία, ποῦ δὲ οἱ νόμοι; ἀλλὰ σὺ μέν, ὅπως μηδ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν τις φονεύηται, πολλὰ ἐνομοθέτησας, σὲ δὲ οὕτως οἰκτρῶς ἀπέκτειναν οἱ φίλοι, καὶ νῦν ἔν τε τῇ ἀγορᾷ πρόκεισαι ἐσφαγμένος, δι' ἧς πολλάκις ἐπόμπευσας ἐστεφανωμένος, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ βήματος ἔρριψαι κατατετρω-
4 μένος, ἀφ' οὗ πολλάκις ἐδημηγόρησας. οἴμοι πολιῶν ᾑματωμένων, ὢ στολῆς ἐσπαραγμένης, ἣν

[1] ἑνὶ λόγῳ Rk., ἐν ὀλίγωι LM.
[2] ἐπεκαλέσατε M, ἐπεκαλέσατο L.
[3] ἁρπασθεὶς Reim. (so Zon. BC^c), ἁρπαχθεὶς LM Zon. AD.

for us consul, for the soldiers imperator, and for the enemy dictator. But why do I enumerate these details, when in one phrase you called him father of his country—not to mention the rest of his titles? B.C. 44

"Yet this father, this high priest, this inviolable being, this hero and god, is dead, alas, dead not by the violence of some disease, nor wasted by old age, nor wounded abroad somewhere in some war, nor caught up inexplicably by some supernatural force, but right here within the walls as the result of a plot—the man who had safely led an army into Britain; ambushed in this city—the man who had enlarged its pomerium; murdered in the senate-house—the man who had reared another such edifice at his own expense; unarmed—the brave warrior; defenceless—the promoter of peace; the judge—beside the court of justice; the magistrate—beside the seat of government; at the hands of the citizens—he whom none of the enemy had been able to kill even when he fell into the sea; at the hands of his comrades—he who had often taken pity on them. Of what avail, O Caesar, was your humanity, of what avail your inviolability, of what avail the laws? Nay, though you enacted many laws that men might not be killed by their personal foes, yet how mercilessly you yourself were slain by your friends! And now, the victim of assassination, you lie dead in the Forum through which you often led the triumph crowned; wounded to death, you have been cast down upon the rostra from which you often addressed the people. Woe for the blood-bespattered locks of gray, alas for the

ἐπὶ τούτῳ μόνον, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἔλαβες, ἵν' ἐν ταύτῃ σφαγῇς."

50 Τοιαῦτα τοῦ Ἀντωνίου λέγοντος ὁ δῆμος τὰ μὲν πρῶτα ἠρεθίζετο, ἔπειτα δὲ ὠργίζετο, καὶ τέλος οὕτως ἐφλέγμηνεν ὥστε τούς τε[1] φονέας αὐτοῦ ζητεῖν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις βουλευταῖς ἐγκαλεῖν, ὅτι οἱ μὲν ἀπέκτειναν οἱ δὲ ἐπεῖδον ἀποθνήσκοντα ἄνδρα ὑπὲρ οὗ δημοσίᾳ κατ' ἔτος εὔχεσθαι ἐψηφίσαντο, καὶ οὗ τήν τε ὑγίειαν τήν τε τύχην ὤμνυσαν, καὶ ὃν ἐξ ἴσου τοῖς δημάρχοις ἄσυλον
2 ἐπεποιήκεσαν. κἀκ τούτου τό τε σῶμα αὐτοῦ ἁρπάσαντες οἱ μὲν ἐς τὸ οἴκημα ἐν ᾧ ἀπέσφακτο, οἱ δὲ ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον κομίσαι τε ἐβούλοντο καὶ ἐκεῖ καῦσαι, κωλυθέντες δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν φόβῳ τοῦ μὴ καὶ τὸ θέατρον τούς τε ναοὺς συγκαταπρησθῆναι, αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, ὥσπερ
3 εἶχον,[2] ἐπὶ πυρὰν ἐπέθηκαν. πολλὰ δ' ἂν καὶ ὣς τῶν πέριξ οἰκοδομημάτων ἐφθάρη, εἰ μὴ οἵ τε στρατιῶται ἐμποδὼν ἐγένοντο καί τινας τῶν θρασυτέρων οἱ ὕπατοι κατὰ τῶν τοῦ Καπιτωλίου πετρῶν ἔωσαν.[3] οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐπαύσαντο διὰ
4 τοῦτο οἱ λοιποὶ ταραττόμενοι, ἀλλ' ἐπί τε τὰς οἰκίας τῶν σφαγέων ὥρμησαν, καὶ ἄλλους τε ἐν τούτῳ καὶ Ἑλούϊον Κίνναν δημαρχοῦντα μάτην ἀπέκτειναν· οὐ γὰρ ὅπως ἐπεβούλευσε τῷ Καίσαρι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα αὐτὸν ἠγάπα. ἐπλανήθησαν δὲ ὅτι Κορνήλιος Κίννας ὁ
51 στρατηγὸς συμμετέσχε τῆς ἐπιθέσεως. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀπειπόντων τῶν ὑπάτων μηδένα ἔξω τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἔνοπλον εἶναι, τῶν μὲν φόνων ἀπέ-

[1] τε Bk., μὲν LM. [2] εἶχον Xyl., εἶπον LM.
[3] ἔωσαν Dind., ὦσαν L, ὧσαν M.

rent robe, which you assumed, it seems, only that B.C. 44
you might be slain in it!"

At this deliverance of Antony's the throng was at first excited, then enraged, and finally so inflamed with passion that they sought his murderers and reproached the other senators, because while the others had slain they had looked on at the death of a man on whose behalf they had voted to offer public prayers each year, by whose Health and Fortune they had sworn their oaths, whose person they had made as inviolable as the tribunes. Then, seizing his body, some wished to convey it to the room in which he had been slaughtered, and others to the Capitol, and to burn it there; but being prevented by the soldiers, who feared that the theatre and temples would be burned to the ground at the same time, they placed it upon a pyre there in the Forum, without further ado. Even so, many of the surrounding buildings would have been destroyed had not the soldiers prevented and had not the consuls thrust some of the bolder ones over the cliffs of the Capitoline. For all that, the rest did not cease their disturbance, but rushed to the houses of the assassins, and during the excitement killed, among others, Helvius Cinna, a tribune, without just cause; for this man had not only not plotted against Caesar, but was one of his most devoted friends. Their mistake was due to the fact that Cornelius Cinna, the praetor, had taken part in the attack. After this, when the consuls forbade any one except the soldiers to carry arms, they

σχοντο, βωμὸν δέ τινα ἐν τῷ τῆς πυρᾶς χωρίῳ ἱδρυσάμενοι (τὰ γὰρ ὀστᾶ[1] αὐτοῦ οἱ ἐξελεύθεροι προανείλοντο καὶ ἐς τὸ πατρῷον μνημεῖον κατέθεντο) θύειν τε ἐπ' αὐτῷ καὶ κατάρχεσθαι τῷ
2 Καίσαρι ὡς καὶ θεῷ ἐπεχείρουν. οἱ οὖν ὕπατοι ἐκεῖνόν τε ἀνέτρεψαν, καί τινας ἀγανακτήσαντας ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἐκόλασαν, καὶ νόμον ἐξέθηκαν[2] μηδένα αὖθις δικτάτορα γενέσθαι, ἀράς τε ποιησάμενοι καὶ θάνατον προειπόντες ἄν τέ[3] τις ἐσηγήσηται τοῦτο ἄν θ' ὑποστῇ, καὶ προσέτι καὶ χρήματα
3 αὐτοῖς ἄντικρυς ἐπικηρύξαντες. ταῦτα μὲν ἐς τὸ ἔπειτα προείδοντο,[4] ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς ὀνόμασι τῆς τῶν ἔργων δεινότητος οὔσης, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκ τῶν ὅπλων καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἑκάστου τρόπων καὶ γιγνομένων αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς τῆς ἐξουσίας, ἐν ᾗ ποτ' ἂν
4 τύχῃ δρώμενα, προσρήσεις[5] διαβαλλόντων· ἐν δὲ τῷ τότε παρόντι τούς τε κληρούχους τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος προκεχειρισμένους ἐς τὰς ἀποικίας εὐθύς, μὴ καὶ νεοχμώσωσί τι, ἔστειλαν, καὶ τῶν σφαγέων τοὺς μὲν ἄρξαι τινῶν εἰληχότας ἐς τὰ ἔθνη, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς ἄλλον ἄλλοσε ἐπὶ προφάσει τινὶ ἐξέπεμψαν· καὶ αὐτοὺς ὡς καὶ εὐεργέτας σφῶν πολλοὶ ἐτίμησαν.

52 Οὕτω μὲν ὁ Καῖσαρ μετήλλαξε. καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἔν τε τῷ τοῦ Πομπηίου οἰκοδομήματι καὶ παρὰ τῷ ἀνδριάντι αὐτοῦ τῷ τότε ἐκεῖ ἑστῶτι ἐσφάγη, ἔδοξέ τινα τιμωρίαν αὐτῷ δεδωκέναι, ἄλλως τε καὶ[6] ὅτι καὶ βρονταὶ ἄπλετοι καὶ ὑετὸς λάβρος

[1] ὀστᾶ supplied by Leuncl.
[2] ἐξέθηκαν Bk., ἐπέθηκαν LM.
[3] τε supplied by Rk.
[4] προείδοντο Bk., προϊδόντες LM.
[5] προσρήσεις Xiph., προσρήσει LM.
[6] καὶ added by Bk.

refrained from bloodshed, but set up an altar on B.C. 44 the site of the pyre (for the freedmen of Caesar had previously taken up his bones and deposited them in the family tomb), and undertook to sacrifice upon it and to offer victims to Caesar, as to a god. But the consuls overthrew this altar and punished some who showed displeasure at the act, at the same time publishing a law that no one should ever again be dictator and invoking curses and proclaiming death as the penalty upon any man who should propose or support such a measure, besides openly setting a price upon the heads of any such. This provision they made for the future, assuming that the shamefulness of men's deeds consists in the titles they bear, whereas these deeds really arise from their possession of armed forces and from the character of the individual incumbent of the office, and disgrace the titles of authority under which they chance to occur; but for the time being they sent out immediately to the colonies such as held allotments of land already assigned by Caesar, out of fear that they might begin an uprising, while of the assassins they sent out those who had obtained governorships to the provinces, and the rest to various places on one pretext or another; and these men were honoured by many as their benefactors.

In this way Caesar met his end. And inasmuch as he had been slain in Pompey's edifice and near his statue which at that time stood there, he seemed in a way to have afforded his rival his revenge, especially as tremendous thunder and a furious rain

ἐπεγένετο. ἐν δ' οὖν τῷ θορύβῳ ἐκείνῳ καὶ τοιόνδε τι οὐκ ἀπάξιον μνήμης συνηνέχθη.
2 *Γάϊος γάρ τις Κάσκας δημαρχῶν, καὶ ἰδὼν ὅτι ὁ Κίννας ἐκ τῆς πρὸς τὸν στρατηγὸν ὁμωνυμίας ἀπώλετο, ἐφοβήθη μὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀποθάνῃ, ὅτι Πούπλιος Σερουίλιος Κάσκας ἔκ τε τῶν δημάρχων*
3 *καὶ ἐκ τῶν σφαγέων ἦν, καὶ γράμματα ἐξέθηκε τήν τε κοινωνίαν σφῶν ἐκ τῆς μιᾶς προσηγορίας καὶ τὴν διαφορὰν τῆς γνώμης δηλῶν. καὶ ἔπαθε μὲν οὐδέτερος δεινὸν οὐδέν (καὶ γὰρ ὁ Σερουίλιος ἰσχυρῶς ἐφυλάσσετο), λόγον δὲ δή τινα ὁ Γάϊος, ὥστε καὶ μνημονεύεσθαι διὰ τοῦτο, ἔσχεν.*

53 *Τότε μὲν δὴ ταῦτα πρός τε τῶν ἄλλων καὶ πρὸς τῶν ὑπάτων ἐγένετο· καὶ γὰρ τὸν Δολοβέλλαν ὁ Ἀντώνιος, καίτοι μὴ βουληθεὶς*[1] *τὰ πρῶτα ἐς τὴν ἀρχὴν ὡς οὐδέπω καθήκουσάν οἱ προσλαβεῖν,*
2 *ὅμως προσέθετο, δείσας μὴ στασιάσῃ. ὡς μέντοι ὅ τε θόρυβος κατέστη καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Ἀντώνιος τό τε ἐξετάσαι τὰ διοικηθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ τὸ*[2] *πάντα τὰ δόξαντα αὐτῷ ποιῆσαι ἐπετράπη, οὐκέτ' ἐσωφρόνησεν, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἐγκρατὴς τῶν γραμμάτων αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, πολλὰ μὲν ἀπήλειψε πολλὰ δὲ καὶ*[3] *ἀντενέγραψεν, ἄλλα τε*
3 *καὶ νόμους. καὶ προσέτι καὶ χρήματα καὶ ἀρχὰς τὰς μὲν ἀφείλετό τινων τὰς δὲ ἔδωκεν ἄλλοις, ὡς καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐκείνου δὴ γραμμάτων*[4] *αὐτὰ ποιῶν. κἀκ τούτου συχνὰ μὲν αὐτόθεν ἥρπασε, συχνὰ δὲ καὶ παρ' ἰδιωτῶν τῶν τε*[5] *δήμων καὶ τῶν βασιλέων*

[1] *μὴ βουληθεὶς* Xyl., *μὴ φοβηθεὶς* LM.
[2] *τὸ* R. Steph., *ὅτι* LM. [3] *καὶ* cod. Peir., om. LM.
[4] *δὴ γραμμάτων* Bk., *διαγραμμάτων* LM cod. Peir.
[5] *τε* M cod. Peir., *τότε* L.

followed. In the midst of that excitement there also took place the following incident, not unworthy of mention. One Gaius Casca, a tribune, seeing that Cinna had perished as a result of his cognomen being the same as the praetor's, and fearing that he too might be killed, because Publius Servilius Casca was one of the tribunes and also one of the assassins, issued a statement which showed that they had in common only the single name and pointed out the difference in their sentiments. Neither of them suffered any harm, as Servilius was strongly guarded; but Gaius gained some notoriety, so that he is remembered for this act. B.C. 44

These were the actions of the consuls and of the others at that time. I say consuls, for Antony, fearing that Dolabella would head a revolt, took him as his colleague in the consulship, although he was at first not disposed to do so, on the ground that the office did not yet belong to him. When, however, the excitement subsided, and Antony himself was charged with the duty of investigating the acts of Caesar's administration and carrying out all his behests, he no longer acted with moderation, but as soon as he had got hold of the dead man's papers, made many erasures and many substitutions, inserting laws as well as other matters. Moreover, he deprived some of money and offices, which in turn he gave to others, pretending that in doing so he was carrying out Caesar's directions. Next he seized large sums of money there in Rome, and collected large sums also from private persons, communities,

ἠργυρολόγησε, τοῖς μὲν χώραν, τοῖς δὲ ἐλευθερίαν,
4 ἄλλοις πολιτείαν, ἄλλοις ἀτέλειαν πωλῶν, καίτοι τῆς βουλῆς τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ψηφισαμένης μηδεμίαν στήλην ὡς καὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος συγγεγραφότος τι ἀνατεθῆναι (ἐς γὰρ στήλας χαλκᾶς πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐσεγράφετο), ἔπειτα δέ, ὡς ἐκεῖνος ἐνέκειτο λέγων πολλὰ καὶ ἀναγκαῖα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ προβεβουλεῦσθαι, κελευσάσης πάντας τοὺς πρώτους
5 κοινῇ αὐτὰ διακρῖναι. ἀλλ' οὔτε τι τούτων ἐφρόντισε, καὶ τὸ σύμπαν τοῦ μὲν[1] Ὀκταουίου ἅτε καὶ μειρακίου καὶ πραγμάτων ἀπείρου, τήν τε κληρονομίαν ὡς καὶ[2] χαλεπὴν καὶ δυσμεταχείριστον οὖσαν ἀπωθουμένου, κατεφρόνησεν, αὐτὸς δὲ ὡς καὶ κληρονόμος οὐ μόνον τῆς οὐσίας ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς δυναστείας τῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος ὢν πάντα διεχείριζε· τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ φυγάδας τινὰς κατήγαγεν.
6 ἐπειδή τε ὁ Λέπιδος ἰσχύν τε μεγάλην εἶχε καὶ φόβον αὐτῷ πολὺν ἐπήρτα, τήν τε θυγατέρα τῷ υἱεῖ αὐτοῦ συνῴκισε καὶ ἀρχιερέα αὐτὸν ἀποδειχθῆναι παρεσκεύασεν, ἵνα μηδὲν ὧν ἔπραττε
7 πολυπραγμονοίη. ὅπως γὰρ δὴ ῥᾳδίως αὐτὸ ποιήσῃ, ἔς τε τοὺς ἱερέας αὖθις ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου τὴν αἵρεσιν τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ἐπανήγαγε, κἂν τούτοις αὐτὸν οὐδὲν ἢ ὀλίγα τῶν νενομισμένων πράξας ἐτέλεσε, δυνηθεὶς ἂν αὐτὸς ἱερώσασθαι.

[1] μὲν supplied by Bk. [2] καὶ M, om. L.

and kings, selling to some land, to others freedom, to others citizenship, to others exemption from taxes. And this was in spite of the fact that the senate had voted at first that no tablet should be set up on account of any law alleged to have been framed by Caesar (all such matters were inscribed upon bronze tablets), and that later, when he persisted, declaring that many urgent matters had been provided for by Caesar, it had ordered that all the foremost citizens should jointly determine them. Antony, however, paid no attention to them, and, in a word, despised Octavius, who, as a stripling and inexperienced in business, had declined the inheritance because it was troublesome and hard to manage; and thus he himself, claiming to be the heir not only of the property but also of the power of Caesar, managed everything. One of his acts was to restore some exiles. And since Lepidus had great power and was causing him considerable fear, he gave his daughter in marriage to this leader's son and made arrangements to have Lepidus himself appointed high priest, so as to prevent his meddling with what he himself was doing. In fact, in order to carry out this plan with ease, he transferred the election of the high priest from the people back to the priests, and in company with the latter he consecrated him, performing few or none of the accustomed rites; and yet he might have secured the priesthood for himself. B.C. 44

BOOK XLV

Τάδε ἔνεστιν ἐν τῷ τετταρακοστῷ πέμπτῳ τῶν Δίωνος Ῥωμαϊκῶν

α. Περὶ Γαΐου Ὀκταουίου τοῦ μετὰ ταῦτα Αὐγούστου ἐπικληθέντος.
β. Περὶ Σέξτου Πομπηίου τοῦ Πομπηίου υἱέος.
γ. Ὡς Καῖσαρ καὶ Ἀντώνιος στασιάζειν ἤρξαντο.
δ. Ὡς Κικέρων κατὰ Ἀντωνίου ἐδημηγόρησεν.

Χρόνου πλῆθος τὰ λοιπὰ τῆς Γ.[1] Ἰουλίου Καίσαρος δικτατορίας τὸ ε′ μετὰ Μ. Αἰμιλίου[2] Λεπίδου ἱππάρχου καὶ ὑπατείας τὸ ε′ μετὰ Μ. Ἀντωνίου.[2]

Ἀντώνιος μὲν δὴ ταῦτ᾿ ἐποίει, ὁ δὲ δὴ Γάϊος ὁ Ὀκτάουιος Καιπίας (οὕτω γὰρ ὁ τῆς Ἀττίας τῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀδελφιδῆς[3] υἱὸς ὠνομάζετο) ἦν μὲν ἐξ Οὐελιτρῶν τῶν Οὐολσκίδων, ὀρφανὸς δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ὀκταουίου τοῦ πατρὸς καταλειφθεὶς ἐτράφη μὲν παρά τε τῇ μητρὶ καὶ παρὰ τῷ ἀνδρὶ[4] αὐτῆς Λουκίῳ Φιλίππῳ, αὐξηθεὶς δὲ συνδιέτριβε τῷ
2 Καίσαρι· ἄπαις τε γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ὢν καὶ μεγάλας ἐπ᾿ αὐτῷ ἐλπίδας ἔχων ἠγάπα τε καὶ περιεῖπεν αὐτόν, ὡς καὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος καὶ τῆς ἐξουσίας τῆς τε μοναρχίας διάδοχον καταλείψων, ἄλλως τε καὶ

[1] τῆς Γ. Bs., ἔτη ϛ LM.
[2] μετὰ Μ. Ἀντωνίου H. Steph., μ′ μετὰ ἀντωνίου LM. There follows in LM the gloss: πατὴρ αὐγούστου ὀκταούιος μήτηρ αὐτοῦ ἀττία ἡ ἀδελφὴ καίσαρος ὡς εἶναι τὸν αὔγουστον ἀνεψιὸν

BOOK XLV

The following is contained in the Forty-fifth of Dio's *Rome* :—

About Gaius Octavius, who afterward was named Augustus (chaps. 1–9).

About Sextus, the son of Pompey (chap. 10).

How Caesar and Antony began to quarrel (chaps. 11–17).

How Cicero delivered a public speech against Antony (chaps. 18–47).

B.C. 44 Duration of time, the remainder of the fifth dictatorship of C. Iulius Caesar, with M. Aemilius Lepidus as his master of the horse, and of his fifth consulship with Marcus Antonius.

So much for Antony's conduct. Now Gaius Octavius Caepias, as the son of Caesar's niece, Attia, was named, came from Velitrae in the Volscian country; after being bereft of his father Octavius he was brought up in the house of his mother and her husband, Lucius Philippus, but on attaining maturity lived with Caesar. For Caesar, being childless and basing great hopes upon him, loved and cherished him, intending to leave him as successor to his name, authority, and sovereignty He was B.C. 44

ιουλίου καίσαρος ("the father of Augustus was Octavius, his mother was Attia, sister of Caesar, so that Augustus was nephew of Julius Caesar").

[3] *ἀδελφιδῆς* Xyl., *ἀδελφῆς* LM Xiph. Zon.

[4] *ἀνδρὶ* Xyl., *ἀδελφῷ* LM Xyl.

ὅτι ἡ Ἀττία δεινῶς ἰσχυρίζετο ἐκ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος αὐτὸν κεκυηκέναι, ὅτι καταδαρθοῦσά ποτε ἐν ναῷ αὐτοῦ δράκοντί τινι μίγνυσθαι ἐνόμισε καὶ διὰ
3 τοῦτο τῷ ἱκνουμένῳ χρόνῳ ἔτεκε. πρίν τε ἢ ἐς τὸ φῶς ἐξιέναι, ἔδοξεν ὄναρ τὰ σπλάγχνα ἑαυτῆς ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀναφέρεσθαι καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ἐπεκτείνεσθαι· καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ νυκτὶ καὶ ὁ Ὀκτάουιος ἐκ τοῦ αἰδοίου αὐτῆς τὸν ἥλιον ἀνατέλλειν ἐνόμισεν. ἄρτι τε ὁ παῖς ἐγεγέννητο, καὶ Νιγίδιος Φίγουλος[1] βουλευτὴς παραχρῆμα αὐτῷ τὴν
4 αὐταρχίαν ἐμαντεύσατο· ἄριστα γὰρ τῶν[2] καθ' ἑαυτὸν τήν τε τοῦ πόλου διακόσμησιν καὶ τὰς τῶν ἀστέρων διαφοράς, ὅσα τε καθ' ἑαυτοὺς γιγνόμενοι καὶ ὅσα συμμιγνύντες ἀλλήλοις ἔν τε ταῖς ὁμιλίαις καὶ ἐν ταῖς διαστάσεσιν ἀποτελοῦσι, διέγνω, καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο καὶ αἰτίαν ὥς τινας ἀπορ-
5 ρήτους διατριβὰς ποιούμενος ἔσχεν. οὗτος οὖν τότε τὸν Ὀκτάουιον βραδύτερον ἐς τὸ συνέδριον διὰ τὸν τοῦ παιδὸς τόκον (ἔτυχε γὰρ βουλὴ οὖσα) ἀπαντήσαντα ἀνήρετο διὰ τί ἐβράδυνε, καὶ μαθὼν τὴν αἰτίαν ἀνεβόησεν ὅτι "δεσπότην ἡμῖν ἐγέννησας," καὶ αὐτὸν ἐκταραχθέντα ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ διαφθεῖραι τὸ παιδίον ἐθελήσαντα ἐπέσχεν, εἰπὼν ὅτι ἀδύνατόν ἐστι τοιοῦτό τι αὐτὸ παθεῖν. τότε
2 μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἐλέχθη, τρεφομένου δὲ ἐν ἀγρῷ αὐτοῦ ἀετὸς ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν αὐτοῦ ἐξαρπάσας ἄρτον ἐμετεωρίσθη καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καταπτόμενος ἀπέδωκεν αὐτόν. παιδίσκου τε αὐτοῦ ὄντος καὶ
2 τὴν διατριβὴν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ποιουμένου, ἔδοξέ ποτε ὁ Κικέρων ὄναρ ἁλύσεσί τε αὐτὸν χρυσαῖς

[1] Φίγουλος R. Steph., φίβουλος LM Xiph. Zon.
[2] τῶν Xiph., om. LM.

influenced largely by Attia's emphatic declaration that the youth had been engendered by Apollo; for while sleeping once in his temple, she said, she thought she had intercourse with a serpent, and it was this that caused her at the end of the allotted time to bear a son. Before he came to the light of day she saw in a dream her entrails lifted to the heavens and spreading out over all the earth; and the same night Octavius thought that the sun rose from her womb. Hardly had the child been born when Nigidius Figulus, a senator, straightway prophesied for him absolute power. This man could distinguish most accurately of his contemporaries the order of the firmament and the differences between the stars, what they accomplish when by themselves and when together, by their conjunctions and by their intervals, and for this reason had incurred the charge of practising some forbidden art. He, then, on this occasion met Octavius, who, on account of the birth of the child, was somewhat late in reaching the senate-house (for there happened to be a meeting of the senate that day), and upon asking him why he was late and learning the cause, he cried out, "You have begotten a master over us." At this Octavius was alarmed and wished to destroy the infant, but Nigidius restrained him, saying that it was impossible for it to suffer any such fate. These things were reported at that time; and while the child was being brought up in the country, an eagle snatched from his hands a loaf of bread and after soaring aloft flew down and gave it back to him. When he was now a lad and was staying in Rome, Cicero dreamed that the boy had been let B.C. 44

ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καθιμῆσθαι καὶ μάστιγα[1] παρὰ τοῦ Διὸς εἰληφέναι· καὶ οὐ γὰρ ἠπίστατο ὅστις ἦν, περιέτυχέ τε αὐτῷ τῆς ὑστεραίας ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ, καὶ γνωρίσας αὐτὸν
3 διηγήσατο τοῖς παροῦσι τὴν ὄψιν. ὅ τε Κάτουλος οὐδ' αὐτός πω[2] ἑορακὼς τὸν Ὀκτάουιον, ἐνόμισε τοὺς παῖδας ἐν τοῖς ὕπνοις τοὺς εὐγενεῖς πάντας ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ πρόσοδον πρὸς τὸν Δία πεποιῆσθαι, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τὸν θεὸν εἰκόνα τινὰ τῆς
4 Ῥώμης ἐς τὸν ἐκείνου κόλπον ἐμβεβληκέναι· ἐκπλαγεὶς δὲ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἀνῆλθεν ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον προσευξόμενος τῷ θεῷ, καὶ ἐκεῖ τὸν Ὀκτάουιον εὑρὼν ἄλλως ἀναβεβηκότα τό τε εἶδος αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸ ἐνύπνιον προσήρμοσε καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν τῆς
5 ὄψεως ἐβεβαιώσατο. μειρακιωθέντος δὲ μετὰ τοῦτο αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐς τοὺς ἐφήβους ἐσιόντος, τήν τε ἐσθῆτα τὴν ἀνδρικὴν ἐνδύντος, ὁ χιτὼν περιερράγη τε ἑκατέρωθεν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπωμίδων και μέχρι τῶν ποδῶν κατερρύη. τοῦτο αὐτὸ μὲν καθ' ἑαυτὸ οὐχ ὅπως τέκμαρσίν τινα ὡς καὶ ἀγαθόν
6 τι προσημαῖνον[3] ἔφερεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἠνίασε τοὺς παρόντας, ὅτι ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τοῦ ἀνδρικοῦ χιτῶνος ἐνδύσει συνεβεβήκει· ἐπελθὸν δὲ τῷ Ὀκταουίῳ εἰπεῖν[4] ὅτι "τὸ ἀξίωμα τὸ βουλευτικὸν πᾶν ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας μου σχήσω," ἔκβασιν πρὸς το λεχθὲν
7 ἔλαβεν. ἐξ οὖν τούτων ὁ Καῖσαρ μεγάλα ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐπελπίσας ἔς τε τοὺς εὐπατρίδας αὐτὸν ἐσήγαγε καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχην ἤσκει, καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα προσήκει τῷ μέλλοντι καλῶς καὶ κατ' ἀξίαν

[1] μάστιγα Xiph., μάστιγας LM.
[2] πω Pflugk, που LM Xiph.
[3] προσημαῖνον Reim., προσημαίνοι LM.
[4] εἰπεῖν Xiph., εἶπεν LM.

down from the sky by golden chains to the Capitol and had received a whip from Jupiter. He did not know who the boy was, but meeting him the next day on the Capitol itself, he recognized him and told the vision to the bystanders. Catulus, who had likewise never seen Octavius, thought in his sleep that all the noble boys had marched in a solemn procession to Jupiter on the Capitol, and in the course of the ceremony the god had cast what looked like an image of Rome into that boy's lap. Startled at this, he went up to the Capitol to offer prayers to the god, and finding there Octavius, who had gone up for some reason or other, he compared his appearance with the dream and convinced himself of the truth of the vision. When, later, Octavius had grown up and reached maturity and was putting on man's dress, his tunic was rent on both sides from his shoulders and fell to his feet. Now this event in itself not only foreboded no good as an omen, but it also distressed those who were present because it had happened on the occasion of his first putting on man's garb; it occurred, however, to Octavius to say, "I shall have the whole senatorial dignity beneath my feet," and the outcome proved in accordance with his words. Caesar, accordingly, founded great hopes upon him as a result of all this, enrolled him among the patricians, and trained him for the rule, carefully educating him in all the arts that should be possessed by one who was B.C. 44

τηλικοῦτο κράτος διοικήσειν ὑπάρχειν ἀκριβῶς
8 ἐξεπαίδευσε· λόγοις τε γὰρ ῥητορικοῖς, οὐχ ὅτι
τῇ τῶν Λατίνων ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇδε τῇ γλώσσῃ,
ἠσκεῖτο, καὶ ἐν ταῖς στρατείαις ἐρρωμένως ἐξε-
πονεῖτο, τά τε πολιτικὰ καὶ τὰ ἀρχικὰ ἰσχυρῶς
ἐδιδάσκετο.
3 Οὗτος οὖν ὁ Ὀκτάουιος ἔτυχε μὲν τότε, ὅτε
ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐσφάγη, ἐν τῇ Ἀπολλωνίᾳ τῇ[1] πρὸς
τῷ Ἰονίῳ ὢν κόλπῳ ἐπὶ παιδείᾳ (κατὰ γὰρ
τὴν στρατείαν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐπὶ τοὺς Πάρθους ἐκεῖσε
προεπέπεμπτο[2]), πυθόμενος δὲ τὸ συμβεβηκὸς
ἤλγησε μὲν ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἦν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ
νεωτερίσαι τι εὐθὺς ἐτόλμησεν· οὔτε γὰρ ὅτι
υἱὸς οὔθ᾽ ὅτι κληρονόμος κατελέλειπτο ἠκηκόει[3]
πω, καὶ προσέτι καὶ ὁ δῆμος ὁμονοῶν ἐπὶ τῷ
2 γεγονότι ἠγγέλλετο τὴν πρώτην. περαιωθεὶς
δὲ ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον, καὶ τάς τε διαθήκας ἅμα
καὶ τὴν γνώμην τοῦ δήμου τὴν δευτέραν μαθών,
οὐκέτ᾽ ἀναβολὰς ἐποιήσατο, καὶ μάλισθ᾽ ὅτι
καὶ χρήματα πολλὰ καὶ στρατιώτας συχνοὺς
συμπροπεμφθέντας εἶχεν, ἀλλὰ τό τε ὄνομα τοῦ
Καίσαρος παραχρῆμα ἀνέλαβε καὶ τοῦ κλήρου
4 αὐτὸν διεδέξατο, τῶν τε πραγμάτων εἴχετο. καὶ
τότε μὲν προπετῶς τέ τισι τοῦτο καὶ τολμηρῶς
πεποιηκέναι ἔδοξεν, ὕστερον δὲ ἔκ τε τῆς εὐτυχίας
καὶ ἐξ ὧν ἐπικατώρθωσε καὶ ἀνδρείας ὄνομα
2 προσεκτήσατο. πολλὰ γὰρ ἤδη τινὲς οὐκ ὀρθῶς
ἐπιχειρήσαντες δόξαν, ὅτι ἐπιτυχεῖς αὐτῶν ἐγέ-
νοντο, εὐβουλίας ἔσχον· καὶ ἕτεροι ἄριστά τινα

[1] τῇ Rk., ἔτι LM Xiph.
[2] προεπέπεμπτο Bk., προσεπέπεμπτο LM.
[3] ἠκηκόει πω Bk., ἠκηκόει Rk., ἠκηκόητο LM.

destined to direct well and worthily so great a power. B.C. 44
Thus he was practised in oratory, not only in the Latin language but in the Greek as well, was vigorously trained in military service, and thoroughly instructed in politics and the art of government.

Now this Octavius chanced at the time that Caesar was murdered to be in Apollonia on the Ionic Gulf, pursuing his education; for he had been sent ahead thither in view of Caesar's intended campaign against the Parthians. When he learned what had happened, he was of course grieved, but did not dare to begin a revolution at once; for he had not yet heard that he had been made Caesar's son or even his heir, and moreover the first news he received was to the effect that the people were of one mind in the affair. When, however, he had crossed to Brundisium and had been informed about Caesar's will and the people's second thought, he made no delay, particularly as he had large sums of money and numerous soldiers who had been sent ahead under his charge, but immediately assumed the name of Caesar, succeeded to his estate, and began to busy himself with public affairs. At the time he seemed to some to have acted recklessly and daringly in this, but later, thanks to his good fortune and the successes he achieved, he acquired a reputation for bravery for this act. For it has often happened that men who were wrong in undertaking some project have gained a reputation for good judgment, because they had the luck to gain their ends; while others, who made the best possible choice, have been

προελόμενοι μωρίαν, ὅτι μὴ κατέτυχον αὐτῶν,
3 ὦφλον.[1] καὶ ἐκεῖνος σφαλερῶς μὲν καὶ ἐπικινδύνως ἐποίησεν ὅτι τήν τε ἡλικίαν τὴν ἄρτι ἐκ παίδων ἄγων (ὀκτωκαιδεκέτης γὰρ ἦν) καὶ τὴν διαδοχὴν καὶ τοῦ κλήρου καὶ τοῦ γένους καὶ ἐπίφθονον καὶ ἐπαίτιον ὁρῶν οὖσαν, ἔπειτ' ἐπὶ τοιαῦτα ὥρμησεν ἐφ' οἷς ὅ τε Καῖσαρ ἐπεφόνευτο καὶ τιμωρία οὐδεμία αὐτοῦ ἐγίγνετο, καὶ οὔτε τοὺς σφαγέας οὔτε τὸν Λέπιδον τόν τε Ἀντώνιον
4 ἔδεισεν· οὐ μέντοι καὶ κακῶς βεβουλεῦσθαι ἔδοξεν, ὅτι καὶ κατώρθωσε. τὸ μέντοι δαιμόνιον πᾶσαν οὐχ ἀσαφῶς τὴν αὐτόθεν μέλλουσάν σφισι ταραχὴν ἔσεσθαι προεσήμηνεν· ἐς γὰρ τὴν Ῥώμην ἐσιόντος αὐτοῦ ἶρις πάντα τὸν ἥλιον πολλὴ καὶ ποικίλη περιέσχεν.

5 Οὕτως ὁ πρότερον μὲν[2] Ὀκτάουιος, τότε δὲ ἤδη Καῖσαρ, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο Αὔγουστος ἐπικληθεὶς ἥψατο τῶν πραγμάτων, καὶ αὐτὰ καὶ κατέπραξε καὶ κατειργάσατο παντὸς μὲν ἀνδρὸς νεανικώτερον, παντὸς δὲ πρεσβύτου[3] φρονιμώτερον.
2 πρῶτον μὲν γάρ, ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ μόνῃ τῇ τοῦ κλήρου διαδοχῇ, καὶ ἰδιωτικῶς καὶ μετ' ὀλίγων, ἄνευ ὄγκου τινός, ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐσῆλθεν· ἔπειτ' οὔτ'[4] ἠπείλει οὐδενὶ οὐδέν, οὔτε ἐνεδείκνυτο ὅτι ἄχθοιτό τε τοῖς γεγονόσιν καὶ τιμωρίαν αὐτῶν ποιήσοιτο.
3 τόν τε Ἀντώνιον οὐχ ὅσον οὐκ ἀπῄτει τι τῶν χρημάτων ὧν προηρπάκει, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐθεράπευε, καίτοι καὶ προπηλακιζόμενος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀδικούμενος· τά τε γὰρ ἄλλα ἐκεῖνος καὶ λόγῳ

[1] ὦφλον Xyl., ωφειλον LM.
[2] ὁ πρότερον μὲν Bk., μὲν ὁ πρότερον LM Xiph.
[3] πρεσβύτου Bk., πρεσβυτέρου LM, γέροντος Xiph.
[4] οὔτ' Bk., οὐδ' LM.

charged with folly because they were not fortunate enough to attain their objects. He, too, acted in a precarious and hazardous fashion; for he was only just past boyhood, being eighteen years of age, and saw that his succession to the inheritance and the family was sure to provoke jealousy and censure; yet he set out in pursuit of objects such as had led to Caesar's murder, which had not been avenged, and he feared neither the assassins nor Lepidus and Antony. Nevertheless, he was not thought to have planned badly, because he proved to be successful. Heaven, however, indicated in no obscure manner all the confusion that would result to the Romans from it; for as he was entering Rome a great halo with the colours of the rainbow surrounded the whole sun. B.C. 44

In this way he who was formerly called Octavius, but already by this time Caesar, and subsequently Augustus, took a hand in public affairs; and he managed and dealt with them more vigorously than any man in his prime, more prudently than any graybeard. In the first place, he entered the city as if for the sole purpose of succeeding to the inheritance, coming as a private citizen with only a few attendants, without any display. Again, he did not utter threats against any one nor show that he was displeased at what had occurred and would take vengeance for it. Indeed, so far from demanding of Antony any of the money that he had previously plundered, he actually paid court to him, although he was insulted and wronged by him. For Antony did him many injuries both in word and deed,

καὶ ἔργῳ αὐτὸν ἐκάκου, καὶ τὸν νόμον τὸν φρατριατικὸν[1] ἐσφερόμενον, καθ' ὃν τὴν ἐσποίησιν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐς τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος γενέσθαι
4 ἔδει, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐσπούδαζε δῆθεν ἐσενεγκεῖν, διὰ δὲ δημάρχων τινῶν ἀνεβάλλετο, ὅπως, ὡς μηδέπω παῖς αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῶν νόμων ὤν, μήτε τι τῆς οὐσίας πολυπραγμονοίη καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἄλλα ἀσθενέστερος
6 εἴη. ἐπ' οὖν τούτοις ὁ Καῖσαρ ἤσχαλλε μέν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἀσφαλῶς παρρησιάσασθαί τι δυνάμενος ἠνείχετο, μέχρις οὗ τὸ πλῆθος, ὑφ' οὗ τὸν πατέρα αὐξηθέντα ἠπίστατο, προσεποιή-
2 σατο. ὀργήν τε γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ ἐκείνου θανάτῳ ἔχοντας εἰδώς, καὶ ἑαυτὸν ὡς καὶ παῖδα αὐτοῦ σπουδάσειν ἐλπίσας, τόν τε Ἀντώνιον διά τε τὴν ἱππαρχίαν καὶ διὰ τὴν τῶν σφαγέων οὐ τιμωρίαν μισοῦντας αἰσθόμενος, ἐπεχείρησε μὲν δημαρχῆσαι πρός τε τὴν τῆς δημαγωγίας ἀφορμὴν καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὑποδοχὴν
3 τῆς ἐξ αὐτῆς δυναστείας, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τῆς τοῦ Κίννου χώρας κενῆς οὔσης ἀντεποιήσατο, κωλυθεὶς δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον οὐχ ἡσύχασεν, ἀλλὰ Τιβέριον Καννούτιον δημαρχοῦντα ἀναπείσας ἔς τε τὸν ὅμιλον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐσήχθη, πρόφασιν τὴν δωρεὰν τὴν καταλειφθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ποιησάμενος, καὶ δημηγορήσας ὅσα ἥρμοττε, ταύτην τε εὐθὺς ἐκτίσειν σφίσιν ὑπέσχετο καὶ ἄλλα αὐτοὺς[2] πολλὰ
4 προσεπήλπισε. καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο τὴν πανήγυριν τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Ἀφροδισίου ἐκποιήσει καταδειχθεῖσαν, ἣν ὑποδεξάμενοί τινες ζῶντος ἔτι τοῦ

[1] φρατριατικὸν R. Steph., φρατρικὸν LM.
[2] αὐτοὺς Rk., αὐτοῦ LM.

particularly when the *lex curiata* was proposed by which the transfer of Octavius into Caesar's family was to take place; Antony himself pretended to be doing his best to have it passed, but through some tribunes he kept securing its postponement, in order that the young man, not being as yet Caesar's son according to law, might not meddle with the property and might be weaker in all other ways. Caesar was vexed at this, but as he was unable to speak his mind freely, he bore it until he had won over the multitude, by whom he understood his father had been raised to honour. For he knew that they were angry at Caesar's death and hoped they would be devoted to him as his son, and he perceived that they hated Antony on account of his conduct as master of the horse and also for his failure to punish the assassins. Hence he undertook to become tribune as a starting point for popular leadership and to secure the power that would result from it; and he accordingly became a candidate for the place of Cinna, which was vacant. Though hindered by Antony's followers, he did not desist, and after using persuasion upon Tiberius Cannutius, a tribune, he was by him brought before the populace; and taking as his pretext the gift bequeathed the people by Caesar, he addressed them in appropriate words, promising that he would discharge this debt at once and giving them cause to hope for much besides. After this came the festival appointed in honour of the completion of the temple of Venus, which some, while Caesar was still alive, had promised B.C. 44

Καίσαρος ἐπιτελέσειν ἐν ὀλιγωρίᾳ, ὥσπερ που καὶ τὴν τῶν Παριλίων[1] ἱπποδρομίαν, ἐποιοῦντο, αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ πλήθους θεραπείᾳ, ὡς καὶ προσήκουσαν διὰ τὸ γένος, τοῖς οἰκείοις τέλεσι
5 διέθηκε. καὶ τότε μὲν οὔτε τὸν δίφρον τὸν τοῦ Καίσαρος τὸν ἐπίχρυσον οὔτε τὸν στέφανον τὸν διάλιθον ἐς τὸ θέατρον ἐσήγαγεν ὥσπερ ἐψή-
7 φιστο, φοβηθεὶς τὸν Ἀντώνιον· ἐπεὶ μέντοι ἄστρον τι παρὰ πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας ἐκείνας ἐκ τῆς ἄρκτου πρὸς ἑσπέραν ἐξεφάνη, καὶ αὐτὸ κομήτην τέ τινων καλούντων καὶ προσημαίνειν οἷά που εἴωθε λεγόντων οἱ πολλοὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὐκ ἐπίστευον, τῷ δὲ δὴ Καίσαρι αὐτὸ ὡς καὶ ἀπηθανατισμένῳ καὶ ἐς τὸν τῶν ἄστρων ἀριθμὸν ἐγκατειλεγμένῳ ἀνετίθεσαν, θαρσήσας χαλκοῦν αὐτὸν ἐς τὸ Ἀφροδίσιον, ἀστέρα ὑπὲρ
2 τῆς κεφαλῆς ἔχοντα, ἔστησεν. ἐπειδή τε οὐδὲ[2] τοῦτό τις φόβῳ τοῦ ὁμίλου ἐκώλυσεν, οὕτω δὴ καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ τῶν ἐς τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος τιμὴν προδεδογμένων ἐγένετο· τόν τε γὰρ μῆνα τὸν Ἰούλιον ὁμοίως ἐκάλεσαν, καὶ ἱερομηνίαις τισὶν ἐπινικίοις ἰδίαν ἡμέραν ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ ἐβουθύτησαν. καὶ διὰ ταῦτα καὶ οἱ στρατιῶται ἑτοίμως, ἄλλως τε καὶ χρήμασι θεραπευθέντων τινῶν, συνίσταντο πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα.

3 Θροῦς τε οὖν ἐγίγνετο, καὶ ἐδόκει τι νέον ἔσεσθαι, καὶ μάλιστα ὅτι ὁ Ἀντώνιος αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ ἀπὸ μετεώρου καὶ ἀπὸ περιόπτου τινός, καθάπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ πατρὸς εἰώθει ποιεῖν, ἐντυχεῖν τι ἐθελήσαντα οὐ προσεδέξατο, ἀλλὰ

[1] παριλίων M, παραλίων L.
[2] οὐδὲ Rk., οὔτε LM.

to celebrate, but were now holding in slight regard, B.C. 44 even as they did the games in the Circus in honour of the Parilia;[1] so, to win the favour of the populace, he provided for it at his private expense, on the ground that it concerned him because of his family. At this time out of fear of Antony he did not bring into the theatre either Caesar's gilded chair or his crown set with precious stones, as had been permitted by decree. When, however, a certain star during all those days appeared in the north toward evening, which some called a comet, claiming that it foretold the usual occurrences, while the majority, instead of believing this, ascribed it to Caesar, interpreting it to mean that he had become immortal and had been received into the number of the stars, Octavius then took courage and set up in the temple of Venus a bronze statue of him with a star above his head. And when this act also was allowed, no one trying to prevent it through fear of the populace, then at last some of the other decrees already passed in honour of Caesar were put into effect. Thus they called one of the months July after him, and in the course of certain festivals of thanksgiving for victory they sacrificed during one special day in memory of his name. For these reasons the soldiers also, particularly since some of them received largesses of money, readily took the side of Caesar.

A rumour accordingly got abroad and it seemed likely that something unusual would take place. This belief was due particularly to the circumstance that once, when Octavius wished to speak with Antony in court about something, from an elevated and conspicuous place, as he had been wont to do in his father's lifetime, Antony would not permit it,

[1] Cf. xliii. 42.

καὶ κατέσπασε καὶ ἐξήλασε διὰ τῶν ῥαβδούχων.
8 δεινῶς γὰρ δὴ πάντες ἠγανάκτησαν, καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα ὅτι ὁ Καῖσαρ οὐδὲ ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἔτι, πρός τε τὸ ἐκείνου ἐπίφθονον καὶ πρὸς τὸ τοῦ πλήθους ἐπαγωγόν, ἐφοίτησε. φοβηθεὶς οὖν ὁ Ἀντώνιος διελέξατό ποτε τοῖς παροῦσιν ὅτι οὔτε τινὰ ὀργὴν τῷ Καίσαρι ἔχοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ εὔνοιαν αὐτῷ ὀφείλοι, καὶ ὅτι ἕτοιμος εἴη πᾶσαν τὴν ὑποψίαν ἀπολύσα-
2 σθαι. ἀγγελθέντων δὲ τούτων ἐκείνῳ συνῆλθον μὲν ἐς λόγους, καὶ κατηλλάχθαι τισὶν ἔδοξαν (τάς τε γὰρ γνώμας σφῶν ἀκριβῶς εἰδότες, καὶ ἐξελέγξαι τότε αὐτὰς ἄκαιρον εἶναι νομίσαντες, ἀνθυπεῖξάν τινα ἀλλήλοις[1] συμβιβαζόμενοι), καὶ ἡμέρας μέν τινας ἡσύχασαν, ἔπειτα δὲ ἀνθυποπτεύσαντες ἀλλήλους, εἴτ' ἐξ ἀληθοῦς ἐπιβουλῆς εἴτε καὶ ἐκ ψευδοῦς διαβολῆς, οἷα ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ φιλεῖ γίγνεσθαι, διηνέχθησαν αὖθις.
3 ὅταν γάρ τινες ἐκ μεγάλης ἔχθρας συνενεχθῶσι, πολλὰ μὲν μηδὲν δεινὸν ἔχοντα πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἐκ συντυχίας συμβαίνοντα[2] ὑποτοποῦσι· πᾶν γὰρ ἑνὶ λόγῳ ὡς καὶ ἐξεπίτηδες καὶ ἐπὶ κακῷ τινι γιγνόμενον πρὸς τὸ προϋπάρξαν ἔχθος λαμβάνουσι. καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐν τούτῳ καὶ οἱ διὰ μέσου ὄντες συνεπιτίθενται· διαγγέλλοντες γάρ τινα προσποιήσει εὐνοίας ἐπιπαροξύνουσιν αὐτούς.
4 πλεῖστόν τε γάρ ἐστι τὸ βουλόμενον πάντας τούς τι δυναμένους ἀλλήλοις διαφέρεσθαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἐπιχαῖρόν τε[3] ἐπὶ τῇ ἔχθρᾳ αὐτῶν καὶ συνεπιβουλεῦόν σφισι· καὶ ῥᾷστον ἀπατηθῆναι λό-

[1] ἀλλήλοις Reim., ἀλλήλους LM.
[2] συμβαίνοντα Bk., λαμβάνοντες LM.
[3] διὰ τοῦτ' ἐπιχαῖρόν τε Bk., διὰ τοὺς ἐπιχαίροντας LM.

but caused his lictors to drag him down and drive him out. All were exceedingly vexed, especially as Caesar, with a view to casting odium upon his rival and attracting the multitude, would no longer even frequent the Forum. So Antony became alarmed, and in conversation with the bystanders one day remarked that he harboured no anger against Caesar, but on the contrary owed him good-will, and was ready to end all suspicion. The statement was reported to the other, they held a conference, and some thought they had become reconciled. For they understood each other's feelings accurately, and, thinking it inopportune at that time to put them to the test, they tried to come to terms by making a few mutual concessions. And for some days they kept quiet; then they began to suspect each other afresh, as a result either of some actual treachery or some false calumny, as regularly happens under such conditions, and fell out again. For when men become reconciled after some great enmity they are suspicious of many acts that have no significance and of many chance occurrences; in brief, they regard everything, in the light of their former hostility, as done on purpose and for an evil end. And in the meantime those who are neutral aggravate the trouble between them by bearing reports back and forth under the pretence of good-will and thus exasperating them still further. For there is a very large element which is anxious to see all those who have power at variance with one another, an element which consequently takes delight in their enmity and joins in plots against them. And the one who has previously suffered from calumny is very easy to deceive with B.C. 44

γοις ἐπιτετηδευμένοις ἐκ φιλίας ἀνυπόπτου τὸ προδιαβεβλημένον. ἐκ μὲν οὖν τούτου καὶ ἐκεῖνοι, οὐδὲ ἐν τῷ πρὶν πιστεύοντες ἀλλήλοις, ἐπὶ πλέον ἠλλοτριώθησαν.

9 Ὁρῶν οὖν ὁ Ἀντώνιος τὸν Καίσαρα αὐξανόμενον, ἐπεχείρησε δελεάσαι τὸ πλῆθος, εἴ πως ἐκείνου τε αὐτοὺς ἀποσπάσειε καὶ ἑαυτῷ προσποιήσειε, καὶ χώραν ἄλλην τε πολλὴν καὶ τὴν ἐν τοῖς ἕλεσι τοῖς Πομπτίνοις, ὡς κεχωσμένοις ἤδη καὶ[1] γεωργεῖσθαι δυναμένοις, κληρουχηθῆναι διὰ Λουκίου Ἀντωνίου ἀδελφοῦ δημαρχοῦντος ἐσηγή-
2 σατο. τρεῖς γὰρ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ οἱ Ἀντώνιοι οὗτοι ὄντες ἀρχὰς ἅμα πάντες ἔσχον, ὁ μὲν Μᾶρκος ὑπατεύων, ὁ δὲ Λούκιος δημαρχῶν, ὁ δὲ Γάϊος στρατηγῶν· ὅθεν οὐχ ἥκιστα ἠδυνήθησαν τοὺς μὲν τότε τῶν συμμάχων καὶ τῶν ὑπηκόων ἄρχοντας, πλὴν τῶν σφαγέων τῶν πλειόνων, ἄλλων τέ τινων οὓς πιστούς σφισιν ἐνόμιζον εἶναι, παῦσαι,
3 ἑτέρους δὲ ἀντ' αὐτῶν ἀνθελέσθαι, καί τισιν ἐπὶ μακρότερον, παρὰ τὰ νενομοθετημένα πρὸς[2] τοῦ Καίσαρος, ἄρχειν ἐπιτρέψαι, καὶ τὴν μὲν Μακεδονίαν τὴν τῷ Μάρκῳ ἐκ τοῦ κλήρου δεδομένην ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Γάϊος σφετερίσασθαι, τὴν δὲ Γαλατίαν τὴν ἐντὸς τῶν Ἄλπεων, ᾗ ὁ Βροῦτος ὁ Δέκιμος προσετέτακτο, αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος μετὰ τῶν στρατευμάτων τῶν[3] ἐς τὴν Ἀπολλωνίαν προπεμφθέντων, ὡς καὶ ἰσχυροτάτην καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις καὶ τοῖς χρήμασιν οὖσαν, ἀντιλαβεῖν.
4 ταῦτά τε οὖν ἐψηφίσθη, καὶ τῷ Πομπηίῳ τῷ Σέξτῳ δύναμιν ἤδη πολλὴν ἔχοντι ἥ τε ἄδεια,

[1] καὶ Reim., καί τε (τει M) LM.
[2] πρὸς Bs., παρὰ LM. [3] τῶν supplied by Rk.

words adapted to the purpose by friends whose attachment is free from suspicion. Thus it was that these men, who even before this had not trusted each other, became now more estranged than ever. B.C. 44

So Antony, seeing that Caesar was gaining ground, attempted to attract the populace by various baits, to see if he could detach them from his rival and win them to himself. Hence he introduced a measure for the opening up to settlement of a great amount of land, including the region of the Pontine marshes, since these had already been filled in and were capable of cultivation. He did this through his brother Lucius Antonius, who was tribune; for the three Antonii, who were brothers, all held offices at the same time, Marcus being consul, Lucius tribune, and Gaius praetor. This in particular enabled them to remove those who were then governing the allies and subjects (except the majority of the assassins and some others whom they regarded as loyal) and to choose others in their place, and also to grant to some the privilege of holding office for an unusually long term, contrary to the laws established by Caesar. And thus Macedonia, which had fallen to Marcus by lot, was appropriated by his brother Gaius, while Marcus himself with the legions previously sent to Apollonia took in its place Cisalpine Gaul, to which Decimus Brutus had been assigned, because it was very powerful in soldiers and money. After these arrangements had been voted, the pardon granted to Sextus Pompey, who already had considerable influence, was confirmed, in spite of the fact that it had

καίτοι ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὥσπερ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις
δοθεῖσα, ἐβεβαιώθη, καὶ τὰ χρήματα, ὅσα ἔν τε
ἀργυρίῳ καὶ ἐν χρυσίῳ τὸ δημόσιον ἐκ τῆς πα-
τρῴας αὐτοῦ οὐσίας εἰλήφει, ἀποδοθῆναι ἐγνώσθη·
τῶν γὰρ χωρίων αὐτῆς[1] τὰ πλείω Ἀντώνιος ἔχων
οὐδεμίαν ἀπόδοσιν ἐποιήσατο.

10 Ἐκεῖνοι μὲν δὴ ταῦτ' ἔπραττον, διηγήσομαι δὲ
καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Σέξτον γενόμενα. ὡς γὰρ τότε
ἀπὸ τῆς Κορδούβης ἔφυγε, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐς
Λακητανίαν ἐλθὼν ἐνταῦθα ἐκρύφθη· ἐπεδιώχθη
μὲν γάρ, διέλαθε δὲ εὐνοϊκῶς τῶν ἐπιχωρίων οἱ
2 διὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς μνήμην ἐχόντων· ἔπειτα δὲ
ἐπειδὴ ὅ τε Καῖσαρ ἐς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀπῆρε καὶ ἐν
τῇ Βαιτικῇ στράτευμα οὐ πολὺ ὑπελείφθη, συνέ-
στησαν πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ ἐκεῖνοι καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς μάχης
διασωθέντες, καὶ οὕτω μετ' αὐτῶν ἔς τε τὴν
Βαιτικήν, ὡς καὶ ἐπιτηδειοτέραν ἐμπολεμῆσαι
3 οὖσαν, αὖθις ἀφίκετο, κἀνταῦθα καὶ στρατιώτας
καὶ πόλεις, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀπέ-
θανε, τὰς μὲν ἑκούσας τὰς δὲ καὶ βίᾳ προσλαβὼν
(ὁ γὰρ ἄρχων αὐτῶν Γάϊος Ἀσίνιος Πωλίων[2]
οὐδὲν ἰσχυρὸν εἶχεν) ὥρμησε μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν Καρ-
4 χηδόνα τὴν Ἰβηρικήν, ἐπιθεμένου δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τοῦ
Πωλίωνος[2] τῇ ἀπουσίᾳ αὐτοῦ καὶ κακώσαντός
τινα ἐπανῆλθε χειρὶ πολλῇ, καὶ συμβαλὼν αὐτόν
τε ἐτρέψατο, καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἰσχυρῶς ἀγωνιζο-
μένους ἔπειτ' ἐκ συντυχίας τοιᾶσδε ἐξέπληξε καὶ
5 ἐνίκησεν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος μὲν τὴν χλαμύδα
τὴν στρατηγικὴν[3] ἀπέρριψεν ὥστε ῥᾷον τῇ φυγῇ

[1] αὐτῆς R. Steph., αὐτοῖς LM, αὐτοῦ Xiph.
[2] Πωλίων, Πωλίωνος Reim., πολίων, πολίωνος LM.
[3] στρατηγικὴν Bk., στρατιωτικὴν LM.

originally been granted by Caesar to him as to all the rest. It was further resolved that whatever money in silver or gold the public treasury had received from his ancestral estate should be restored; but as for the lands belonging to it, Antony held the most of them and made no restoration. B.C. 44

This was the business in which these men were engaged. I shall now relate how Sextus had fared. When he had fled from Corduba on the former occasion,[1] he first came to Lacetania and concealed himself there. He was pursued, to be sure, but eluded discovery because the natives were kindly disposed to him out of regard for his father's memory. Later, when Caesar had set out for Italy and only a small army was left behind in Baetica, Sextus was joined both by the natives and by those who had escaped from the battle; and with them he came again into Baetica, because he thought it a more suitable region in which to carry on war. There he gained possession of soldiers and cities, particularly after Caesar's death, some voluntarily and some forcibly; for the commander in charge of them, Gaius Asinius Pollio, had no strong force. He next set out against Spanish Carthage, but since in his absence Pollio made an attack and did some damage, he returned with a large force, met his opponent, and routed him, after which the following accident enabled him to terrify and conquer the rest also, who were contending fiercely. Pollio had cast off his general's cloak, in order to suffer less chance of detection

[1] Cf. xliii. 39, 1.

λαθεῖν, ἕτερος δέ τις ὁμώνυμός τε αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπιφανὴς ἱππεὺς ἔπεσε, καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔκειτο ἡ δὲ ἑαλώκει,[1] τὸ μὲν ἀκούσαντες οἱ στρατιῶται τὸ δὲ ἰδόντες ἠπατήθησαν ὡς καὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ σφων ἀπο-
6 λωλότος καὶ ἐνέδοσαν. καὶ οὕτως ὁ Σέξτος νικήσας πάντα ὀλίγου τὰ ταύτῃ κατέσχε. δυνατοῦ δὲ ἤδη αὐτοῦ ὄντος ὁ Λέπιδος τῆς τε ὁμόρου[2] Ἰβηρίας ἄρξων ἀφίκετο, καὶ ἔπεισεν αὐτὸν ἐς ὁμολογίαν ἐλθεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ[3] τὰ πατρῷα κομίσασθαι. καὶ οὕτω καὶ ὁ Ἀντώνιος διά τε τὴν τοῦ Λεπίδου φιλίαν καὶ διὰ τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος ἔχθραν ψηφισθῆναι ἐποίησεν.

Καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτω τε καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐκ τῆς
11 Ἰβηρίας ἀπηλλάγη· Καῖσαρ δὲ καὶ Ἀντώνιος πάντα μὲν ἐπ' ἀλλήλοις ἔπραττον, οὐ μέντοι καὶ φανερῶς πω συνερρώγεσαν, ἀλλὰ καίπερ τῷ ἔργῳ ἐκπεπολεμωμένοι, τῇ γοῦν δοκήσει ἐπεκρύπτοντο. κἀκ τούτου καὶ τἆλλα τὰ ἐν τῇ πόλει πάντα ἔν
2 τε ἀκρισίᾳ[4] πολλῇ ἦν καὶ συνεκέχυτο. εἰρήνουν ἔτι καὶ ἐπολέμουν ἤδη· τό τε τῆς ἐλευθερίας σχῆμα ἐφαντάζετο καὶ τὰ τῆς δυναστείας ἔργα ἐγίγνετο. καὶ ἐν μὲν τῷ ἐμφανεῖ[5] ὁ Ἀντώνιος, ἅτε καὶ ὑπατεύων, ἐπλεονέκτει, ἡ δὲ δὴ σπουδὴ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα ἐποίει, τὸ μὲν διὰ τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ, τὸ δὲ καὶ διὰ τὰς ἐλπίδας ὧν ὑπισχνεῖτο, μέγιστον δὲ[6] ὅτι τῷ τε Ἀντωνίῳ πολὺ δυναμένῳ ἤχθοντο καὶ τῷ Καίσαρι μηδέπω
3 ἰσχύοντι συνήροντο. ἐφίλουν μὲν γὰρ οὐδέτερον, νέων δὲ δὴ ἀεὶ πραγμάτων ἐπιθυμοῦντες, καὶ τὸ

[1] ἑαλώκει L ἀλώκει M. [2] ὁμόρου Xiph., ὁμοχώρου LM.
[3] τῷ L Xiph., τὸ M. [4] ἀκρισίᾳ L Xiph., ἀκρασίαι M.
[5] ἐμφανεῖ Xiph., ἀφανεῖ LM. [6] δὲ Rk., τε LM Xiph.

in his flight, and another man of the same name, B.C. 44
a distinguished knight, had fallen. The soldiers, hearing the name of the latter, who was lying there, and seeing the garment, which had been captured, were deceived, thinking that their general had perished, and so surrendered. In this way Sextus conquered and gained possession of nearly the whole region. When he had thus become powerful, Lepidus arrived to govern the adjoining portion of Spain, and persuaded him to enter into an agreement on the condition of recovering his father's estate. And Antony, influenced by his friendship for Lepidus and by his hostility toward Caesar, caused such a decree to be passed.

So Sextus, in this way and on these conditions, departed from Spain. As for Caesar and Antony, in all their acts they were opposing each other, but had not yet fallen out openly, and while in reality they had become enemies, they tried to disguise the fact so far as appearances went. As a result all other interests in the city were in great confusion and turmoil. The citizens were still at peace and yet already at war; the appearance of liberty was kept up, but the deeds done were those of a monarchy. To a casual observer Antony, since he held the consulship, seemed to be getting the best of it, but the zeal of the masses was for Caesar. This was partly on his father's account, partly on account of their hopes for what he kept promising them, but above all because they were displeased at the great power of Antony and were inclined to assist Caesar while he was as yet devoid of strength. Neither man, to be sure, had their affection; but they were always eager for a change of government, and it

μὲν κρεῖττον ἀεὶ πᾶν καθαιρεῖν τῷ δὲ πιεζομένῳ βοηθεῖν πεφυκότες, ἀπεχρῶντο αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὰ σφέτερα ἐπιθυμήματα. ταπεινώσαντες οὖν τότε διὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος τὸν Ἀντώνιον, ἔπειτα κἀκεῖνον
4 καταλῦσαι ἐπεχείρησαν. τοῖς γάρ τι ἀεὶ δυναμένοις βαρυνόμενοι τούς τε ἀσθενεστέρους προσελάμβανον καὶ διὰ τούτων αὐτοὺς καθῄρουν· ἔπειτα καὶ ἐκείνοις ἠλλοτριοῦντο. κἀκ τούτου ἀντικαθιστάντες σφᾶς ἐς τὸ ἐπίφθονον τοὺς αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐφίλουν καὶ ἐμίσουν, καὶ ηὖξον καὶ ἐταπείνουν.

12 Οὕτως οὖν αὐτῶν καὶ περὶ τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ περὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐχόντων ἀρχὴν τήνδε ὁ πόλεμος ἔλαβεν. ὁ Καῖσαρ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου ἐς τὸ Βρεντέσιον πρὸς τοὺς στρατιώτας τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Μακεδονίας περαιωθέντας ἀφορμήσαντος ἐκεῖσε
2 μὲν ἑτέρους τινὰς μετὰ χρημάτων, ὅπως σφᾶς σφετερίσωσι, προαπέστειλεν, αὐτὸς δὲ μέχρι Καμπανίας ἐλθὼν πλῆθος ἀνδρῶν ἐκ τῆς Καπύης μάλιστα, ἅτε καὶ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ, ᾧ τιμωρεῖν ἔλεγε, τήν τε χώραν καὶ τὴν πόλιν εἰληφότων, ἤθροισεν, ὑπισχνεῖτό τέ σφισι πολλά, καὶ ἔδωκεν εὐθὺς τότε κατὰ πεντακοσίας δραχμάς.
3 ἐκ τούτων δὴ τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τὸ τῶν ἠουοκάτων[1] σύστημα, οὓς ἀνακλήτους ἄν τις ἑλληνίσας, ὅτι πεπαυμένοι τῆς στρατείας[2] ἐπ' αὐτὴν[3] αὖθις ἀνεκλήθησαν, ὀνομάσειεν, ἐνομίσθη. καὶ αὐτοὺς παραλαβὼν ὁ Καῖσαρ ἠπείχθη τε ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην
4 πρὶν τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀνακομισθῆναι, καὶ ἐς τὸν

[1] ἠουοκάτων Xyl., ἠουκάτων ἢ βηκάτων LM.
[2] στρατείας H. Steph., στρατιᾶς LM.
[3] αὐτὴν R. Steph., αὐτὸν LM.

was their nature to overthrow every party that B.C. 44
had the upper hand and to help the one that was being oppressed. Consequently they made use of the two to suit their own desires. Thus, after humbling Antony at this time through Caesar, they next undertook to destroy the latter also. For in their irritation against the men successively in power they regularly took up with the weaker side and attempted with its help to overthrow the others; afterwards they would become estranged from this side also. Thus exposing both of them to envy in turn, they alternately loved and hated, elevated and humbled, the same persons.

While they were thus disposed toward Caesar and Antony, the war began in the following way. When Antony had set out for Brundisium to meet the soldiers who had crossed over from Macedonia, Caesar sent some men to that city with money, who were to arrive there before Antony and win over the men, while he himself went to Campania and collected a large number of men, chiefly from Capua, because the people there had received their land and city from his father, whom he said he was avenging. He made them many promises and gave them on the spot two thousand sesterces apiece. From these men was constituted the corps of *evocati*, which one might translate the "recalled," because after having ended their military service they were recalled to it again. Caesar took charge of them, hastened to Rome before Antony returned, and came

ὅμιλον ὑπὸ τοῦ Καννουτίου παρασκευασθέντα αὐτῷ ἐσελθὼν πολλὰ μὲν τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀνέμνησεν, ἐπεξιὼν ὅσα καλῶς ἐπεποιήκει, πολλὰ
5 δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ μέτρια διελέχθη, τοῦ τε Ἀντωνίου κατηγόρησε, καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας τοὺς ἀκολουθήσαντάς οἱ ἐπῄνεσεν ὡς καὶ ἐθελοντὶ[1] πρὸς ἐπικουρίαν τῆς πόλεως παρόντας καὶ ἑαυτόν τε ἐπ' αὐτῇ προκεχειρισμένους καὶ δι' ἑαυτοῦ
6 πᾶσι ταῦτα δηλοῦντας.[2] ἐπαίνων τε ἐπὶ τούτοις ἔκ τε τῆς ἄλλης παρασκευῆς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ συνόντος αὐτῷ πλήθους τυχὼν ἀπῆρεν[3] ἐς τὴν Τυρσηνίαν,
13 ὅπως καὶ ἐκεῖθεν δύναμίν τινα προσλάβῃ. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' ἔπραττεν, Ἀντώνιον δὲ τὴν μὲν ἀρχὴν φιλοφρόνως οἱ στρατιῶται ἐν τῷ Βρεντεσίῳ ἐδέξαντο, προσδοκήσαντες πλείω παρ' αὐτοῦ τῶν προτεινομένων σφίσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος λήψεσθαι, ἐπειδὴ καὶ πολλῷ πλείω κεκτῆσθαι αὐτὸν
2 ἐκεῖνον ἐνόμιζον· ὡς μέντοι ἑκατόν τε ἑκάστῳ δραχμὰς δώσειν ὑπέσχετο, καὶ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τούτῳ θορυβησάντων σφαγῆναι ἄλλους τέ τινας καὶ[4] ἑκατοντάρχους ἔν τε τοῖς αὑτοῦ καὶ ἐν τοῖς τῆς
3 γυναικὸς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐκέλευσε, τότε μὲν ἡσύχασαν, πορευόμενοι δὲ ἐς τὴν Γαλατίαν καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἄστυ γεγενημένοι ἐνεωτέρισαν, καὶ καταφρονήσαντες τῶν ὑποστρατήγων τῶν ἐπιτεταγμένων σφίσι συχνοὶ πρὸς τὸν Καίσαρα μετέστησαν· καὶ τό γε Ἄρειον τό τε[5] τέταρτον στρατόπεδον ὠνομασμέ-
4 νον ὅλον αὐτῷ προσεχώρησε. παραλαβὼν οὖν αὐτούς, καὶ ἀργύριον καὶ ἐκείνοις ὁμοίως δούς,

[1] ἐθελοντὶ H. Steph., ἐθελοντῆι LM.
[2] δηλοῦντας Xyl., δηλοῦν LM. [3] ἀπῆρεν Bk., ἀπῆρέ τε LM.
[4] τινας καὶ cod. Peir., om. LM. [5] τε added by Bs.

before the people, who had been made ready for him B.C. 44
by Cannutius. There he reminded them in detail of the many excellent deeds his father had performed. delivered a lengthy, though moderate, defence of himself, and brought charges against Antony. He also praised the soldiers who had accompanied him, saying that they had come voluntarily to lend aid to the city, that they had elected him to preside over the state, and that through him they made known these facts to all. For this speech he received the approbation of his following and of the throng that stood by, after which he departed for Etruria with a view to obtaining an accession to his forces from that region. While he was doing this Antony had at first been kindly received in Brundisium by the soldiers, because they expected to secure more from him than was offered them by Caesar; for they believed that he possessed much more than his rival. When, however, he promised to give them merely four hundred sesterces apiece, they raised an outcry, but he reduced them to submission by ordering centurions as well as others to be slain before the eyes of himself and of his wife. So for the time being the soldiers were quiet, but when they arrived near the capital on the way to Gaul they mutinied, and many of them, despising the lieutenants who had been set over them, changed to Caesar's side; in fact, the Martian legion, as it was called, and the fourth went over to him in a body. Caesar took charge of them and won their attachment by giving money to them likewise,—an act which added

προσέθετο καὶ ἄλλους ἐκ τούτου πολλούς, καὶ
τούς τε ἐλέφαντας τοὺς τοῦ Ἀντωνίου πάντας
ἔλαβεν ἐξαπίνης παρακομιζομένοις σφίσιν ἐντυ-
χών, ἐπειδή τε ἐκεῖνος ἄλλα τέ τινα ἐν[1] τῇ Ῥώμῃ
διοικήσας, καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας τοὺς λοιποὺς τούς
τε βουλευτὰς τοὺς σὺν αὐτοῖς ὄντας ὁρκώσας, ἐς
τὴν Γαλατίαν ἐξώρμησε[2] φοβηθεὶς μὴ καὶ αὐτή
τι[3] νεοχμώσῃ, οὐδ᾽ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀνεβάλετο, ἀλλ᾽
ἐπηκολούθησεν αὐτῷ.

14 Ἦρχε μὲν δὴ τότε τῆς χώρας ἐκείνης ὁ Βροῦτος
ὁ Δέκιμος,[4] καὶ αὐτοῦ ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐλπίδα πολλὴν
εἶχεν ἅτε καὶ τὸν Καίσαρα ἀπεκτονότος· ἐπράχθη
δὲ ὧδε. ὁ Δέκιμος οὔτε τι ἐς τὸν Καίσαρα ὑπο-
πτεύων (οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπηπείλει τι τοῖς σφαγεῦσι)
καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἐκείνου πολέμιον
ἢ καὶ ἑαυτοῦ τῶν τε ἄλλων τῶν τι δυναμένων ὑπ᾽
ἐμφύτου πλεονεξίας ὁρῶν ὄντα, οὐχ ὑπεῖξεν αὐτῷ.
μαθὼν οὖν τοῦτο ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ πολὺ μὲν ἠπόρησεν
2 ὅ τι πράξῃ. ἐμίσει μὲν γὰρ ἀμφοτέρους αὐτούς,
οὐ μέντοι καὶ εἶχεν ὅπως ἑκατέρῳ ἅμα μάχοιτο·
οὐδὲ γὰρ τῷ ἑτέρῳ σφῶν ὁποτερῳοῦν ἀντίπαλος
ἤδη ἦν, πρὸς δὲ καὶ ἐδεδίει μὴ τοῦτο τολμήσας
συστήσῃ τε αὐτοὺς ἀλλήλοις καὶ καθ᾽ ἓν ἀμφο-
3 τέροις[5] πολεμήσῃ. λογισάμενος οὖν ὅτι ὁ μὲν
πρὸς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἀγὼν ἤδη τε ἐνέστηκε καὶ
ἐπείγει, τῆς δὲ τιμωρίας τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς οὐδέπω
καιρὸς εἴη, τὸν Δέκιμον προσηταιρίσατο. καὶ γὰρ
εὖ ἠπίστατο ὅτι τούτῳ μέν, ἂν τῶν ἀντικαθεστη-

[1] ἐν Leuncl., καὶ ἐν LM.
[2] ἐξώρμησε Zon., ἐφώρμησε LM [3] τι M, τε L.
[4] Δέκιμος Leuncl., δέκιος LM (and similarly below).
[5] ἀμφοτέροις L, ἀμφοτέρους M.

many more to his cause. He also captured all the elephants of Antony, by falling in with them suddenly as they were being driven along. Antony stopped in Rome only long enough to arrange a few affairs and to administer the oath to all the rest of the soldiers and the senators who were in their company; then he set out for Gaul, fearing that it, too, might begin an uprising. Caesar, on his side, did not delay, but followed after him. B.C. 44

The governor of Gaul at this time was Decimus Brutus, and Antony placed great hope in him, because he had helped to slay Caesar. But matters turned out as follows. Decimus had no suspicion of Caesar, for the latter had uttered no threats against the assassins; and, on the other hand, he saw that Antony was as much a foe of himself as of Caesar or of any of the rest who had any power, as a result of his natural cupidity; therefore he refused to give way to him. Caesar, when he heard of this, was for some time at a loss what course to adopt. For he hated both Decimus and Antony, but saw no way in which he could contend against them both at once; for he was by no means yet a match for either one of the two, and he was furthermore afraid that if he risked such a move he might throw them into each other's arms and have to face their united opposition. After stopping to reflect, therefore, that the struggle with Antony had already begun and was urgent, but that it was not yet a fitting season for avenging his father, he made a friend of Decimus. For he well understood that he should find no great difficulty in fighting against

κότων[1] δι' αὐτοῦ κρατήσῃ, οὐδὲν μέγα ἔργον μετὰ
τοῦτό οἱ προσπολεμήσας ἕξει, ἐκεῖνον δὲ ἰσχυρὸν
αὖθις πολέμιον[2] σχήσει· τοσοῦτόν που ἀλλήλων
15 διέφερον. πέμψας οὖν πρὸς τὸν Δέκιμον φιλίαν
τε αὐτῷ ἐπηγγείλατο, καὶ συμμαχίαν, ἂν μὴ τὸν
Ἀντώνιον δέξηται, προσυπισχνεῖτο. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο
καὶ οἱ ἐν τῷ ἄστει τὴν χάριν τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος
2 συνῄροντο. τότε μὲν οὖν (ἤδη γὰρ ὅ τε ἐνιαυτὸς
ἐξῄει καὶ ὕπατος οὐδεὶς παρῆν· ὁ γὰρ Δολοβέλλας
ἐς τὴν Συρίαν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου προεξεπέπεμπτο)
ἔπαινοι ἐν τῇ βουλῇ αὐτοῖς τε ἐκείνοις καὶ τοῖς
στρατιώταις τοῖς τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐγκαταλιποῦσι,
3 τῶν δημάρχων ἐπιψηφισάντων, ἐγένοντο.[3] καὶ
ὅπως γε μετὰ ἀδείας τοῦ νέου ἔτους ἐνστάντος
βουλεύσωνται περὶ τῶν παρόντων, φρουρᾷ[4] σφίσι
στρατιωτῶν ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ χρῆσθαι ἔδοξε. ταῦτα
γὰρ ἤρεσκε μὲν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς πλείοσι τῶν
ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ τότε ὄντων (τὸν γὰρ Ἀντώνιον δεινῶς
4 ἐμίσουν), μάλιστα δὲ δὴ τῷ Κικέρωνι· διὰ γὰρ τὸ
πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχθος σφοδρότατον ὑπάρχον τόν τε
Καίσαρα ἐθεράπευε, καὶ πᾶν ὅσον ἐδύνατο καὶ
λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ τούτῳ τε ἐβοήθει καὶ ἐκεῖνον ἐκά-
κου. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο, καίτοι ἐκχωρήσας ἐκ τῆς
πόλεως ὡς καὶ τὸν υἱὸν Ἀθήναζε ἐπὶ παιδείᾳ
προπέμψων, ἐπανῆλθεν ἐπειδήπερ ἐκπεπολεμω-
μένους σφᾶς ᾔσθετο.
16 Ἐκείνῳ μὲν οὖν τῷ ἔτει ταῦτ' ἐπράχθη, καὶ ὁ
Σερουίλιος[5] ὁ Ἰσαυρικὸς ὑπεργήρως ἀπέθανε. διά
τε οὖν τοῦτο ἐμνημόνευσα αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὅτι οὕτως οἱ

[1] ἀντικαθεστηκότων Rk., καθεστηκότων LM.
[2] πολέμιον R. Steph., πόλεμον LM.
[3] ἐγένοντο L, ἐγένετο M. [4] φρουρᾷ Cobet, φρουραῖς LM.
[5] Σερουίλιος Xyl., σουλπίκιος LM.

Decimus later, if with his aid he could first overcome his adversaries, but that in Antony he should again have a powerful antagonist; so serious were the differences between them. Accordingly he sent to Decimus, proposing friendship and also promising alliance, if he would refuse to receive Antony. This proposal caused the people in the city likewise to espouse Caesar's cause. Just at this time the year was drawing to a close and no consul was on the ground, Dolabella having been previously sent by Antony to Syria; nevertheless, eulogies both of Caesar and Brutus themselves and of the soldiers who had abandoned Antony were delivered in the senate with the concurrence of the tribunes. And in order that they might deliberate about the situation in security when the new year should begin, they voted to employ a guard of soldiers at their meetings. This pleased nearly all who were in Rome at the time, since they cordially detested Antony, and it was particularly gratifying to Cicero. For he, on account of his very bitter hostility toward Antony, was paying court to Caesar, and so far as he could, both by speech and by action, strove to assist him in every way and to injure Antony. It was for this reason that, although he had left the city to accompany his son to Athens in the interest of the young man's education, he returned on ascertaining that the two men had become enemies. B.C. 44

Besides these events which took place that year, Servilius Isauricus died at a very advanced age. I have mentioned him both for this reason and to

τότε Ῥωμαῖοι τούς τε τῷ ἀξιώματι προήκοντας[1]
ἤδοῦντο καὶ τοὺς ἀναιδείᾳ τινὶ χρωμένους καὶ ἐπὶ
2 τοῖς ἐλαχίστοις ἐμίσουν ὥστε, ἐπειδὴ ἐκεῖνός τινα
ἐν ὁδῷ ποτε ἀπαντήσαντά οἱ βαδίζοντι ἱπ-
πεύοντα, καὶ μήτε ἀποπηδήσαντα καὶ προσέτι
ἰσχυρῶς προσεξελάσαντα, ἐγνώρισέ[2] τε μετὰ
τοῦτο ἐν δικαστηρίῳ κρινόμενον καὶ εἶπε[3] τοῖς
δικασταῖς τὸ γενόμενον, οὔτε λόγον ἔτ' αὐτῷ
ἔδοσαν καὶ κατεψηφίσαντο πάντες.

17 Αὔλου δὲ δὴ Ἱρτίου μετὰ Γαΐου Οὐιβίου[4]
ὑπατεύσαντος (οὗτος γάρ, καίτοι τοῦ πατρὸς
αὐτοῦ ἐς τὰ λευκώματα τὰ Σύλλεια ἐσγραφέντος,
ὕπατος τότε ἀπεδείχθη) βουλή τε ἐγένετο καὶ
γνῶμαι ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἐφεξῆς ἡμέρας,[5] ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῆς
2 νουμηνίας ἀρξάμεναι, προετέθησαν· ἔκ τε γὰρ τοῦ
πολέμου ἐν χερσὶν ὄντος καὶ ἐκ τεράτων, ἃ
πλεῖστα καὶ ἐξαισιώτατα ἐγεγόνει, ταρασσόμενοι
οὐδὲ τῆς ἀποφράδος, τὸ μὴ ἐν ἐκείναις βουλεύ-
σασθαί[6] τι τῶν συμφερόντων σφίσιν, ἀπέσχοντο.
κεραυνοί τε γὰρ παμπληθεῖς ἔπεσον, καί τινες
αὐτῶν καὶ ἐς τὸν νεὼν τὸν τῷ Διὶ τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ
3 ἐν τῷ Νικαίῳ ὄντα[7] κατέσκηψαν· καὶ πνεῦμα
μέγα ἐπιγενόμενον τάς τε στήλας τὰς περὶ τὸ
Κρόνιον καὶ περὶ τὸν τῆς Πίστεως νεὼν προσπε-
πηγυίας ἀπέρρηξε καὶ διεσκέδασε, καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα
τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Φυλακίδος, ὃ πρὸ τῆς φυγῆς ὁ
Κικέρων ἐς τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀνετεθείκει,[8] κατέβαλε

[1] προήκοντας Leuncl., προσήκοντας LM.
[2] ἐγνώρισέ Leuncl., ἐγνωρίσθαι LM.
[3] εἶπε Leuncl., εἰπόντος LM. [4] Οὐιβίου Xyl., υἱοῦ LM.
[5] ἡμέρας R. Steph., ἡμεραῖς LM.
[6] βουλεύσασθαί Bk., βουλεῦσαί LM.
[7] ὄντα R. Steph., ὄντι LM. [8] ἀνετεθείκει Bk., ἀνετίθει LM.

show how the Romans of that period respected men who were prominent through merit and hated those who behaved insolently, even in the smallest matters. This Servilius, it seems, had once while walking met on the road a man on horseback, who, so far from dismounting at his approach, galloped right on. Later he recognized the fellow in a defendant in court, and when he mentioned the incident to the jurors, they gave the man no further hearing, but unanimously condemned him. B.C. 44

In the consulship of Aulus Hirtius and Gaius Vibius (for Vibius was now appointed consul in spite of the fact that his father's name had been posted on the tablets of Sulla) a meeting of the senate was held and opinions expressed for three successive days, including the very first day of the year. For because of the war which was upon them and the portents, very numerous and unfavourable, which took place, they were so excited that they failed to observe even the *dies nefasti* and to refrain on those days from deliberating about any of their interests. Vast numbers of thunderbolts had fallen, some of them descending on the shrine of Capitoline Jupiter which stood in the temple of Victory; also a mighty windstorm occurred which snapped off and scattered the tablets[1] erected about the temple of Saturn and the shrine of Fides and also overturned and shattered the statue of Minerva the Protectress, which Cicero had set up on the Capitol before his B.C. 43

[1] *i.e.*, the bronze tablets containing laws, etc.

4 καὶ κατέθραυσε. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν καὶ αὐτῷ τῷ Κικέρωνι τὸν ὄλεθρον προεδήλωσε· τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἐκεῖνά τε ἐτάραττε καὶ σεισμὸς μέγας γενόμενος, ταῦρός τέ τις τυθείς τε δι' αὐτὸν[1] ἐν[2] τῷ Ἑστιαίῳ[3] καὶ ἀναπηδήσας μετὰ τὴν ἱερουργίαν. πρὸς δὲ δὴ τούτοις τοιούτοις οὖσι λαμπὰς ἀπ' ἀνίσχοντος ἡλίου πρὸς δυσμὰς διέδραμε, καί τις ἀστὴρ καινὸς ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας
5 ὤφθη. τό τε φῶς τοῦ ἡλίου ἐλαττοῦσθαί τε καὶ σβέννυσθαι, τοτὲ[4] δὲ ἐν τρισὶ κύκλοις φαντάζεσθαι ἐδόκει, καὶ ἕνα γε αὐτῶν στέφανος σταχύων πυρώδης περιέσχεν,[5] ὥστ' εἴπερ[6] τι ἄλλο, καὶ τοῦτο ἐναργέστατα αὐτοῖς ἐκβῆναι· οἵ τε γὰρ ἄνδρες οἱ τρεῖς ἐδυνάστευον, λέγω δὲ τὸν Καίσαρα καὶ τὸν Λέπιδον καὶ τὸν Ἀντώνιον, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶν ὁ Καῖσαρ μετὰ τοῦτο τὴν νίκην ἔλαβεν.
6 τότε δ' οὖν ταῦτά τε ἐγένετο, καὶ λόγια πρὸς κατάλυσιν τῆς δημοκρατίας φέροντα παντοῖα ᾔδετο. κόρακές τε ἐς τὸ Διοσκόρειον[7] ἐσπετόμενοι τὰ τῶν ὑπάτων τοῦ τε Ἀντωνίου καὶ τοῦ Δολοβέλλου ὀνόματα, ἐνταῦθά που ἐν πινακίῳ ἐγγε-
7 γραμμένα, ἐξεκόλαψαν. καὶ κύνες πολλοὶ νυκτὸς κατά τε τὴν ἄλλην πόλιν καὶ πρὸς τῇ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως τοῦ Λεπίδου οἰκίᾳ μάλιστα συστρεφόμενοι ὠρύοντο. ὅ τε Ἠριδανὸς ἐπὶ πολὺ τῆς πέριξ γῆς πελαγίσας ἐξαίφνης ἀνεχώρησε, καὶ παμπληθεῖς ἐν τῷ ξηρῷ ὄφεις ἐγκατέλιπε. καὶ ἰχθῦς ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης ἀμύθητοι κατὰ τὰς τοῦ

[1] αὐτὸν Rk., αὐτῶν LM. [2] ἐν R. Steph., ἐς LM.
[3] Ἑστιαίῳ R. Steph., ἐστιδίωι LM. [4] τοτὲ Xiph., τότε LM.
[5] περιέσχεν Xiph., περιέσχον LM.
[6] ὥστ' εἴπερ Rk., ὥσπερ LM.
[7] Διοσκόρειον Dind., διοσκούρειον LM.

exile. This, now, also portended death to Cicero himself. Another thing that frightened the rest of the population was a great earthquake which occurred, and the fact that a bull which was being sacrificed on account of it in the temple of Vesta leaped up after the ceremony. In addition to these omens, clear as they were, a flash darted across from the east to the west and a new star was seen for several days. Then the light of the sun seemed to be diminished and even extinguished, and at times to appear in three circles, one of which was surmounted by a fiery crown of sheaves. This came true for them as clearly as ever any prophecy did. For the three men were in power,—I mean Caesar, Lepidus and Antony,—and of these Caesar subsequently secured the victory. At the same time that these things occurred all sorts of oracles foreshadowing the downfall of the republic were recited. Crows, moreover, flew into the temple of Castor and Pollux and pecked out the names of the consuls, Antony and Dolabella, which were inscribed there somewhere on a tablet. And by night dogs would gather together in large numbers throughout the city and especially near the house of the high priest, Lepidus, and howl. Again, the Po, which had flooded a large portion of the surrounding territory, suddenly receded and left behind on the dry land a vast number of snakes; and countless fish were cast up from the sea on the shore near the B.C. 43

Τιβέριδος ἐκβολὰς ἐς τὴν ἤπειρον ἐξέπεσον.
8 ἐπεγένετο μὲν οὖν καὶ λοιμὸς[1] ἐπ' αὐτοῖς πάσῃ ὡς εἰπεῖν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ἰσχυρός, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τό τε βουλευτήριον τὸ Ὁστίλιον ἀνοικοδομηθῆναι καὶ τὸ χωρίον ἐν ᾧ ἡ ναυμαχία ἐγεγόνει συγχωσθῆναι ἐψηφίσθη· οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐνταῦθα στήσεσθαι τὸ
9 δεινὸν ἐδόκει, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐπειδὴ τοῦ Οὐιβίου[2] τὰ ἐσιτήρια[3] τῇ νουμηνίᾳ θύοντος ῥαβδοῦχός τις αὐτοῦ ἔπεσεν ἐξαίφνης καὶ ἀπέθανεν. διὰ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα καὶ ἐν ἐκείναις ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐβουλεύσαντό τε, καὶ εἶπον ἄλλοι τε ἐφ' ἑκάτερα πολλοὶ καὶ ὁ Κικέρων ὧδε·

18 "Ὧν μὲν ἕνεκα τὴν ἀποδημίαν, ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐκδημήσων, ἐστειλάμην, καὶ διὰ σπουδῆς τὴν ἐπάνοδον, ὡς καὶ πολλὰ ὑμᾶς ὠφελήσων, ἐποιησάμην, ἠκούσατε πρῴην, ὦ πατέρες, ὅθ'
2 ὑμῖν περὶ αὐτῶν τούτων ἀπελογησάμην. οὔτε γὰρ ἐν δυναστείᾳ καὶ τυραννίδι ζῆν ὑπομείναιμ' ἄν, ἐν ᾗ μήτε πολιτεύσασθαι ὀρθῶς[4] μήτε παρρησιάσασθαι ἀσφαλῶς μήτε τελευτῆσαι χρησίμως ὑμῖν δύναμαι, οὔτ' αὖ παρὸν τῶν δεόντων τι[5] πρᾶξαι, κατοκνήσαιμ' ἂν καὶ μετὰ κινδύνου τοῦτο ποιῆσαι.
3 νομίζω γὰρ ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ ὁμοίως ἔργον εἶναι τοῖς τε τῆς πατρίδος συμφέρουσι τηρεῖν ἑαυτόν, φυλαττόμενον μὴ μάτην ἀπόληται, κἂν τούτῳ μηδὲν ἐλλείπειν τῶν προσηκόντων μήτε λέγοντα μήτε πράττοντα, κἂν ἄρα τι καὶ παθεῖν σώζοντα αὐτὴν ἀναγκαῖον ᾖ.

[1] λοιμὸς v. Herw., ὁ λοιμὸς LM.
[2] Οὐιβίου Xyl., ἰουλίου LM.
[3] ἐσιτήρια Xyl., ἐσητήρια LM.
[4] ὀρθῶς supplied by Bk.
[5] παρὸν τῶν δεόντων τι R. Steph., παρόντων δέοντι M, παρασχόντων δέοντι L.

mouths of the Tiber. Succeeding these terrors a terrible plague spread over nearly all Italy, because of which the senate voted that the Curia Hostilia[1] should be rebuilt and that the spot where the naval battle had taken place[2] should be filled up. However, the curse did not appear disposed to rest even then, especially since, when Vibius was conducting the opening sacrifices on the first day of the year, one of his lictors suddenly fell down and died. Because of these events they took counsel during those days, and among the various men who spoke on one side or the other Cicero addressed them as follows: B.C. 43

"You have heard recently, Conscript Fathers, when I made a statement to you about the matter, why I made preparations for my departure, thinking that I should be absent from the city for a long time, and then hastily returned, with the idea that I should benefit you greatly. For I could not, on the one hand, endure to live under a monarchy or a tyranny, since under such a government I cannot live rightly as a free citizen nor speak my mind safely nor die in a way that would be of service to you; and yet, on the other hand, if opportunity should be afforded to perform any necessary service, I would not shrink from doing it, though it involved danger. For I deem it the business of an upright man equally to keep himself safe in his country's interest, taking care that he may not perish uselessly, and at the same time not to fail in any duty either of speech or of action, even if it be necessary to suffer some harm while saving his country.

[1] Cf. xl. 50. [2] Cf. xliii. 23, 4.

19 "Οὕτω δὴ τούτων ἐχόντων ἦν μέν που πολλὴ
καὶ παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ ἐμοὶ καὶ ὑμῖν
ἀσφάλεια πρὸς τὸ τὰ δέοντα βουλεύσασθαι· ἐπεὶ
δὲ καὶ μετὰ φρουρᾶς συνελθεῖν ἐψηφίσασθε,
πάνθ' ἡμᾶς οὕτω δεῖ[1] καὶ εἰπεῖν καὶ πρᾶξαι
τήμερον ὥστε καὶ τὰ παρόντα καταστήσασθαι
καὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος προϊδέσθαι, μὴ[2] καὶ αὖθις
2 ἀναγκασθῶμεν ὁμοίως ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν διαγνῶναι.
ὅτι μὲν οὖν[3] χαλεπὰ καὶ δεινὰ καὶ πολλῆς ἐπι-
μελείας καὶ φροντίδος δεόμενα τὰ πράγματα
ἡμῶν ἐστι, καὶ ὑμεῖς αὐτοὶ δῆλον, εἰ καὶ ἐκ
μηδενὸς ἄλλου, ἀλλ' οὖν ἐκ τούτου γε πεποιή-
κατε· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἐψηφίσασθε φυλακὴν τοῦ
βουλευτηρίου σχεῖν, εἴγε ἐξῆν ὑμῖν ἔν τε[4] τῷ
εἰωθότι κόσμῳ καὶ ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ ἀδεῶς τι βουλεύσα-
3 σθαι.[5] δεῖ δὲ ἡμᾶς καὶ διὰ τοὺς στρατιώτας
τοὺς παρόντας ἀξιόλογόν τι πρᾶξαι, ἵνα μὴ καὶ
αἰσχύνην ὄφλωμεν, αἰτήσαντες μὲν αὐτοὺς ὡς καὶ
φοβούμενοί τινας, ἀμελήσαντες δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων
ὡς ἐν οὐδενὶ δεινῷ καθεστηκότες, καὶ λόγῳ μέν
σφας ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ἐπ' Ἀντώνιον προσει-
4 ληφότες, ἔργῳ δ' ἐκείνῳ καθ' ἡμῶν αὐτῶν
δεδωκότες, ὥσπερ δέον αὐτόν, πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις
στρατεύμασιν ἃ κατὰ τῆς πατρίδος συγκροτεῖ,
καὶ αὐτοὺς τούτους προσλαβεῖν, ἵνα μηδὲν μηδὲ
τήμερον κατ' αὐτοῦ ψηφίσησθε.

20 "Καίτοι τινὲς ἐς τοῦτ' ἀναιδείας ἐληλύθασιν
ὥστε τολμᾶν λέγειν ὡς οὐ πολεμεῖ τῇ πόλει, καὶ
τοσαύτην γε εὐήθειαν ὑμῶν κατεγνώκασιν ὥστε

[1] δεῖ L, δὴ M. [2] μὴ Rk., ὥστε μὴ LM.
[3] οὖν supplied by Rk. [4] τε Rk., γε LM.
[5] βουλεύσασθαι Bk., βουλεῦσαι LM.

"This being the case, although a large measure of safety was afforded even by Caesar both to you and to me for the discussion of pressing questions, yet since you have further voted to assemble under guard, we must frame all our words and acts this day in such a fashion as to settle the present difficulties and to provide for the future, that we may not again be compelled to decide in a similar way about them. Now that our situation is difficult and dangerous and requires much care and thought, you yourselves have made evident, if in no other way, at least by this measure; for you would not have voted to keep the senate-house under guard, if it had been possible for you to deliberate without fear in accordance with your accustomed good order and in quiet. We must also accomplish something of importance by very reason of the soldiers who are here, so that we may not incur the disgrace that would certainly follow from asking for them as if we feared somebody, and then neglecting affairs as if we were liable to no danger. We should then appear to have acquired them only nominally on behalf of the city against Antony, but in reality to have given them to him to be used against ourselves, and it would look as if in addition to the other legions which he is gathering against his country he needed to acquire these very men also, in order that you might not pass any vote against him even to-day. B.C. 43

"Yet some have reached such a point of shamelessness as to dare to say that he is not warring against the state, and have credited you with a simplicity

καὶ νομίζειν τοῖς λόγοις τοῖς[1] ἑαυτῶν πείσειν ὑμᾶς
2 προσέχειν μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς ἔργοις τοῖς ἐκείνου. καὶ τίς ἂν ἀφεὶς τὸ τὰς πράξεις αὐτοῦ σκοπεῖν, καὶ τὴν στρατείαν ἣν ἐπὶ τοὺς συμμάχους ἡμῶν μήτε τῆς βουλῆς μήτε τοῦ δήμου προστάξαντος πεποίηται, καὶ τὰς χώρας ἃς κατατρέχει, καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἃς πολιορκεῖ, καὶ τὰς ἀπειλὰς ἃς πᾶσιν ἡμῖν ἀπειλεῖ, καὶ τὰς ἐλπίδας ἐφ' αἷς ἅπαντα ταῦτα ποιεῖ, τοῖς τε ῥήμασι τοῖς τούτων καὶ ταῖς ψευδολογίαις αἷς ἀναβάλλουσιν ὑμᾶς, σκήψεις καὶ προφάσεις λέγοντες, ἐθελήσειε πεισθεὶς ἀπολέ-
3 σθαι; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ τοσούτου δέω ταῦτα ποιοῦντα αὐτὸν ἔννομόν τι καὶ πολιτικὸν[2] πρᾶγμα φάναι πράττειν, ὥστε καὶ ὅτι τὴν τῆς Μακεδονίας ἀρχὴν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ κλήρου προσταχθεῖσαν αὐτῷ κατέλιπε, καὶ ὅτι τὴν τῆς Γαλατίας ἀρχὴν τὴν
4 μηδὲν αὐτῷ προσήκουσαν ἀνθείλετο, καὶ ὅτι στρατεύματα ἃ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπὶ τοὺς Πάρθους προύπεμψε, συλλαβὼν περὶ αὑτόν, μηδενὸς ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ δεινοῦ ὄντος, ἔχει, καὶ ὅτι τὴν πόλιν ἐν τῷ τῆς ὑπατείας χρόνῳ ἐκλιπὼν περιέρχεται[3] τὴν χώραν πορθῶν καὶ λυμαινόμενος, πάλαι φημὶ
21 πολέμιον αὐτὸν ἁπάντων ἡμῶν εἶναι. εἰ δὲ μὴ παραχρῆμα τότε ᾐσθάνεσθε μηδὲ ἐφ' ἑκάστῳ αὐτῶν ἠγανακτεῖτε, ἐκεῖνον μὲν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο[4] ἔτι μᾶλλον μισεῖν ἄξιόν ἐστιν, ὅτι τοιούτους ὄντας ὑμᾶς ἀδικῶν οὐ παύεται, καὶ δυνηθεὶς ἂν ἴσως συγγνώμης ἐφ' οἷς τὸ πρῶτον ἥμαρτε τυχεῖν, ἐς τοσοῦτο τῇ συνεχείᾳ τῆς πονηρίας προελήλυθεν

[1] τοῖς supplied by Dind. [2] πολιτικὸν Hug, παντὶ κακὸν LM.
[3] περιέρχεται Rk., ἐκπεριέρχεται LM.
[4] τοῦτο Bk., ταῦτα LM.

so great as to think that they will persuade you B.C. 43
to pay heed to their words rather than to his acts. But who would choose to shut his eyes to his acts and the campaign he has made against our allies without any orders from the senate or the people, the countries he is overrunning, the cities he is besieging, the threats he is hurling against us all, and the hopes with which he is doing all this, and would choose instead to believe, to his own ruin, the words of these men and their false statements, by which they put you off with pretexts and excuses? I, for my part, do not admit that in doing this he is acting legally or constitutionally. Far from it: he abandoned the province of Macedonia, which had been assigned to him by lot, chose instead the province of Gaul, which did not belong to him at all, assumed control of the legions which Caesar had sent ahead against the Parthians and keeps them about him, though no danger threatens Italy, and after leaving the city during the period of his consulship now goes about pillaging and ruining the country; for these reasons I declare that he has long been an enemy of us all. And if you did not perceive it immediately at the outset or feel indignation at each of his actions, he deserves to be hated all the more on that very account, in that he does not stop injuring you who are so long-suffering. He might perchance have obtained pardon for the errors which he committed at first, but now by his persistence in them he has reached such a pitch of knavery that he ought to be brought

ὥστε καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων χρῆναι δίκην ὑποσχεῖν·
2 ὑμῖν δὲ ἐς ὑπερβολὴν ἐπιμελητέον ἐστὶ τῶν πραγμάτων, ὁρῶσι καὶ λογιζομένοις τοῦθ', ὅτι τὸν τοσαυτάκις ὑμῶν ἐν τοσούτοις πράγμασι καταπεφρονηκότα ἀδύνατόν ἐστιν ἑκούσιον ὑπό τε τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπιεικείας καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς φιλανθρωπίας ὑμῶν σωφρονισθῆναι, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη καὶ ἄκοντα νῦν, εἰ καὶ μὴ πρότερον, τοῖς ὅπλοις κολασθῆναι.[1]

22 "Μὴ γὰρ ὅτι καὶ ψηφίσασθαί τινα αὐτῷ τὰ μὲν ἀνέπεισεν ὑμᾶς[2] τὰ δὲ ἐξεβιάσατο, ἧττόν τι παρὰ τοῦτο ἀδικεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐλάττονος διὰ τοῦτο
2 ἄξιον τιμωρίας εἶναι νομίσητε. πᾶν γὰρ τοὐναντίον καὶ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τούτου μάλιστα δίκην ὀφείλει δοῦναι, ὅτι πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ προελόμενος δρᾶσαι δι' ὑμῶν τέ τινα αὐτῶν ἐποιήσατο, καὶ ταῖς παρ' ὑμῶν ἀφορμαῖς, ἃς οὔτε εἰδότας οὔτε προορωμένους τι τοιοῦτον ἐξαπατήσας ἠνάγκασεν αὐτῷ ψηφίσασθαι, ἐφ' ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀπεχρήσατο.
3 ποῦ γὰρ ἂν ἑκόντες ὑμεῖς τὰς μὲν παρὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἢ καὶ τοῦ κλήρου δοθείσας ἑκάστοις ἡγεμονίας κατελύσατε, τούτῳ δὲ ἐπετρέψατε τά τε ἄλλα πολλὰ τοῖς φίλοις καὶ τοῖς ἑταίροις διαδοῦναι, καὶ ἐς μὲν τὴν Μακεδονίαν τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν Γάϊον πέμψαι, τὴν δὲ δὴ Γαλατίαν ἑαυτῷ μετὰ τῶν στρατευμάτων, οἷς οὐδὲν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν χρήσασθαι
4 εἶχε, προστάξαι;[3] ἢ οὐ μέμνησθε ὅπως[4] ταραττομένους ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ Καίσαρος τελευτῇ λαβὼν πάνθ' ὅσα ἠβουλήθη διεπράξατο, τὰ μὲν ἐπικοινῶν ὑμῖν ὑπούλως καὶ[5] ἀκαίρως, τὰ δὲ αὐτὸς

[1] κολασθῆναι Bk., κωλυθῆναι LM.
[2] ὑμᾶς R. Steph., ἡμᾶς LM.
[3] προστάξαι R. Steph., προστάξας LM.
[4] ὅπως added by R. Steph. [5] καὶ added by R. Steph.

to book for his former offences as well. And you ought to be excessively careful in regard to the situation, when you see this and ponder it—that the man who has so often despised you in matters so weighty cannot, as he would like, be corrected by the same gentleness and kindliness as you have shown before, but must now, even though never before, be chastised, quite against his will, by force of arms. B.C. 43

"And do not, because he partly persuaded and partly compelled you to vote him certain privileges, imagine that this makes him less guilty or deserving of less punishment. Quite the reverse: for this very procedure he particularly deserves to be punished, because, after determining beforehand to commit many outrages, he not only accomplished some of them through you, but also employed against you yourselves the resources which came from you, which by deception he forced you to vote to him when you neither realised nor foresaw anything of the sort. For after you had abrogated of your own free will the positions of command assigned by Caesar or by the lot to each man, would you ever have allowed this fellow to distribute numerous appointments to his friends and companions, sending his brother Gaius to Macedonia, and assigning to himself Gaul together with the legions, which he had no occasion to use in your defence? Do you not recall how, when he found you in consternation over Caesar's death, he carried out all the schemes that he chose, communicating some to you carefully dissimulated and at inopportune moments, and executing others on his own responsibility, thus adding villainy to

ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ προσκακουργῶν, πάντα δὲ βιαζόμενος;
στρατιώταις γοῦν, καὶ τούτοις βαρβάροις, καθ'
5 ὑμῶν ἐχρήσατο. καὶ τοῦτο θαυμάσειεν ἄν τις, εἰ
κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους ἐψηφίσθη τι οἷον οὐκ
ἐχρῆν, ὁπότε μηδὲ νῦν παρρησίαν ἄλλως εἰπεῖν τι
καὶ πρᾶξαι τῶν δεόντων, εἰ μὴ μετὰ φρουρᾶς,
ἐσχήκαμεν; ἣν εἰ τότε περιβεβλημένοι ἦμεν,
οὔτ' ἂν ἐκεῖνος ὧν φήσει τις αὐτὸν τυχεῖν ἔτυχεν,
οὔτ' ἂν τὰ μετὰ ταῦτα αὐξηθεὶς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἔπραξε.
6 μὴ οὖν ὅσα κελευόμενοι καὶ καταναγκαζόμενοι καὶ
θρηνοῦντες δεδωκέναι αὐτῷ ἐδόξαμεν, ταῦτά τις
ὡς καὶ νομίμως καὶ δικαίως γεγονότα προβαλ-
λέσθω·[1] οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις, ὅσα ἄν τις ἕτερος
ὑφ' ἑτέρου βιασθεὶς πράξῃ, κύρια ταῦτα τηρεῖται.
23 "Καίτοι ταῦτα μέν, ὅσα γε ψηφίσασθαι[2]
δοκεῖτε, καὶ βραχέα καὶ οὐ πάνυ ἔξω τοῦ
καθεστηκότος ὄντα[3] εὑρήσετε. τί γὰρ δεινὸν εἰ
ἕτερος ἀνθ' ἑτέρου Μακεδονίας ἢ Γαλατίας
ἄρξειν ἔμελλεν; ἢ τί χαλεπὸν εἴ[4] τις στρατιώτας
2 ὑπατεύων ἔλαβεν; ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνα χαλεπὰ καὶ
σχέτλια, τὸ τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν κακουργεῖσθαι, τὸ
τὰς πόλεις τὰς συμμαχίδας πολιορκεῖσθαι, τὸ τοὺς
στρατιώτας τοὺς ἡμετέρους ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ὁπλίζεσθαι, τὸ
τὰ ἡμέτερα καθ' ἡμῶν ἀναλίσκεσθαι· ἃ μήτε
3 ἐψηφίσασθε μήτε ἐμελλήσατε. μὴ τοίνυν, ὅτι
τινὰ[5] ἐδώκατε αὐτῷ, διὰ τοῦτο αὐτὸν ἐᾶτε[6] καὶ τὰ
μὴ δοθέντα πράττειν· μηδ' ὅτι τινὰ συνεχωρήσατε,
παρὰ τοῦτο οἴεσθε δεῖν καὶ τὰ μὴ συγχωρη-

[1] προβαλλέσθω Rk., παραβαλλέσθω LM.
[2] ψηφίσασθαι Leuncl., ἐψηφίσασθε LM.
[3] ὄντα Leuncl., ὄντος LM.
[4] εἴ R. Steph., ἢ LM.
[5] τινὰ supplied by Oddey.
[6] ἐᾶτε R. Steph., ἄτε LM.

his deception, while all his acts were accomplished by violence? At least he employed soldiers, and barbarians, too, against you. And need any one be surprised that in those days an occasional vote was passed which should not have been passed, when even now we have not obtained freedom to say and do anything that is needful in any other way than by the aid of a body-guard? If we had then been encompassed by this guard, he would not have obtained what some one may say he has obtained, nor would he have risen thereby to power and have done the deeds that followed. Accordingly, let no one retort that the rights which at his command and under compulsion and amid laments we had the appearance of giving him were legally and rightfully bestowed. For even in private business that is not observed as binding which a man does under compulsion from another. B.C. 43

"And yet all these measures which you may seem to have voted you will find to be unimportant and differing but little from established custom. What was there so serious in the fact that one man was destined to govern Macedonia or Gaul instead of another? Or what was the harm if a man obtained soldiers during his consulship? But these are the things that are harmful and abominable,—that our land should be ravaged, the allied cities besieged, our soldiers armed against us, and our wealth expended to our detriment; this you neither voted nor would ever have voted. Do not, then, merely because you have granted him certain privileges, allow him to usurp what was not granted him; and do not imagine that, because you have conceded certain points, he ought therefore to be permitted to do

θέντα αὐτῷ ποιεῖν ἐξεῖναι. πᾶν γὰρ τοὐναντίον καὶ δι' αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ μισεῖν καὶ τιμωρεῖσθαι αὐτὸν ὀφείλετε, ὅτι καὶ τῇ τιμῇ καὶ τῇ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τῇ παρ' ὑμῶν οὐκ ἐν τούτοις μόνοις ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασι καθ' ὑμῶν ἐτόλμησε
4 χρήσασθαι. σκοπεῖτε δέ· ἐψηφίσασθε τήν τε εἰρήνην καὶ τὴν ὁμόνοιαν τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἐμοὶ[1] πεισθέντες. ταύτην οὗτος πρυτανεῦσαι κελευσθεὶς οὕτω διῆχε[2] πρόφασιν τὴν τοῦ Καίσαρος ταφὴν ποιησάμενος, ὥστε πᾶσαν μὲν τὴν πόλιν ὀλίγου καταπρησθῆναι, παμπόλλους δὲ
5 αὖθις φονευθῆναι. ἐβεβαιώσατε πάντα τὰ δοθέντα τισὶ καὶ νομοθετηθέντα πρὸς τοῦ Καίσαρος, οὐχ ὡς καλῶς πάντ' ἔχοντα (πολλοῦ γε καὶ δεῖ), ἀλλ' ὅτι μηδὲν αὐτῶν μετακινηθῆναι συνέφερεν, ὅπως ἀνυπόπτως χωρὶς ὑπούλου τινὸς ἀλλήλοις συνῶμεν. τούτων ἐξεταστὴς οὗτος γενόμενος πολλὰ μὲν τῶν πραχθέντων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καταλέλυκε, πολλὰ δὲ ἕτερα ἀντεγγέγραφε·[3]
6 καὶ γὰρ χώρας καὶ πολιτείας καὶ ἀτελείας καὶ ἄλλας τινὰς τιμὰς τούς τε ἔχοντας ἀφῄρηται, καὶ ἰδιώτας καὶ βασιλέας καὶ πόλεις, καὶ τοῖς μὴ λαβοῦσι δέδωκε, παραποιησάμενος[4] τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὑπομνήματα, καὶ τοὺς μὲν μηδὲν ἐθελήσαντας αὐτῷ προΐεσθαι καὶ τὰ δοθέντα αὐτοῖς ἀφελόμενος, τοῖς δ' ὠνητιάσασι[5] καὶ
7 ἐκεῖνα καὶ τἆλλα πάντα πωλήσας. καίπερ ὑμεῖς αὐτὰ ταῦτα προορώμενοι ἐψηφίσασθε μηδεμίαν στήλην μετὰ τὸν τοῦ Καίσαρος θάνατον,

[1] ἐμοὶ Rk., καὶ ἐμοὶ LM. [2] διῆχε Bk., διῆγε LM.
[3] ἀντεγγέγραφε Pflugk, ἀντενέγραφε LM.
[4] παραποιησάμενος R. Steph., παραποιησαμένους LM.
[5] ὠνητιάσασι Dind., ὧν ἠιτιάσασι LM.

what has not been conceded. Quite the reverse: you should for this very reason both hate and punish him, because he has dared not only in this case but in all other cases to use against you the honour and kindness you have bestowed. Consider a moment. Through my influence you voted that there should be peace and harmony amongst you. This man, when he was ordered to manage the business, performed it in such a way, taking Caesar's funeral as a pretext, that almost the whole city was burned down and once more great numbers were slaughtered. You ratified all the grants made to various persons and all the laws laid down by Caesar, not because they were all excellent—far from it!—but because it was inadvisable to make any change in them, if we were to live together free from suspicion and without malice. This man, appointed to examine into Caesar's acts, has abolished many of them and has substituted many others in the documents. He has taken away lands and citizenship and exemption from taxes and many other honours from their possessors, whether private persons, kings, or cities, and has given them to men who did not receive them, by altering the memoranda of Caesar; from those who were unwilling to give up anything to his grasp he took away even what had been given them, and sold this and everything else to such as wished to buy. Yet you, foreseeing this very possibility, had voted that no tablet should be set up after Caesar's death B.C. 43

ὡς καὶ παρ' ἐκείνου τῳ[1] δεδομένον τι ἔχουσαν, στῆναι. καὶ μέντοι καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ὡς[2] πολὺ τοῦτ' ἐγίγνετο, καὶ ἔλεγεν ἀναγκαῖον εἶναί τινα τῶν ἐν τοῖς γράμμασι τοῖς τοῦ[3] Καίσαρος
8 εὑρεθέντων ἐκλεχθῆναί τε καὶ πραχθῆναι, ὑμεῖς μὲν μετὰ τῶν πρώτων ἀνδρῶν προσετάξατε αὐτῷ ταῦτα διαλέξαι, ἐκεῖνος δὲ οὐδὲν αὐτῶν φροντίσας, πάνθ' ὅσα ἐβούλετο μόνος καὶ περὶ τοὺς νόμους καὶ περὶ τοὺς φυγάδας καὶ περὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἃ μικρῷ πρόσθεν εἶπον ἐξειργάσατο.[4] οὕτω που πάντα τὰ δοκοῦντα ὑμῖν ποιεῖν βούλεται.

24 "Ἆρ' οὖν ἐν τούτοις μόνον τοιοῦτος γέγονε, τὰ δ' ἄλλα ὀρθῶς διῴκηκε; ποῦ; πόθεν; οὐ τὰ χρήματα τὰ κοινὰ τὰ καταλειφθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος ἐπιζητῆσαι καὶ ἀποδεῖξαι κελευσθεὶς ἥρπακε, καὶ τὰ μὲν τοῖς δανεισταῖς ἀποδέδωκε τὰ δὲ ἐς τρυφὴν κατανάλωκεν, ὥστε μηκέτ' αὐτῷ
2 μηδὲ τούτων τι περιεῖναι; οὐ τὸ ὄνομα τὸ τοῦ δικτάτορος μισησάντων ὑμῶν διὰ τὴν ἐκείνου δυναστείαν καὶ παντελῶς ἐκ τῆς πολιτείας ἐκβαλόντων, τοῦτο μὲν ὥσπερ τι αὐτὸ ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ ἀδικῆσαι δυνάμενον οὐκ ἐπιτέθειται, τὰ δὲ ἔργα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν πλεονεξίαν ἐν τῷ τῆς
3 ὑπατείας προσρήματι ἐπιδέδεικται; οὐχ ὑμεῖς μὲν πρύτανιν αὐτὸν τῆς ὁμονοίας ἀπεδείξατε, οὗτος δὲ πόλεμον αὐτὸς ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ τηλικοῦτον, οὔτε προσήκοντα οὔτε ἐγνωσμένον, ἀνῄρηται πρὸς Καίσαρα καὶ Δέκιμον, οὓς ὑμεῖς ἐπαινεῖτε;
4 μυρία δ' ἂν εἴη λέγειν, εἴ τις ἐπεξιέναι καθ'

[1] τῳ Bk., τῶι LM. [2] ὡς Bk., οὕτως LM.
[3] τοῖς τοῦ Leuncl., τῶν τοῦ LM.
[4] ἐξειργάσατο St., ἐξαιριάσατο LM.

purporting to contain any privilege granted by him B.C. 43
to any one. Nevertheless, when it happened many times after that, and he claimed that it was necessary for some provisions found in Caesar's papers to be specially singled out and put into effect, you assigned to him, in company with the foremost men, the task of making such excerpts; but he, paying no attention to the others, carried out everything alone according to his wishes, in regard to the laws, the exiles, and the other matters which I enumerated a few moments ago. This, indeed, is the way he chooses to execute all your decrees.

"Has he, then, shown himself to be this sort of man only in these affairs, while managing the rest rightly? When or how? Though ordered to search out and produce the public moneys left behind by Caesar, has he not seized them, paying a part to his creditors and spending a part on high living, so that he no longer has any left even of this? Though you hated the name of dictator on account of Caesar's sovereignty and rejected it entirely from the state, has not Antony, even though he has avoided adopting it,—as if the name in itself could do any harm,—nevertheless exhibited a dictator's behaviour and his greed for gain under the title of the consulship? Though you assigned to him the duty of promoting harmony, has he not on his own responsibility begun this great war, neither necessary nor sanctioned, against Caesar and Decimus, whom you approve? Indeed, innumerable cases might be mentioned, if one wished to go into

ἕκαστον ἐθελήσειεν ὧν ὑμεῖς μὲν ἐπετρέψατε
αὐτῷ ὡς ὑπάτῳ διοικῆσαι, ἐκεῖνος δὲ οὐδ' ὁτιοῦν
ἐς δέον ἔπραξε, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντα τἀναντία καθ'
ὑμῶν τῇ παρ' ὑμῶν ἐξουσίᾳ δοθείσῃ χρώμενος
5 πεποίηκεν. ἆρ' οὖν ἐς ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀναδέξεσθε[1]
καὶ ταῦτα τὰ κακῶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πεπραγμένα, καὶ
αὐτοὶ πάντων σφῶν αἴτιοι γεγονέναι φήσετε, ὅτι
τὴν διοίκησιν αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν ἐξετασμὸν αὐτῷ
6 προσετάξατε; ἀλλὰ ἄτοπον. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν
στρατηγὸς ἢ καὶ πρεσβευτής[2] τις αἱρεθεὶς μηδὲν
τῶν δεόντων δράσῃ, τούτου τὴν αἰτίαν ὑμεῖς οἱ
πέμψαντες αὐτοὺς ἕξετε. καὶ γὰρ ἂν εἴη δεινὸν
εἰ πάντες οἱ προχειριζόμενοί τι πρᾶξαι τὰ μὲν
κέρδη καὶ τὰς τιμὰς αὐτοὶ λαμβάνοιεν, τὰ δὲ
ἐγκλήματα καὶ τὰς αἰτίας ἐφ' ὑμᾶς[3] ἀναφέροιεν.
25 οὔκουν οὐδὲ τούτῳ προσέχειν προσήκει λέγοντι
'ὑμεῖς γὰρ τὴν Γαλατίαν ἄρχειν ἐπετρέψατε,
ὑμεῖς τὰ χρήματα τὰ κοινὰ διοικῆσαι ἐκελεύσατε,
ὑμεῖς τὰ στρατεύματα τὰ[4] ἐκ τῆς Μακεδονίας
2 ἐδώκατε.' ἐψηφίσθη μὲν γὰρ ταῦτα οὕτως, εἴγε
δεῖ τοῦτο εἰπεῖν, ἀλλὰ μὴ καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτου δίκην
παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν, ὅτι ταῦθ' ὑμᾶς[5] ἠνάγκασε
γνῶναι· οὐ μέντοι καὶ τὸ τοὺς φυγάδας κατάγειν,[6]
οὐδὲ τὸ τοὺς νόμους παρεγγράφειν, οὐδὲ τὸ τὰς
πολιτείας καὶ τὰς ἀτελείας πωλεῖν, οὐδὲ τὸ τὰ
κοινὰ κλέπτειν, οὐδὲ τὸ τὰ τῶν συμμάχων
ἁρπάζειν, οὐδὲ τὸ τὰς πόλεις κακουργεῖν, οὐδὲ τὸ
τῆς πατρίδος τυραννεῖν ἐπιχειρεῖν ἐδώκατέ ποτε
3 αὐτῷ. οὐδὲ γὰρ οὐδ' ἄλλῳ τινί, καίτοι πολλὰ

[1] ἀναδέξεσθε R. Steph., ἀναδέξασθε LM.
[2] πρεσβευτής R. Steph., πρεσβυτής LM.
[3] ὑμᾶς R. Steph., ἡμᾶς LM. [4] τὰ supplied by Rk.
[5] ὑμᾶς R. Steph., ἡμᾶς LM. [6] κατάγειν M, καταγαγεῖν L.

details, in which you have entrusted business to him to transact as consul, not a bit of which he has performed as the circumstances demanded, but has done quite the opposite, using against you the authority that you granted. Will you, then, take upon yourselves also these base acts that he has committed and say that you yourselves are responsible for all that has happened, because you assigned to him the management and investigation of the matters in question? How absurd! Why, if any one who had been chosen general or envoy should fail in every way to do his duty, you who sent him would not incur the blame for this. Indeed it would be a sorry state of affairs, if all who are elected to perform some task should themselves receive the advantages and the honours, but lay upon you the complaints and the blame. Accordingly, it is not fitting to pay any heed to him when he says, 'But it was you who permitted me to govern Gaul, you who ordered me to administer the public finances, you who gave me the legions from Macedonia.' It is true these measures were voted,—if, indeed, you ought to put it that way, and not, instead, exact punishment from him for his action in compelling you to pass the decree; yet surely you never at any time gave him the right to restore the exiles, to add laws surreptitiously, to sell the privileges of citizenship and of exemption from taxes, to steal the public funds, to plunder the possessions of the allies, to injure the cities, or to undertake to play the tyrant over his native country. In fact, you never

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πολλοῖς ψηφισάμενοι, συνεχωρήσατε ὅσα ἐβούλοντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ δίκην ἀεί ποτε παρὰ τῶν τοιούτων, ὅσων γε καὶ ἠδυνήθητε,[1] ἐλάβετε, ὥσπερ που καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ τούτου λήψεσθε, ἄν γε ἐμοὶ νῦν
4 πεισθῆτε. καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τούτων μόνων τοιοῦτος γέγονεν ὁποῖον αὐτὸν ἴστε καὶ ἑοράκατε, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ πάντων ἁπλῶς ὅσα πώποτε πρὸς τὰ[2] κοινὰ προσελθὼν πέπραχε.

26 "Τὸν γὰρ δὴ ἴδιον αὐτοῦ βίον τάς τε ἰδίας ἀσελγείας καὶ πλεονεξίας ἑκὼν παραλείψω, οὐχ ὅτι οὐχὶ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ καὶ ἐν ἐκείνοις εὕροι τις ἂν[3] αὐτὸν πεποιηκότα, ἀλλ' ὅτι αἰδοῦμαι νὴ τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἀκριβῶς καθ' ἕκαστον, ἄλλως τε καὶ[4]
2 πρὸς οὐδὲν ἧττον εἰδότας ὑμᾶς, λέγειν ὅπως μὲν τὴν ὥραν τὴν ἐν παισὶν[5] ὑμῖν διέθετο, ὅπως δὲ τὴν ἀκμὴν τὴν ἐφ' ἥβης ἀπεκήρυξε, τὰς ἑταιρήσεις αὐτοῦ τὰς λαθραίας, τὰς πορνείας τὰς ἐμφανεῖς, ὅσα ἔπαθεν ἕως[6] ἐνεδέχετο, ὅσα ἔδρασεν ἀφ' οὗπερ ἠδυνήθη, τοὺς κώμους, τὰς μέθας, τἆλλα
3 πάντα τὰ τούτοις ἑπόμενα. ἀδύνατον γάρ ἐστιν ἄνθρωπον ἔν τε ἀσελγείᾳ καὶ ἐν ἀναισχυντίᾳ τοσαύτῃ τραφέντα μὴ οὐ πάντα τὸν ἑαυτοῦ βίον μιᾶναι· ὅθενπερ καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ κοινὰ ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων καὶ τὴν κιναιδίαν καὶ τὴν πλεονεξίαν προήγαγε.
4 ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἐάσω, καὶ νὴ Δία καὶ τὴν ἐς Αἴγυπτον αὐτοῦ πρὸς Γαβίνιον ἀποδημίαν, τήν τε ἐς Γαλατίαν πρὸς Καίσαρα ἀπόδρασιν, ἵνα μή μέ τις φῇ πάντα ἀκριβολογεῖσθαι, αἰσχυνθεὶς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ὅτι τοιοῦτον αὐτὸν ὄντα εἰδότες καὶ

[1] ἠδυνήθητε Dind., ἐδυνήθητε LM. [2] τὰ M, τὸ L.
[3] ἂν supplied by St. [4] καὶ supplied by Pflugk.
[5] ἐν παισὶν R. Steph., ἐν ποσὶν L, ἐμποσιν M.
[6] ἕως Bk., ὡς LM.

conceded to any others all that they desired, though you have voted many privileges to many persons; on the contrary, you have always punished such men so far as you could, as, indeed, you will also punish him, if you take my advice now. For it is not in these matters alone that he has shown himself to be such a man as you know and have seen him to be, but absolutely in all the undertakings which he has ever performed since entering public life. B.C. 43

"His private life and his personal acts of licentiousness and avarice I shall willingly pass over, not because one would fail to discover that he had committed many dreadful deeds of this sort too, but because, by Hercules, I am ashamed to describe minutely and in detail, especially to you who know it as well as I, how he spent his youth among you who were boys at the time, how he sold to the highest bidder the vigour of his prime, his secret lapses from chastity, his open fornications, what he let be done to him as long as it was possible, what he did as early as he could, his revels, his drunken debauches, and all the rest that follows in their train. It is impossible for a person brought up in so great licentiousness and shamelessness to avoid defiling his entire life; and so from his private life he brought his lewdness and greed into his public relations. I shall let this pass, then, and likewise, by Jupiter, his visit to Gabinius in Egypt and his flight to Caesar in Gaul, that I may not be charged with going minutely into every detail; for I feel ashamed for you, that knowing him to be such a man, you

δήμαρχον καὶ ἵππαρχον καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὕπατον ἀπεδείξατε· ἃ δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τούτοις ἐπαρῴνησε[1] καὶ ἐκακούργησε, μόνα νῦν ἐρῶ.

27 "Οὗτος τοίνυν δημαρχήσας πρῶτον μὲν ἁπάντων ἐκώλυσεν ὑμᾶς τὰ τότε περιστάντα πράγματα εὖ θέσθαι, βοῶν καὶ κεκραγὼς καὶ μόνος ἐξ ἁπάντων
2 ἐναντιούμενος τῇ κοινῇ τῆς πόλεως εἰρήνῃ, ἔπειτα δέ, ἐπειδὴ ἀγανακτήσαντες ἐψηφίσασθε δι' αὐτὸν ἅπερ ἐψηφίσασθε, τοῦτο μὲν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξέδρα τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐγκαταλιπών, ᾧ μηδεμίαν ἐκ τῶν νόμων νύκτα ἀποδημῆσαι ἐξῆν, τοῦτο δὲ ἐς τὰ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὅπλα αὐτομολήσας ἐκεῖνόν τε ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα ἐπήγαγε καὶ ὑμᾶς[2] ἔκ τε τῆς Ῥώμης καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης Ἰταλίας ὅλης ἐξήλασε, καὶ ἑνὶ λόγῳ[3] πάντων τῶν κακῶν τῶν ἐμφυλίων τῶν μετὰ ταῦθ' ὑμῖν[4] συμβάντων αἰτιώτατος ἐγένετο.
3 εἰ γὰρ μὴ τότε τοῖς βουλήμασιν ὑμῶν[5] ἀντεπεπράχει, οὐκ ἄν ποτε ὁ Καῖσαρ οὔτε[6] σκῆψιν οὐδεμίαν τῶν πολέμων εὑρήκει, οὔτε εἰ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἀπηναισχύντει, δύναμίν γέ[7] τινα ἀξιόχρεων παρὰ τὰ δόγματα ὑμῶν[8] ἠθροίκει, ἀλλ' ἤτοι ἑκὼν ἐκ τῶν ὅπλων ἀπήλλακτο[9] ἢ καὶ
4 ἄκων ἐσεσωφρόνιστο. νῦν δὲ οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ καὶ ἐκείνῳ τὰς προφάσεις ἐνδοὺς καὶ τὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἀξίωμα καταλύσας, τό τε θράσος τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐπαυξήσας· οὗτος ὁ τὸ σπέρμα τῶν κακῶν τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα ἐκφύντων ἐμβαλών, οὗτος ὁ κοινὸς ἀλιτήριος οὐχ ἡμῶν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς

[1] ἐπαρῴνησε St., παρῴνησε LM. [2] ὑμᾶς H. Steph., ἡμᾶς LM.
[3] ἑνὶ λόγῳ Pflugk, ἐν ὀλίγωι LM. [4] ὑμῖν R. Steph., ἡμῖν LM.
[5] ὑμῶν R. Steph., ἡμῖν LM. [6] οὔτε Bk., οὗτος LM.
[7] γέ Rk., τέ LM. [8] ὑμῶν R. Steph., ἡμῶν LM.
[9] ἀπήλλακτο supplied by Bk.

appointed him tribune and master of the horse and subsequently consul. But I shall at present mention only his acts of drunken insolence and of villainy in these very offices. B.C. 43

"Well, then, when he was tribune, he first of all prevented you from accomplishing satisfactorily the business you then had in hand, by shouting and bawling and alone of all the people opposing the public peace of the state, until you became vexed and because of his conduct passed the vote that you did. Then, though, as tribune, he was not permitted by law to absent himself for a single night, he ran away from the city, abandoning the duties of his office, and going as a deserter to Caesar's camp, brought Caesar back against his country, drove you out of Rome and from all the rest of Italy, and, in short, became the prime cause of all the civil disorders that have since taken place among you. Had he not at that time acted contrary to your wishes, Caesar would never have found an excuse for the wars and could not, in spite of all his shamelessness, have gathered a sufficient force in defiance of your resolutions; but he would either have voluntarily laid down his arms or have been brought to his senses unwillingly. As it is, this fellow is the man who furnished Caesar with his excuses, who destroyed the prestige of the senate, who increased the audacity of the soldiers. He it is who planted the seeds of the evils which sprang up afterward; he it is who has proved the common bane, not only of us, but also of practically

οἰκουμένης ὀλίγου πάσης γενομενος, ὥς που καὶ
5 τὸ δαιμόνιον ἐναργῶς ἐσήμηνεν. ὅτε γοῦν τοὺς θαυμαστοὺς ἐκείνους νόμους ἐσέφερε, βροντῶν πάντα καὶ ἀστραπῶν ἐπληρώθη. ὧν οὐδὲν ὁ μιαρὸς οὗτος, καίπερ οἰωνιστὴς εἶναι λέγων, φροντίσας, κακῶν καὶ πολέμων,[1] ὥσπερ εἶπον, οὐ τὴν πόλιν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐπλήρωσε.

"Μετὰ ταῦτα τοίνυν τί μεν δεῖ λέγειν ὡς ἐπ' ἐνιαυτὸν ὅλον ἱππάρχησεν, ὃ μήπω πρότερον
28 ἐγεγόνει; τί δ' ὅτι καὶ τότε μεθύων[2] τε ἐπαρῴνει κἀν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τὴν κραιπάλην ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ
2 βήματος μεταξὺ δημηγορῶν ἐξήμει; τί δ' ὅτι καὶ πόρνους καὶ πόρνας, καὶ γελωτοποιοὺς οὐχ ὅτι ἄνδρας ἀλλὰ καὶ γυναῖκας, μετὰ τῶν ῥαβδούχων δαφνηφορούντων ἐπαγόμενος τὴν Ἰταλίαν περι-
3 ήει; τί δ' ὅτι τὴν τοῦ Πομπηίου οὐσίαν μόνος ἀνθρώπων ἀγοράσαι ἐτόλμησε, μήτε τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἀξίωμα μήτε τὴν ἐκείνου μνήμην αἰδεσθείς, ἀλλ' ἐφ' οἷς πάντες ἔτι καὶ τότε ἐθρηνοῦμεν, ταῦτα μεθ' ἡδονῆς ἁρπάσας; καὶ γὰρ ἐπ' ἐκεῖνα καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλα πολλὰ ἐπεπήδησεν ὡς μηδεμίαν αὐτῶν τιμὴν
4 ἀποδώσων. ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύτην μετὰ πάσης ὕβρεως καὶ βίας ἐσεπράχθη· οὕτως αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ Καῖσαρ κατέγνω· καὶ πάνθ' ὅσαπερ ἐκτήσατο, παμπληθῆ τε γενόμενα καὶ ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου ἀργυρολογηθέντα, κατακεκύβευκε καὶ καταπεπόρνευκε καὶ καταβέβρωκε καὶ καταπέπωκεν ὥσπερ ἡ Χάρυβδις.

29 "Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν[3] ἐάσω· τὰς δὲ δὴ ὕβρεις ἃς τὸ κοινὸν ὕβρισε, καὶ τὰς σφαγὰς ἃς κατὰ

[1] πολέμων Dind., πολλῶν LM.
[2] μεθύων Rk., μεθ' ὑμῶν LM. [3] οὖν supplied by Schenkl.

the whole world, as, indeed, Heaven clearly indicated. B.C. 43
For when he proposed those astonishing laws, the whole city was filled with thunder and lightning. Yet this accursed fellow paid no attention to all this, though he claims to be an augur, but filled not only the city but also the whole world with evils and with wars, as I have said.

"Now after this is there any need of mentioning that he served as master of the horse a whole year, something which had never before occurred? Or that during this period also he was drunk and maudlin and in the assemblies would frequently vomit the remains of yesterday's debauch on the very rostra in the midst of his harangues? Or that he went about Italy at the head of pimps and prostitutes and buffoons, women as well as men, in the company of his lictors bearing their festoons of laurel? Or that he alone of all men dared to buy the estate of Pompey, having no regard for his own dignity or that great man's memory, but grasping with delight these possessions over which we all even at that time lamented? Indeed, he fairly threw himself upon this and many other estates with the expectation of making no recompense for them. Yet the price was nevertheless exacted from him with every indignity and show of violence; so thoroughly did even Caesar condemn his course. And all that he has acquired, vast in extent and levied from every source, he has swallowed up in dicing, in harlotry, in feasting and in drinking, like a second Charybdis.

"All this, now, I will omit; but regarding the insults which he offered to the state and the blood-

πᾶσαν ὁμοίως τὴν πόλιν εἰργάσατο, πῶς ἄν τις σιωπήσειεν; ἢ οὐ μέμνησθε πῶς βαρὺς μὲν ὑμῖν καὶ αὐτῇ τῇ ὄψει, βαρύτατος δὲ
2 τοῖς ἔργοις ἐγένετο; ὅστις, ὦ γῆ καὶ θεοί, πρῶτον μὲν ἐτόλμησεν ἐνταῦθα, ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους, ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ καὶ ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ, τό τε ἔσθημα ἅμα τὸ περιπόρφυρον ἐνδύεσθαι καὶ ξίφος παραζώννυσθαι ῥαβδούχοις τε χρῆσθαι
3 καὶ ὑπὸ στρατιωτῶν δορυφορεῖσθαι· ἔπειτα δυνηθεὶς ἂν καὶ τοὺς τῶν ἄλλων θορύβους καταπαῦσαι, οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἐποίησε τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁμονοοῦντας ὑμᾶς ἐστασίασεν, τῇ μὲν αὐτὸς τῇ δὲ καὶ δι' ἑτέρων. καὶ μέντοι καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους ἐν τῷ μέρει προσλαμβάνων, καὶ τοτὲ μὲν συναιρόμενός σφισι τοτὲ δὲ ἐναντιούμενος,[1] αἰτιώτατος μὲν ἐγένετο τοῦ[2] παμπληθεὶς σφων σφαγῆναι,
4 αἰτιώτατος δὲ τοῦ μὴ πάντα τὰ τοῦ Πόντου τῶν τε Πάρθων εὐθὺς τότε ἐπὶ τῇ κατὰ τοῦ Φαρνάκου νίκῃ χειρωθῆναι· πρὸς γάρ τοι τὰ πραττόμενα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δεῦρο διὰ ταχέων ὁ Καῖσαρ ἐπειχθεὶς οὐδὲν ἐκείνων, ὥς γε[3] καὶ ἠδυνήθη, παντελῶς κατειργάσατο.

30 "Καὶ οὐδὲ ταῦτα μέντοι αὐτὸν ἐσωφρόνισεν, ἀλλ' ὑπατεύσας γυμνός, ὦ πατέρες, γυμνὸς καὶ μεμυρισμένος ἔς τε τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐσῆλθε, πρόφασιν τὰ Λυκαῖα ποιησάμενος, κἀνταῦθα πρὸς τὸ βῆμα μετὰ τῶν ῥαβδούχων προσῆλθε, καὶ ἐκεῖ κάτωθεν
2 ἐδημηγόρησεν· ὅπερ, ἀφ' οὗ γέγονεν ἡ πόλις, οὐδένα ἄλλον οὐχ ὅτι ὕπατον ἀλλ' οὐδὲ στρατηγὸν οὐδὲ δήμαρχον οὐδ' ἀγορανόμον οὐδεὶς οἶδε πε-

[1] σφισι τοτὲ δὲ ἐναντιούμενος supplied by Bk.
[2] τοῦ supplied by Bk. [3] γε Rk., τε LM.

shed which he caused throughout the whole city alike how could any man remain silent? Do you not recall how oppressive the very sight of him was to you, but most of all his deeds? Why, merciful heavens, he first dared, within the city walls, in the Forum, in the senate-house, on the Capitol, at one and the same time to array himself in the purple-bordered robe and to gird on a sword, to employ lictors and to have a body-guard of soldiers.[1] Then, when he might have checked the turmoil of the others, he not only failed to do so, but even set you at variance when you were harmonious, partly by his own acts and partly with the aid of others. Nay more, he took up those very factions in turn, and by now assisting them and now opposing them was chiefly responsible for great numbers of them being slain and for the fact that the whole region of Pontus and Parthia was not subdued at that time immediately after the victory over Pharnaces. For Caesar, hastening hither with all speed to see what he was doing, did not entirely complete any of those projects, as he certainly might have done. B.C. 43

"And even this result did not sober him, but when he was consul he came naked—naked, Conscript Fathers—and anointed into the Forum, taking the Lupercalia as an excuse, then proceeded in company with his lictors toward the rostra, and there harangued us while standing below. Why, from the day the city was founded no one can point to any one else, even a praetor, or tribune, or aedile, much less a

[1] Cf. xlii. 27, 2; xlvi. 16, 5.

ποιηκότα. τὰ γὰρ Λυκαῖα ἦν, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἑταιρι-
κοῦ τοῦ Ἰουλίου ἐτέτακτο· ταῦτα γὰρ ὁ Σέξτος
αὐτὸν ὁ Κλώδιος τῶν δισχιλίων πλέθρων τῶν ἐν
3 τῇ Λεοντίνων γῇ δοθέντων ἐξεπαίδευσεν. ἀλλὰ
καὶ ὑπάτευες, ὦ χρηστέ (ἐρῶ γὰρ ὡς πρὸς παρ-
όντα σε), καὶ οὔτε ἔπρεπέ σοι οὔτε ἐξῆν τοιούτῳ
ὄντι ἐν[1] τῇ ἀγορᾷ πρὸς τῷ βήματι, πάντων
ἡμῶν παρόντων, τοιαῦτ' εἰπεῖν, ἵν' ἅμα τε τὸ
θαυμαστόν σου σῶμα καὶ εὔσαρκον καὶ βδελυρὸν
θεωρῶμεν, καὶ τῆς μιαρᾶς σου φωνῆς τῆς μεμυρισ-
4 μένης τὰ δεινὰ ἐκεῖνα λεγούσης ἀκούωμεν· τοῦτο
γὰρ περὶ τοῦ στόματός σου μᾶλλον ἤ τι ἕτερον
εἰπεῖν βούλομαι. τὰ μὲν γὰρ Λυκαῖα καὶ ἄλλως
ἂν τῆς προσηκούσης θρησκείας οὐκ ἀπέτυχε,[2] σὺ
δὲ πᾶσαν ὁμοῦ τὴν πόλιν κατῄσχυνας, ἵνα μηδὲν
5 μηδέπω περὶ τῶν τότε λεχθέντων εἴπω· τίς γὰρ
οὐκ οἶδεν ὅτι ἡ ὑπατεία δημοσία τοῦ δήμου παν-
τός ἐστι, καὶ δεῖ τὸ ἀξίωμα αὐτῆς πανταχοῦ
σῴζεσθαι καὶ μηδαμοῦ μήτε γυμνοῦσθαι μήθ'
31 ὑβρίζεσθαι. τάχα γ' ἂν οὗτος ἢ τὸν Ὁράτιον τὸν
παλαιὸν ἐκεῖνον ἢ καὶ τὴν Κλοιλίαν τὴν ἀρχαίαν
ἐμιμήσατο, ὧν ἡ μὲν τὴν ἐσθῆτα πᾶσαν ἐνδεδυκυῖα
τὸν ποταμὸν διενήξατο, ὁ δὲ καὶ μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων
ἐς τὸ ῥεῦμα ἑαυτὸν ἐνέβαλεν. ἄξιόν γε (οὐ γάρ;)
καὶ τούτου τινὰ εἰκόνα στῆσαι, ἵν' ὁ μὲν καὶ ἐν τῷ
Τιβέριδι ὡπλισμένος, ὁ δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ γυμνὸς
2 ὁρῷτο. καὶ γάρ τοι διὰ ταῦτα ἐκεῖνοι μὲν ἡμᾶς
καὶ ἔσωζον καὶ ἠλευθέρουν, οὗτος δὲ πᾶσαν μὲν
τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἡμῶν, ὅσον ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἦν, ἀφείλετο,

[1] ἐν supplied by Xyl.
[2] οὐκ ἀπέτυχε Bs., οὐκ ἔτυχε LM.

consul, who ever did such a thing. But it was the Lupercalia, you will say, and he had been put in charge of the Julian College.[1] Of course, though, it was Sextus Clodius who had trained him to conduct himself so, in return for the two thousand plethra of the land of Leontini.[2] But you were consul, my fine fellow,—for I will address you as though you were present,—and it was neither proper nor permissible for you as such to speak thus in the Forum, hard by the rostra, with all of us present, and to cause us not only to behold your wonderful body, so plump and detestable, but also to hear your accursed voice, dripping with unguents, uttering those outrageous words,—for I wish to speak of this matter of your mouth rather than anything else. The Lupercalia would not have failed of its proper reverence without this; but you disgraced the whole city at once,—to say nothing as yet about your remarks on that occasion. For who does not know that the consulship is public, the property of the whole people, that its dignity must be preserved everywhere, and that its holder must nowhere strip naked or behave wantonly? Perchance he was imitating the famous Horatius of old or Cloelia of bygone days; yet the latter swam across the river with all her clothing on, and the former cast himself with his armour into the flood. It would be fitting, would it not, to set up a statue of Antony also, so that as the one man is seen armed even in the Tiber so the other might be seen naked even in the Forum. It was by such conduct as has been cited that those heroes of yore were wont to preserve us and give us liberty, while he took away all our liberty from us, so far as was in his power, B.C. 43

[1] Cf. xliv. 6. [2] Cf. Cic. *Philip.* ii. 4, 17, 34, 39; iii. 9.

πᾶσαν δὲ τὴν δημοκρατίαν κατέλυσεν, καὶ δεσπότην μὲν ἀντὶ ὑπάτου τύραννον δὲ ἀντὶ δικτάτορος ἡμῖν ἀντικατέστησε.[1] μέμνησθε γὰρ οἷα μὲν προσελθὼν πρὸς τὸ βῆμα εἶπεν, οἷα δὲ ἀνα-
3 βὰς ἐπ' αὐτὸ ἔπραξε. καίτοι ὅστις ἐτόλμησε, Ῥωμαῖός τε ὢν καὶ ὑπατεύων, βασιλέα τινὰ Ῥωμαίων ἔν τε τῇ ἀγορᾷ τῇ Ῥωμαίᾳ καὶ πρὸς τῷ βήματι τῷ ἐλευθερίῳ, παντὸς μὲν τοῦ δήμου πάσης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς παρούσης ἀνειπεῖν, καὶ τό τε διάδημα εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ
4 ἐπιθεῖναι, καὶ προσκαταψεύσασθαι πάντων ἡμῶν ἀκουόντων ὅτι αὐτοὶ ταῦτα αὐτῷ καὶ εἰπεῖν καὶ πρᾶξαι ἐπεσκήψαμεν, τί μὲν οὐκ ἂν τῶν δεινοτάτων τολμήσειε, τίνος δ' ἂν τῶν χαλεπωτάτων
32 ἀπόσχοιτο; ἡμεῖς, ὦ Ἀντώνιε, ἡμεῖς σοι[2] ταῦτ' ἐνετειλάμεθα, οἱ τοὺς Ταρκυνίους[3] ἐξελάσαντες, οἱ τὸν Βροῦτον ἀγαπήσαντες, οἱ τὸν Καπιτωλῖνον[4] κατακρημνίσαντες, οἱ τὸν Σπούριον ἀποκτείναντες;
2 ἡμεῖς βασιλέα τινὰ ἀσπάσασθαί σε προσετάξαμεν, οἱ καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν αὐτοῦ, καὶ προσέτι καὶ τὴν τοῦ δικτάτορος δι' ἐκείνην, ἐπάρατον ποιησάμενοι; ἡμεῖς τύραννόν τινα ἀποδεῖξαί σοι ἐκελεύσαμεν, οἱ τὸν Πύρρον ἐκ τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐκβαλόντες, οἱ τὸν Ἀντίοχον ὑπὲρ τὸν Ταῦρον ἀπελάσαντες, οἱ καὶ Μακεδονίαν τυραν-
3 νουμένην παύσαντες; οὐ μὰ τὰς ῥάβδους τὰς Οὐαλερίου καὶ τὸν νόμον τὸν Πορκίου, οὐ μὰ τὸ σκέλος τὸ Ὁρατίου καὶ τὴν χεῖρα τὴν Μουκίου, οὐ
4 μὰ τὸ δόρυ τὸ Δεκίου καὶ τὸ ξίφος τὸ Βρούτου. σὺ

[1] ἀντικατέστησε M, ἀντεκατέστησε L.
[2] σοι M, οἱ L. [3] Ταρκυνίους R. Steph., ταρκυινίους LM.
[4] Καπιτωλῖνον R. Steph., Καπιτώλιον LM.

destroyed the whole republic, and set up a despot B.C. 43 in place of a consul, a tyrant in place of a dictator over us. For you recall the nature of his language when he approached the rostra, and the manner of his behaviour when he had mounted it. And yet, when a man who is a Roman and a consul has dared to name any one king of the Romans in the Roman Forum, beside the rostra of liberty, in the presence of the whole people and the whole senate, and straightway to set the diadem upon his head and further to affirm falsely in the hearing of us all that we ourselves bade him say and do this, what outrageous deed will that man not dare, and from what terrible act will he refrain? Did *we* lay this injunction upon you, Antony, we who expelled the Tarquins, who cherished Brutus, who hurled Capitolinus headlong, who put Spurius to death? Did *we* order you to salute any one as king, we who laid a curse upon the very name of king and because of it upon that of dictator as well? Did *we* command you to appoint any one tyrant, we who repulsed Pyrrhus from Italy, who drove Antiochus back beyond the Taurus, who put an end to tyranny even in Macedonia? No, by the rods of Valerius[1] and the law of Porcius, no, by the leg of Horatius and the hand of Mucius, no, by the spear of Decius and the sword of Brutus! But you, unspeakable

[1] P. Valerius Publicola, consul in B.C. 509, lowered his fasces upon entering the assembly in token of the superior power of the people. See Frag. 13, 2, and Livy ii. 7.

δέ, ὦ παγκάκιστε, καὶ ἐδέου καὶ ἱκέτευες ἵνα δουλεύσῃς, ὡς Ποστούμιος ὅπως Σαυνίταις ἐκδοθῇ,[1] ὡς Ῥήγουλος ὅπως Καρχηδονίοις ἀποδοθῇ,[1] ὡς Κούρτιος ἵνα ἐς τὸ χάσμα ἐμπέσῃ.[1] καὶ ποῦ τοῦτο γεγραμμένον[2] εὗρες; οὗπερ[3] καὶ τὸ τοὺς Κρῆτας ἐλευθέρους μετὰ τὴν τοῦ Βρούτου ἀρχὴν γενέσθαι, ὧν ἡμεῖς ἐκεῖνον μετὰ τὸν τοῦ Καίσαρος θάνατον ἄρξαι ἐψηφισάμεθα.

33 "Εἶτ' ἐν τοσούτοις καὶ τηλικούτοις πράγμασι τὴν ἀλιτηριώδη γνώμην αὐτοῦ πεφωρακότες οὐ τιμωρήσεσθε αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ ἀναμενεῖτε[4] καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ μαθεῖν τί ἂν δράσειεν ὑμᾶς ὡπλισμένος ὁ τοιαῦτα
2 γυμνὸς εἰργασμένος; ἢ οἴεσθε ὅτι οὐκ ἐπιθυμεῖ τῆς τυραννίδος, ὅτι οὐκ εὔχεταί ποτε αὐτῆς τυχεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐκβαλεῖ ποτε ἐκ τῆς διανοίας τὴν ἔφεσιν ταύτην, ἣν ἅπαξ ἐς τὸν νοῦν ἐγκατέθετο, καὶ καταβαλεῖ ποτε τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς μοναρχίας, ὑπὲρ ἧς τοιαῦτα καὶ εἰπὼν καὶ ποιήσας ἀτιμώρητος
3 ἐγένετο; καὶ τίς ἀνθρώπων ἃ[5] ἄλλῳ τῳ συμπρᾶξαι, τῆς φωνῆς τῆς αὐτοῦ μόνης κυριεύων, ἐπιχειρήσειε, ταῦτ' οὐκ ἂν αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ δυνηθεὶς κατεργάσαιτο; τίς δ' ἂν ἕτερον τύραννον καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα καὶ ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν ἅμα ἀποδεῖξαι τολμήσας οὐκ ἂν αὐτὸς μοναρχῆσαι
34 ἐθελήσειεν; ὥστε εἰ καὶ τότε αὐτοῦ ἐφείσασθε, ἀλλὰ νῦν γε καὶ δι' ἐκεῖνα αὐτὸν μισήσατε· μηδ' ἐθελήσητε μαθεῖν τί κατορθώσας ὅσα[6] βούλεται δράσει,[7] ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν ἤδη προτετολμημένων αὐτῷ

[1] ἐκδοθῇ, ἀποδοθῇ, ἐμπέσῃ Rk., ἐκδοθῆις, ἀποδοθῆις, ἐμπέσηις LM. [2] γεγραμμένον R. Steph., γεγραμμένος LM.
[3] οὗπερ Bk., ὥσπερ LM. [4] ἀναμενεῖτε Pflugk, ἀναμένετε LM.
[5] ἃ supplied by Reim. [6] ὅσα Rk., οἷα LM.
[7] δράσει Rk., δράσειν LM.

villain, begged and pled to be made a slave, as Postumius pled to be delivered to the Samnites, as Regulus to be given back to the Carthaginians, as Curtius that he might hurl himself into the chasm. And where did you find this recorded? In the same place, I suppose, where you discovered that the Cretans were to be made free after Brutus' governorship, although it was after Caesar's death that we voted he should govern them. B.C. 43

"So then, seeing that you have discovered his baneful disposition in so many and so great matters, will you not take vengeance on him instead of waiting to learn by experience, too, what the man who caused so much trouble stripped would do to you when he is armed? Do you think that he is not eager for the tyrant's power, that he does not pray to obtain it some time, but will some day cast the desire of it out of his thoughts after having once allowed it a resting-place in his mind, and will some day abandon the hope of sole rulership for which he has spoken and acted as he has with impunity? What human being who, while possessing nothing but his own voice, would undertake to help some one else to secure certain advantages, would not win them for himself when he gained the power? Who that has dared to name another as tyrant over his country and himself as well would not wish to be monarch himself? Hence, even though you spared him then, hate him now for those acts too. Do not wish to learn what he will do when his success equals his desires, but taught by his previous audacity, plan

2 τὸ μηδὲν ἔτι δεινὸν παθεῖν προνοήσατε. καὶ γάρ
τοι τί καὶ φήσειεν ἄν τις; ὀρθῶς τότε τὸν Καί-
σαρα ποιῆσαι μὴ προσδεξάμενον μήτε τὸ ὄνομα
τοῦ βασιλέως μήτε τὸ διάδημα; οὐκοῦν οὗτος
κακῶς ταῦτα αὐτῷ προύτεινεν ἃ μηδὲ ἐκεῖνον
3 ἤρεσεν. ἀλλ' ἁμαρτεῖν ὅτι καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν τοιοῦτό
τι ἀκούσας καὶ ἰδὼν ἠνέσχετο; οὐκοῦν εἴπερ
ἐκεῖνος εἰκότως ἐπὶ τούτοις τέθνηκε, πῶς οὐ καὶ
οὗτος, ὁμολογῶν τρόπον τινὰ τυραννῆσαι ἐπιθυ-
4 μεῖν, δικαιότατός ἐστιν ἀπολέσθαι; ὅτι γὰρ ταῦθ'
οὕτως ἔχει, δῆλον μέν ἐστι καὶ ἐκ τούτων ὧν
προείρηκα, φανερώτατα δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν ὧν μετὰ
ταῦτ' ἔπραξεν ἐλέγχεται. τίνος μὲν γὰρ ἄλλου
ἕνεκα, ἐξὸν αὐτῷ τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἀσφαλῶς ἄγειν,
ταράττειν τὰ πράγματα καὶ πολυπραγμονεῖν ἐπι-
5 κεχείρηκε; τίνος δέ, παρὸν αὐτῷ ἀκινδύνως οἴκοι
μένειν, στρατεύεσθαι καὶ πολεμεῖν ἐπανήρηται; διὰ
τί, πολλῶν μηδὲ ἐς τὰς ἐπιβαλούσας αὐτοῖς ἀρχὰς
βουληθέντων ἐξελθεῖν, οὗτος οὐχ ὅτι τῆς Γαλατίας
οὐδὲν αὐτῷ προσηκούσης ἀντιποιεῖται, ἀλλὰ καὶ
6 ἄκουσαν αὐτὴν βιάζεται; διὰ τί, τοῦ Βρούτου τοῦ
Δεκίμου καὶ ἑαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ τὰς
πόλεις ἡμῖν[1] παραδιδόντος, οὗτος οὐχ ὅπως οὐκ
ἐμιμήσατο αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολιορκεῖ κατακλεί-
σας; οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως οὐκ ἐπ' ἄλλο τι καὶ ἐφ'
ἡμᾶς[2] κἀκεῖνα καὶ τἆλλα πάντα παρασκευάζεται.
35 "Ταῦτ' οὖν ὁρῶντες μέλλομεν καὶ μαλακιζόμεθα,
καὶ τηλικοῦτον ἐφ' ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς[3] τύραννον ἀσκοῦ-
μεν; καὶ πῶς οὐκ αἰσχρὸν τοὺς μὲν προγόνους
ἡμῶν ἐν δουλείᾳ τραφέντας ἐπιθυμῆσαι ἐλευθερίας,

[1] ἡμῖν H. Steph., ὑμῖν L. [2] ἡμᾶς H. Steph., ὑμᾶς LM.
[3] αὐτοὺς Bk., αὐτὸν LM.

beforehand to suffer no further harm. What, indeed, is one to say? That Caesar acted rightly at that time in accepting neither the name of king nor the diadem? Then this man did wrong to offer something which pleased not even Caesar. Or, on the other hand, that Caesar erred in enduring at all to look on and listen to anything of the sort? If, then, Caesar justly suffered death for this error, does not this man, also, who admitted in a way that he desired to be tyrant, most richly deserve to perish? That this is so is evident even from what I have previously said, but is proved most clearly by what he did after that. For with what other object than supremacy has he undertaken to stir up trouble and to meddle in affairs, when he might have enjoyed quiet with safety? With what other object has he chosen to make campaigns and to carry on war, when it was in his power to remain at home without danger? For what reason, when many have been unwilling to go out and take charge even of the provinces that fell to them, does he not only lay claim to Gaul, which does not belong to him in the least, but uses force upon it because of its unwillingness? For what reason, when Decimus Brutus is ready to surrender to us himself and his soldiers and his cities, has this man not imitated him, instead of shutting him up and besieging him? Surely it can only be for this purpose and against us that he is strengthening himself in this and in every other way. B.C. 43

"Seeing all this, then, do we delay and give way to weakness and train up so monstrous a tyrant against ourselves? Would it not be disgraceful if, after our forefathers, who had been brought up in slavery,

2 ἡμᾶς δὲ ἐν αὐτονομίᾳ πολιτευθέντας ἐθελοδουλῆσαι, καὶ τῆς μὲν μοναρχίας τῆς τοῦ Καίσαρος ἡδέως, καίπερ[1] πολλὰ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀγαθὰ προπαθόντας, ἀπαλλαγῆναι, τοῦτον δὲ δεσπότην αὐθαίρετον ἀνθελέσθαι, ὃς τοσοῦτον ἐκείνου χείρων ἐστὶν ὅσον ὁ μὲν ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις κρατήσας
3 πολλῶν ἐφείσατο, οὗτος δέ, πρὶν καὶ δυνηθῆναί τι, τριακοσίους στρατιώτας, καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἑκατοντάρχους τινάς, μηδὲν ἀδικήσαντας, οἴκοι παρ' ἑαυτῷ, παρούσης τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ βλεπούσης, ἐφόνευσεν, ὥστε καὶ τοῦ αἵματος αὐτὴν ἀναπλῆ-
4 σαι. καίτοι τὸν οὕτως ὠμῶς ἐκείνοις, ὅτε καὶ θεραπεύειν αὐτοὺς ὤφειλε, χρησάμενον τί οὐκ οἴεσθε[2] τῶν δεινοτάτων πάντας ὑμᾶς, ἂν καὶ νικήσῃ, ποιήσειν; καὶ τὸν ἀσελγῶς οὕτω μέχρι νῦν βεβιωκότα πῶς οὐκ ἐπὶ πᾶν ὕβρεως, ἂν καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῶν ὅπλων ἐξουσίαν προσλάβῃ, χωρήσειν νομίζετε;

36 "Μὴ τοίνυν ἀναμείνητε παθόντες τι τοιοῦτο μεταγνῶναι, ἀλλὰ πρὶν παθεῖν φυλάξασθε· σχέτλιον γάρ, ἐξὸν προκαταλαβεῖν τὰ δεινά, εἶτα περιιδόντας αὐτὰ γενόμενα μετανοῆσαι. μηδὲ ἐθελήσητε, προέμενοι τὰ παρόντα, Κασσίου τινὸς αὖθις ἄλλου καὶ Βρούτων[3] τινῶν ἄλλων δεηθῆναι· γελοῖον γάρ, ἐξὸν αὐτοὺς ἑαυτοῖς τὰ κατὰ καιρὸν βοηθῆσαι, ζητεῖν μετὰ ταῦτα τοὺς ἐλευθεροῦντας
2 ἡμᾶς. οὓς ἴσως οὐδὲ εὑρήσομεν, ἄλλως τε κἂν οὕτω τοῖς παροῦσι χρησώμεθα. τίς γὰρ ἂν ἰδίᾳ ὑπὲρ τῆς δημοκρατίας κινδυνεῦσαι ἐθελήσειεν,

[1] καίπερ M by correction, καὶ L (and M originally).
[2] οἴεσθε R. Steph., οἴεσθαι LM.
[3] Βρούτων M, βρούτου τῶν L.

felt the desire for liberty, we, who have lived under a free government, should become slaves of our own accord? Or, again, if after gladly ridding ourselves of the dominion of Caesar, though we had already received many benefits at his hands, we should deliberately choose as our master in his stead this man, who is far worse than he? For Caesar spared many after his victories in war, whereas this man before attaining any power slaughtered three hundred soldiers, among them some centurions, guilty of no wrong-doing, in his own country, and in the presence and sight of his wife, so that she was actually stained with their blood. And yet what do you think the man who treated them so cruelly, when he owed them care, will not do to all of you,—aye, down to the utmost outrage,—if he shall conquer? And how can you believe that the man who has lived so licentiously up to the present time will not proceed to every extreme of insolence, if he shall also secure the authority given by arms? B.C. 43

"Do not, then, wait until you have suffered some such treatment and then rue it, but be on your guard before you suffer; for it is rash to allow dangers to come upon you and then to repent of it, when you might have anticipated them. And do not choose to neglect the present opportunity and then ask again for another Cassius or other Brutuses; for it is ridiculous, when we have the power of aiding ourselves in time, to seek men later on to set us free. Perhaps we shall not find them, either, especially if we handle the present situation in such a manner. For who would choose to encounter danger personally for the republic, when he sees that

ὁρῶν ἡμᾶς δημοσίᾳ πρὸς τὴν δουλείαν ἑτοίμως ἔχοντας; καὶ μὴν ὅτι γε οὐ στήσεταί ποτε ταῦτα ποιῶν, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς πόρρω καὶ ἐλάττοσιν ἐφ'
3 ἡμᾶς αὐξάνεται, παντὶ δῆλόν ἐστιν. οὐ γάρ που δι' ἄλλο τι Δεκίμῳ πολεμεῖ καὶ Μούτιναν πολιορκεῖ ἢ ἵνα νικήσας αὐτοὺς καὶ λαβὼν ἐφ' ἡμᾶς συσκευάσηται· οὔτε γὰρ ἠδίκηταί τι ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὥστ' ἀμύνασθαι δοκεῖν, οὔτ' αὖ τῶν μὲν ἀγαθῶν τῶν παρ' ἐκείνοις ἐπιθυμεῖ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ πόνους καὶ κινδύνους ὑπομένει, τῶν δ' ἡμετέρων, οἳ καὶ ἐκεῖνα καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ κεκτήμεθα,
4 ἐθελοντὴς ἀφέξεται. τοῦτ' οὖν ἀναμενοῦμεν, ἵνα καὶ ταῦτα καὶ ἄλλα ἄττα προσλαβὼν δυσπολέμητος γένηται; καὶ πιστεύσομεν[1] ἐξαπατῶντι
37 αὐτῷ καὶ λέγοντι ὅτι[2] οὐ πολεμεῖ τῇ πόλει; καὶ τίς οὕτως εὐήθης ἐστὶν ὥστε τοῖς ῥήμασι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς ἔργοις τὸν πολεμοῦντα ἡμῖν ἢ μὴ σκοπεῖν; ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ οὐ νῦν πρῶτον, ὅτε ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐκδέδρακε καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς συμμάχους ἐστράτευκε καὶ Βρούτῳ προσβάλλει καὶ τὰς πόλεις πολιορ-
2 κεῖ, κακόνουν[3] αὐτὸν ἡμῖν εἶναί φημι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξ ὧν πρότερόν ποτε, οὐχ ὅτι τελευτήσαντος τοῦ Καίσαρος ἀλλὰ καὶ ζῶντος ἔτι, καὶ κακῶς καὶ ἀσελγῶς ἔπραξεν, καὶ ἐχθρὸν καὶ ἐπίβουλον καὶ τῆς πολιτείας καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἡμῶν γεγονέναι
3 διορίζομαι· τίς γὰρ ἂν τὴν πατρίδα φιλῶν ἢ τίς τυραννίδα μισῶν ἕν γε τι τούτων ἐποίησεν ἃ πολλὰ καὶ παντοδαπὰ οὗτος δέδρακε; πολέμιος μὲν δὴ πάλαι καὶ πανταχόθεν ὢν ἡμῖν ἐλέγχεται,

[1] πιστεύσομεν R. Steph., πιστεύσωμεν LM.
[2] ὅτι supplied by Dind.
[3] κακόνουν R. Steph., κακὸν οὖν LM.

we are publicly resigned to slavery? And yet it is evident to everybody that Antony will not stop short with what he is now doing, but that even in remote and smaller matters he is strengthening himself against us. Surely he is warring against Decimus and besieging Mutina for no other purpose than that he may, after conquering them, take them and employ them against us. For he has not been wronged by them, that he can appear to be defending himself; nor, again, will he, while desiring the goods that they possess and with this in view enduring toils and dangers, be willing to refrain from the possessions belonging to us, who own their property and much besides. Shall we, then, wait for him to secure this prize and still others, and thus become a dangerous foe? Shall we trust his deception when he says that he is not warring against the city? Who is so simple as to decide whether a man is making war on us or not by his words rather than by his deeds? I claim that this is not the first time he has been unfriendly to us, now that he has abandoned the city and made a campaign against our allies and is assailing Brutus and besieging the cities; but in view of his former evil and licentious behaviour, not only after Caesar's death but even in the latter's lifetime, I decide that he has shown himself an enemy of our government and of our liberty and a plotter against them. For who that loved his country or hated tyranny would have committed a single one of the many and manifold offences which he has perpetrated? Surely he is proved to have been for a long time and in every way an enemy of ours, and the case stands B.C. 43

ἔχει δὲ οὕτως. ἂν μὲν ἤδη καὶ τὴν ταχίστην
ἀμυνώμεθα αὐτόν, πάντα καὶ τὰ προειμένα[1]
4 ἀναληψόμεθα· ἂν δ' ἀμελήσαντες τοῦτο ποιεῖν
περιμένωμεν ἕως ἂν ἡμῖν αὐτὸς ἐκεῖνος ἐπιβου-
λεύειν ὁμολογήσῃ, πάντων ἁμαρτησόμεθα. τοῦτο
μὲν γὰρ οὐδ' ἂν πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν πόλιν προσελαύνῃ
ποιήσει, ὥσπερ οὐδ' ὁ Μάριος οὐδ' ὁ Κίννας οὐδ'
5 ὁ Σύλλας· ἂν δὲ ἐν τῷ κράτει τῶν πραγμάτων
γένηται, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅ τι οὐ δράσει τῶν αὐτῶν
ἐκείνοις, ἢ καὶ χαλεπώτερον. ἄλλα τε γὰρ λέγειν
οἱ πρᾶξαί τι[2] γλιχόμενοι καὶ ἄλλα ποιεῖν οἱ
κατορθώσαντες εἰώθασι· πρὸς μὲν γὰρ τὸ
κρατῆσαι τούτου πάντα πλάττονται, τυχόντες δὲ
6 αὐτοῦ οὐδενὸς ὧν ἐπιθυμοῦσιν ἀπέχονται. καὶ
προσέτι καὶ τὰ τετολμημένα τισὶν οἱ ἐπιγιγνόμενοι
νικᾶν ἀεὶ ἐθέλουσι, τὸ μὲν ὅμοιον ὡς καὶ σμικρὸν
ἐκ τοῦ προπεπρᾶχθαι νομίζοντες, τὸ δὲ ἄτοπον ὡς
καὶ μόνον[3] σφῶν ἄξιον ἐκ τοῦ παραδόξου
προαιρούμενοι.
38 "Ταῦτ' οὖν ὁρῶντες, ὦ πατέρες, μηκέτι μέλλωμεν,
μηδ' ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν τῷ παρόντι ῥᾳστώνης δελεα-
ζώμεθα, ἀλλὰ τῆς πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ἀσφαλείας
2 προϊδώμεθα. πῶς γὰρ οὐκ αἰσχρὸν Καίσαρα
μέν, ἄρτι τε ἐκ παίδων προεληλυθότα καὶ οὐ
πολὺς ἐξ οὗ χρόνος ἐς τοὺς ἐφήβους ἐγγεγραμ-
μένον, τοσαύτην τοῦ κοινοῦ πρόνοιαν ποιεῖσθαι
ὥστε καὶ τὰ χρήματα ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτοῦ
ἀναλίσκειν καὶ στρατιώτας ἀθροίζειν, ἡμᾶς δὲ
μήτ' αὐτούς τι τῶν δεόντων πρᾶξαι μήτε ἐκείνῳ

[1] προειμένα R. Steph., προιεμένα LM.
[2] πρᾶξαί τι Pflugk, τι πρᾶξαι Rk., πρᾶξαι LM.
[3] μόνον Reim., μόνων LM.

thus. If we now take measures against him most speedily, we shall also recover all that has been lost; but if we neglect to do this and wait till he himself admits that he is plotting against us, we shall lose everything. For this he will never do, not even if he should actually march upon the city, any more than did Marius or Cinna or Sulla; yet if he gets control of affairs, he will not fail to act precisely as they did, or still worse. For men who are eager to accomplish some object are wont to say one thing, and those who have succeeded in accomplishing it are wont to do quite a different thing; to gain their end they pretend anything, but after obtaining it there is no desire they deny themselves. Furthermore, the latest comers always desire to surpass what their predecessors have ventured, thinking it a small achievement to behave like them because that has been done before, but preferring to do something original as the only thing worthy of themselves, because unexpected. B.C. 43

"Seeing all this, then, Conscript Fathers, let us no longer delay nor fall a prey to the indifference of the moment, but let us provide for the safety of the future. Is it not shameful, when Caesar, who has just emerged from boyhood and was but recently registered among the youths of military age, shows so great thought for the state as to spend his money and gather soldiers for its preservation, that we should neither choose to perform our duty ourselves

συνάρασθαι[1] προελέσθαι, καίπερ πεῖραν ἔργῳ τῆς
3 εὐνοίας αὐτοῦ εἰληφότας; τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν ὅτι[2]
εἰ μὴ μετὰ τῶν ἐκ τῆς Καμπανίας στρατιωτῶν
ἐνταῦθα ἀφῖκτο, πάντως ἂν[3] Ἀντώνιος ἐκ τοῦ
Βρεντεσίου εὐθύς, ὥσπερ εἶχεν, ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν
μετὰ πάντων τῶν στρατευμάτων ὥσπερ τις χει-
4 μάρρους ἐσεπεπτώκει; καὶ μὴν καὶ ἐκεῖνο δεινόν,
τοὺς μὲν πάλαι ἐστρατευμένους ἑκουσίους ἑαυτοὺς
ὑμῖν πρὸς τὰ παρόντα πράγματα ἐπιδεδω-
κέναι, μήτε τὴν ἡλικίαν μήτε τὰ τραύματα, ἃ
πρότερόν ποτε πολεμοῦντες ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἔλαβον,
ὑπολογισαμένους, ὑμᾶς[4] δὲ μηδὲ ἐπικυρῶσαι τὸν
πόλεμον ἐθελῆσαι τὸν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐκείνων προ-
5 κεχειροτονημένον, ἀλλὰ τοσούτῳ χείρους καὶ τῶν
κινδυνευόντων αὐτῶν γίγνεσθαι ὥστε ἐπαινεῖν
μὲν τοὺς στρατιώτας τούς τήν τε μιαρίαν
τοῦ Ἀντωνίου κατιδόντας καὶ ἐκείνου μὲν καὶ
ὑπατεύοντος ἀποστάντας, τῷ δὲ δὴ Καίσαρι, τοῦτ'
ἔστιν ὑμῖν δι' αὐτοῦ, προσθεμένους, ἃ δ' ὀρθῶς
αὐτοὺς πεποιηκέναι φατέ, ταῦτ' ὀκνῆσαι ψηφίσα-
6 σθαι. καὶ μέντοι καὶ τῷ Βρούτῳ χάριν ἴσμεν ὅτι
μήτε τὸ κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐσεδέξατο τὸν Ἀντώνιον ἐς
τὴν Γαλατίαν καὶ νῦν ἐπιστρατεύσαντα ἀπω-
θεῖται. τί ποτ' οὖν οὐχὶ καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰ αὐτὰ
ποιοῦμεν; τί δὲ οὐ τοὺς ἄλλους οὓς ὀρθῶς
39 φρονοῦντας ἐπαινοῦμεν, μιμούμεθα[5]; καίτοι δυοῖν
ἡμᾶς ἀνάγκη θάτερον, ἢ τούτους πάντας, τὸν
Καίσαρα λέγω, τὸν Βροῦτον, τοὺς πάλαι στρατιώ-

[1] συνάρασθαι R. Steph., συναίρασθαι LM.
[2] ὅτι added by Dind.
[3] ἂν added by Bk.
[4] ὑμᾶς Bs., ἡμᾶς LM.
[5] μιμούμεθα Reim. (so L by correction), οὐ μιμούμεθα M.

nor to coöperate with him, even after obtaining a tangible proof of his good-will? For who does not realize that, if he had not arrived here with the soldiers from Campania, Antony would certainly have rushed at once from Brundisium, just as he was, and would have burst into our city with all his armies like a torrent? This also is disgraceful, that when the veterans have voluntarily placed themselves at your service for the present crisis, taking thought neither for their age nor for the wounds which they received in past years while fighting for you, you should both refuse to approve the war already declared by these very men, and show yourselves altogether inferior to them who are facing the dangers. For while you praise the soldiers who discovered the wickedness of Antony and withdrew from him, though he was consul, and attached themselves to Caesar,—that is, to you through him,—you shrink from voting for that which you say they were right in doing. And yet we are grateful to Brutus because he not only did not admit Antony to Gaul in the first place, but is trying to repel him now that the other has made a campaign against him. Why in the world, then, do we not do the same ourselves? Why do we not imitate the rest whom we praise for their proper attitude? Yet there are only two courses open to us: either we must say that all these men, Caesar, I mean, and Brutus, the veterans, B.C. 43

τας, τὰ στρατόπεδα,[1] κακῶς τε βεβουλεῦσθαι
φάναι καὶ τιμωρίαν δεῖν ὑποσχεῖν ὅτι μήθ' ἡμῶν[2]
μήτε τοῦ δήμου ψηφισαμένων ἐτόλμησαν, οἱ μὲν
τὸν ὕπατόν σφων καταλιπόντες οἱ δὲ ἐπ' αὐτὸν
2 ἀθροισθέντες, προσπολεμῆσαι αὐτῷ· ἢ τὸν
Ἀντώνιον πάλαι τε καὶ νῦν[3] ὑφ' ἡμῶν[4] τοῖς
ἔργοις αὐτοῖς πολέμιον ὁμολογεῖν εἶναι κεκρίσθαι,
καὶ χρῆναι καὶ κοινῇ γνώμῃ πρὸς πάντων ἡμῶν
κολασθῆναι. καὶ μὴν ὅτι τοῦτο οὐ μόνον δικαιό-
τερον ἀλλὰ καὶ λυσιτελέστερον ἡμῖν[5] ἐστιν,
3 οὐδεὶς ἀγνοεῖ. ὁ μὲν γὰρ[6] οὔτ' αὐτὸς χρήσασθαι
πράγμασιν ἐπίσταται (πῶς γὰρ ἢ πόθεν ἄνθρωπος
ἐν μέθαις καὶ κύβοις ζῶν;) οὔτε τῶν συνόντων
οὐδένα οἷον ἄξιον εἶναι λόγου ἔχει· τοὺς γάρ τοι
ὁμοίους ἑαυτῷ μόνους καὶ ἀγαπᾷ καὶ κοινωνοὺς
4 ἁπάντων καὶ ῥητῶν καὶ ἀπορρήτων ποιεῖται. καὶ
μέντοι καὶ δειλότατος ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις τῶν
κινδύνων καὶ ἀπιστότατος καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πάνυ
φίλους ἐστίν· ὧν οὐδέτερον στρατηγίᾳ καὶ πολέμῳ
40 προσήκει. τίς μὲν γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν ὅτι αὐτὸς ἡμῖν
πάντα τὰ ἐμφύλια κακὰ παρασκευάσας ἔπειτ'
ἐπ' ἐλάχιστον τῶν κινδύνων μετέσχεν, ἐπὶ πολὺ
μὲν ἐν[7] τῷ Βρεντεσίῳ καταμείνας[8] ὑπὸ δειλίας,
ὥστ' ὀλίγου τὸν Καίσαρα μονωθέντα δι' αὐτὸν
πταῖσαι, πάντας δὲ τοὺς μετὰ ταῦτα πολέμους,
τὸν πρὸς Αἰγυπτίους, τὸν πρὸς Φαρνάκην, τὸν ἐν
2 Ἀφρικῇ, τὸν ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ ἐκστάς; τίς δ' οὐκ οἶδεν ὅτι
τόν τε Κλώδιον προσποιησάμενος καὶ τῇ δημαρχίᾳ

[1] στρατόπεδα Rk., στρατόπεδ' ἂν LM.
[2] ἡμῶν H. Steph., ὑμῶν LM.
[3] νῦν supplied by Bs.
[4] ἡμῶν H. Steph., ὑμῶν LM.
[5] ἡμῖν Bk., ὑμῖν LM.
[6] γὰρ Bs., γε LM.
[7] ἐν added by Xyl.
[8] καταμείνας R. Steph., κατὰ μόνας LM.

and the legions,—have planned unwisely and ought to suffer punishment, because without our sanction or that of the people they have dared to offer armed resistance to their consul, some having deserted his standard, and others having been gathered against him; or else we must say that Antony has in our judgment long since admitted and still admits by his deeds themselves that he is our enemy and ought to be punished by common consent of us all. Now no one can fail to be aware that the latter course is not only more just but more expedient for us. For the man neither understands how to handle business himself—how or by what means could one who lives in drunkenness and dicing?—nor has he any companion who is of any account; for he loves only such as are like himself and makes them the confidants of all his open and secret undertakings. Moreover he is most cowardly in the gravest dangers and most treacherous even to his intimate friends; and neither of these qualities is suited for generalship and war. Who does not know that after causing all our domestic troubles himself he then shared the dangers as little as possible, tarrying long in Brundisium through cowardice, so that Caesar was isolated and almost failed on his account, and holding aloof from all the wars that followed against the Egyptians, against Pharnaces, Africa, and Spain? Who does not know that he won the favour of Clodius, and after using B.C. 43

αὐτοῦ πρὸς πάντα τὰ δεινότατα ἀποχρησάμενος κἂν ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτοχειρίᾳ, εἴγε ἐγὼ τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν
3 αὐτοῦ ταύτην ἐδεδέγμην· καὶ τῷ Καίσαρι τοῦτο μὲν ταμιεύων στρατηγοῦντι ἐν Ἰβηρίᾳ συνεξετασθείς, τοῦτο δὲ ἐν τῇ δημαρχίᾳ παρὰ τὴν ἁπάντων ἡμῶν γνώμην προσθέμενος, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ χρήματα παρ' αὐτοῦ ἀμύθητα καὶ τιμὰς ὑπερόγκους λαβών, ἐπεχείρησεν αὐτὸν ἔς τε μοναρχίας ἐπιθυμίαν καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ ἐς διαβολὴν ἐμβαλεῖν, ὑφ' ὧνπερ καὶ τὰ μάλιστα ἀπέθανεν;

41 "Καίτοι εἰπέ ποτε ὅτι ἐγὼ τοὺς σφαγέας ἐπ' αὐτὸν παρεσκεύασα· οὕτω γὰρ ἀνόητός ἐστιν ὥστε μου καταψεύδεσθαι τολμᾶν τηλικούτους ἐπαίνους. ἐγὼ δὲ αὐτόχειρα μὲν αὐτὸν οὐ λέγω γεγονέναι τοῦ Καίσαρος, οὐχ ὅτι οὐκ ἠθέλησεν, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ τοῦτο κατέδεισε· τοῖς μέντοι πράγμασιν αὐτοῖς φημι ἐκεῖνον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀπο-
2 λωλέναι. ὁ γὰρ τὴν αἰτίαν αὐτῷ τοῦ δικαίως ἐπιβεβουλεῦσθαι δοκεῖν παρασχὼν οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ βασιλέα αὐτὸν προσαγορεύσας, ὁ τὸ διάδημα αὐτῷ δούς, ὁ καὶ τοῖς φιλοῦσιν αὐτὸν πρότερον διαβαλών. ἢ ἐγὼ μὲν χαίρω τῷ θανάτῳ τοῦ Καίσαρος ὁ μηδὲν ἔξω τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀπ'[1]
3 αὐτοῦ ἀπολαύσας, Ἀντώνιος δὲ ἄχθεται ὁ πᾶσαν μὲν τὴν ἐκείνου οὐσίαν διαρπάσας, πάμπολλα δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν γραμμάτων αὐτοῦ προφάσει κακουργήσας, καὶ τέλος πρὸς τὴν διαδοχὴν τῆς δυναστείας αὐτοῦ ἐπειγόμενος;

42 "Ἀλλ' ἐκεῖσε ἐπάνειμι, ὅτι οὔτ' αὐτὸς ἀξιοστρατήγητόν τι ἢ ἀξιόνικον ἔχει οὔτε στρατεύ-

[1] ἀπ' St., ἐπ' LM.

the other's tribuneship for all the most outrageous ends, would have killed him with his own hand, if I had accepted this offer of his? And again, as regards his relations to Caesar, that after being first associated with him as quaestor, when Caesar was praetor in Spain, then attaching himself to him during the tribuneship, contrary to the liking of us all, and later receiving from him countless sums and excessive honours, he tried to inspire him with a desire for sole rulership and in consequence to expose him to calumny, which two things more than anything else were responsible for Caesar's death? B.C. 43

"Yet he once declared that it was I who instigated the assassins against Caesar; so senseless is he as to venture to invent such high praise for me. Now I, for my part, do not say that he was the actual slayer of Caesar,—not because he was not willing, but because here, too, he was timid,—yet I do say that by the very nature of his conduct Caesar perished at his hands. For the one who provided the motive, so that there seemed to be some justice in plotting against Caesar, is this fellow who called him king, who gave him the diadem, who previously slandered him even to his friends. Do I then, rejoice at the death of Caesar, I, who never enjoyed anything but liberty at his hands, and is Antony grieved, who has seized upon all his property and has done much mischief on the pretext of his papers, and who, finally, is eagerly striving to succeed to his sovereignty?

"But I return to my point that he has none of the qualities of a great general or such as to win victories and does not possess many or

ματα πολλὰ ἢ ἀξιόμαχα κέκτηται. οἱ μὲν γὰρ πλεῖστοι οἵ τε ἄριστοι τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐγκαταλελοίπασιν αὐτόν, καὶ νὴ Δία καὶ τῶν ἐλεφάντων ἐστέρηται· οἱ δὲ δὴ λοιποὶ ὑβρίζειν καὶ ἁρπάζειν τὰ τῶν συμμάχων μᾶλλον ἢ πολεμεῖν μεμε-
2 *λετήκασι. τεκμήριον δὲ τοῦ μὲν τρόπου τῆς προαιρέσεως αὐτῶν, ὅτι καὶ νῦν ἔτ' αὐτῷ συστρατεύονται, τῆς δὲ ἀνανδρίας, ὅτι τὴν Μούτιναν τοσοῦτον ἤδη χρόνον πολιορκοῦντες οὐχ ᾑρήκασι. καὶ τὰ μὲν τοῦ Ἀντωνίου τῶν τε συνόντων αὐτῷ*
3 *τοιαῦτα ὄντα εὑρίσκεται· τὰ δὲ δὴ Καίσαρος τοῦ τε Βρούτου καὶ τῶν συνεξεταζομένων σφίσι δύσμαχα μὲν καὶ καθ' ἑαυτά ἐστιν (ἀμέλει Καῖσαρ μὲν καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν αὐτοῦ συχνοὺς ἐσφετέρισται, Βροῦτος δὲ ἐκ τῆς Γαλατίας αὐτὸν ἐξείργει),*
4 *ἂν δὲ δὴ καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐπικουρήσητε αὐτοῖς, πρῶτον μὲν ἐπαινέσαντές σφας ἐφ' οἷς ἰδιογνωμονήσαντες ἐποίησαν, ἔπειτα δὲ τὰ πραχθέντα ὑπ' αὐτῶν βεβαιώσαντες, πρός τε τὸ μέλλον ἐξουσίαν ἔννομον αὐτοῖς δόντες, ἔπειτα τοὺς ὑπάτους ἀμφοτέρους ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐκπέμψαντες, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅπως βοηθήσουσί*[1] *τινες αὐτῷ τῶν νῦν*
5 *συνόντων. οὐ μὴν οὐδ' ἂν τὰ μάλιστα συμμείνωσιν, ἀντισχεῖν γε πρὸς πάντας ἅμα τοὺς ἄλλους δυνήσεται,*[2] *ἀλλ' ἤτοι ἑκών, ἐπειδὰν πρῶτον πύθηται ταῦθ' ὑμᾶς*[3] *ἐψηφισμένους, τά τε ὅπλα καταθήσεται καὶ ἐφ' ὑμῖν ἑαυτὸν ποιήσεται, ἢ καὶ ἄκων ἐκ μιᾶς μάχης ἁλώσεται.*
6 "Ἐγὼ *μὲν δὴ ταῦθ' ὑμῖν παραινῶ, καὶ εἴγε*

[1] *βοηθήσουσί* Dind., *βοηθήσωσί* LM.
[2] *δυνήσεται* Oddey, *δυνήσονται* LM.
[3] *ὑμᾶς* R. Steph., *ἡμᾶς* LM.

formidable legions. For the majority of the soldiers and the best ones have deserted him, yes, and what is more, he has been deprived of his elephants; as for the rest of his troops, they have practised outraging and pillaging the allies more than waging war. Proof of the sort of spirit that animates them is seen in the fact that they still adhere to him, and proof of their lack of bravery in their failure to take Mutina, though they have now been besieging it for so long a time. Such is the condition of Antony and of his followers found to be. But Caesar and Brutus and those arrayed with them are formidable opponents quite by themselves,—Caesar, at any rate, has won over many of his rival's soldiers, and Brutus is keeping him out of Gaul,—and if you also come to their assistance, first by approving what they have done on their own initiative, next by ratifying their acts, at the same time giving them legal authority for the future, and then by sending out both the consuls to take charge of the war, it is certain that none of his present associates will continue to aid him. However, even if they cling to him most tenaciously, he will not be able to resist all the others at once, but will either lay down his arms voluntarily, as soon as he ascertains that you have passed this vote, and place himself in your hands, or will be captured against his will as the result of a single battle. B.C. 43

"This is my advice to you, and, if it had been

ὑπατεύων ἔτυχον, πάντως ἂν καὶ ἐποίησα, καθάπερ καὶ πρότερον, ὅτε καὶ τὸν Κατιλίναν καὶ τὸν Λέντουλον, αὐτῷ τούτῳ προσήκοντα
43 ἐπιβουλεύσαντας[1] ὑμῖν ἠμυνάμην. εἰ δέ τις ὑμῶν ταῦτα μὲν ὀρθῶς ἡγεῖται λέγεσθαι, πρέσβεις δὲ πρότερον ἡμᾶς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀποστεῖλαι δεῖν οἴεται, καὶ ἔπειτα μαθόντας τὴν γνώμην αὐτοῦ, ἂν μὲν ἑκὼν ἀπαλλάττηται τῶν ὅπλων καὶ[2] ὑμῖν αὐτὸν ἐπιτρέπῃ, τὴν ἡσυχίαν
2 ἄγειν, ἂν δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιμένῃ, τότε καὶ τὸν πόλεμον αὐτῷ ψηφισθῆναι (ταῦτα γὰρ πυνθάνομαί τινας παραινέσαι ὑμῖν ἐθέλειν), λόγῳ μὲν εὐπρεπέστατον,[3] τῷ δὲ ἔργῳ καὶ αἰσχρὸν καὶ ἐπικίνδυνον τῇ πόλει πρᾶγμα ποιεῖ. πῶς μὲν γὰρ οὐκ αἰσχρὸν κήρυξιν ὑμᾶς καὶ πρεσβείαις πρὸς
3 τοὺς πολίτας χρῆσθαι; τοῖς μὲν γὰρ ἀλλοφύλοις καὶ ἐπικηρυκεύεσθαι καὶ διαπρεσβεύεσθαι δεῖ πρότερον καὶ ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι, τοῖς δὲ δὴ πολίταις τοῖς ἀδικοῦσί τι παραχρῆμα τὴν τιμωρίαν ἐπάγειν, ἂν μὲν ὑπὸ ταῖς ψήφοις αὐτοὺς λάβητε, δικάζοντας, ἂν δὲ τοῖς ὅπλοις, πολεμοῦντας.
4 δοῦλοι γάρ εἰσι πάντες οἱ τοιοῦτοι καὶ ὑμῶν καὶ τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῶν νόμων, ἄν τε ἐθέλωσιν ἄν τε καὶ μή· καὶ οὔτε θρύπτειν αὐτοὺς οὔτε ἐξ ἴσου τοῖς ἐλευθερωτάτοις ἄγειν προσῆκόν ἐστιν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τοὺς οἰκέτας τοὺς ἀποδιδράσκοντας καὶ
44 μετιέναι καὶ κολάζειν ἐκ τοῦ ὑπέρφρονος. πῶς δὲ οὐ δεινὸν ἐκεῖνον μὲν μὴ μελλῆσαι ἡμᾶς ἀδικεῖν, ἡμᾶς δὲ δὴ μέλλειν ἀμύνασθαι; καὶ

[1] ἐπιβουλεύσαντας R. Steph., ἐπιβουλεύσαντα LM.
[2] καὶ L, om. M.
[3] εὐπρεπέστατον Xyl., εὐπρεπεστάτωι LM.

my lot to be consul, I should certainly have carried it out, as I did in former days when I defended you against Catiline and Lentulus (a relative of this very man), who had conspired against you. Perhaps, however, some of you, while regarding these suggestions as well made, think we ought first to send envoys to him, and then, after learning his decision, in case he voluntarily gives up his arms and submits himself to you, to take no action, but if he persists in the same course of action, to declare war upon him; for this is the advice which I hear some persons wish to give you. Now this plan is very attractive in theory, but in point of fact it is disgraceful and dangerous to the city. For is it not disgraceful that you should employ heralds and embassies to your fellow-citizens? With foreign nations it is proper and necessary to treat first through heralds and envoys, but upon citizens who are guilty of some wrong-doing you should inflict punishment straightway, by trying them in court if you can get them within reach of your votes, and by warring against them if within reach of your arms. For all such are your servants and servants of the people and of the laws, whether they wish it or not; and it is not fitting either to coddle them or to put them on an equal footing with the freest of the citizens, but to pursue and chastise them like runaway servants, in the consciousness of your own superiority. Is it not shameful that while he does not hesitate to wrong us, we hesitate to defend ourselves? Or, B.C. 43

ἐκεῖνον μὲν ἐκ πολλοῦ τὰ ὅπλα ἐν χερσὶν ἔχοντα
πάντα τὰ τοῦ πολέμου πράττειν, ἡμᾶς δὲ ἐν
ψηφίσμασι καὶ πρεσβείαις τοὺς χρόνους
κατατρίβειν, καὶ ὃν ἐκ τῶν ἔργων ἀδικοῦντα
πάλαι πεφωράκαμεν, τοῦτον συλλαβαῖς καὶ
2 ῥήμασι μόνοις μεταχειρίζεσθαι; τί προσδοκῶντας;
ἢ ὅτι ὑπακούσει ποτὲ ἡμῖν καὶ αἰδεσθήσεταί ποτε
ἡμᾶς; καὶ πῶς, ὅς γε ἐς τοῦτ' ἤδη προκεχώρηκεν
ὥστε μηδ' ἂν βούληται δύνασθαι δημοκρατικῶς
ἡμῖν συμπολιτεῦσαι; εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἴσως καὶ κοινῶς
ζῆν ἠβούλετο, οὐδ' ἂν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τοιούτοις
πράγμασιν ἐπεχείρησεν, εἴ τε καὶ ὑπ' ἀνοίας
ἢ καὶ προπετείας τοῦτ' ἐποίησε, πάντως ἂν ἑκὼν
3 εὐθὺς αὐτῶν ἀπηλλάγη· νῦν δ' ἅπαξ καὶ ἐκ τῶν
νόμων καὶ ἐκ τῆς πολιτείας ἐκβάς, καί τινα καὶ
δύναμιν ἐκ τούτου καὶ ἐξουσίαν προσλαβών, οὐκ
ἔστιν ὅπως ἂν ἐθελούσιος μεταβάλοιτο[1] καὶ
τῶν δογμάτων τι τῶν ὑμετέρων προτιμήσειεν,
ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη τὸν τοιοῦτον αὐτοῖς τοῖς ὅπλοις,
οἷσπερ ἡμᾶς ἀδικεῖν ἐτόλμησε, καὶ κολασθῆναι.
45 καί μοι νῦν μάλιστα τὸ λεχθέν ποτε ὑπ' αὐτοῦ
ἐκείνου μνημονεύσατε, ὅτι οὐχ οἷόν τέ ἐστιν ὑμῖν,
ἂν μὴ κρατήσητε, σωθῆναι. οὐδὲν οὖν ἄλλο
ποιοῦσιν οἱ κελεύοντες ὑμᾶς πρεσβεύσασθαι ἢ
ὅπως ὑμεῖς μὲν βραδύνητε, κἀκ τούτου καὶ τὰ τῶν
συμμαχούντων ὑμῖν ἀργότερα καὶ ἀθυμότερα
2 γένηται, ἐκεῖνος δὲ ἐν τούτῳ καθ' ἡσυχίαν πάνθ'
ὅσα ἂν βούληται πράξῃ, καὶ τόν τε Δέκιμον

[1] μεταβάλοιτο R. Steph., μεταβάλλοιτο LM.

again, that while he for a long time, weapons in hand, has been carrying out all the deeds of war, we are wasting our time in decrees and embassies, and that we retaliate only with words and phrases upon the man whom we have long since discovered by his deeds to be a wrong-doer? What are we hoping for? That he will some day render us obedience and pay us respect? Yet how would this be possible in the case of a man who has come to such a point that he would not be able, even should he wish it, to live as an ordinary citizen with us under a democratic government? Indeed, if he were willing to live on a basis of common equality, he would never have entered in the first place upon such a career as his; and even if he had done so under the influence of folly or recklessness, he would certainly have given it up speedily of his own accord. But as the case stands, since he has once overstepped the limits imposed by the laws and the constitution, and has acquired some power and authority by this action, it is not conceivable that he would change of his own free will or heed any one of your resolutions, but it is absolutely necessary that such a man should be punished with those very weapons with which he has dared to wrong us. And I beg you now to remember particularly the remark which this man himself once uttered, to the effect that it is impossible for you to be saved unless you conquer. Hence those who bid you send envoys are doing nothing else than causing you to delay and causing your allies to become in consequence more remiss and dispirited; while he, on the other hand, will meanwhile do whatever he pleases, will destroy B.C. 43

ἐξέλῃ καὶ τὴν Μούτιναν ἐκπολιορκήσῃ τήν τε Γαλατίαν πᾶσαν λάβῃ, ὥστε μηκέθ' ἡμᾶς ὅπως αὐτῷ χρησώμεθα εὑρεῖν δυνηθῆναι, ἀλλ' ὑποδεδιέναι τε καὶ θεραπεύειν αὐτὸν καὶ προσκυνεῖν
3 ἀνάγκην[1] ἔχειν. ἓν δὲ ἔτι[2] τοῦτο περὶ τῆς πρεσβείας εἰπὼν παύσομαι, ὅτι οὐδὲ ὁ Ἀντώνιος λόγον τινὰ ὑμῖν ἔδωκε περὶ ὧν πράττειν ἔμελλεν, ἵνα καὶ ὑμεῖς τοῦτο ποιήσητε.

4 "Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν καὶ διὰ ταῦτα καὶ διὰ τἆλλα πάντα συμβουλεύω ὑμῖν μὴ μέλλειν μηδὲ διατρίβειν, ἀλλ' ὅτι τάχιστα αὐτῷ πολεμῆσαι, λογισαμένους ὅτι τὰ πλείω τῶν πραγμάτων τοῖς
5 καιροῖς ἢ ταῖς δυνάμεσι κατορθοῦται,[3] καὶ πάντως που καὶ ἐκ τούτου συνιέναι ὅτι οὐκ ἄν ποτε τὴν εἰρήνην, ἐν ᾗ καὶ πλεῖστον ἰσχύω καὶ πλοῦτον καὶ δόξαν ἐκτησάμην, ἀφείς, εἴγε καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ εἰρήνη ἦν,[4] πολεμεῖν ὑμῖν, εἰ μή γε καὶ συμφέρειν
46 ἡγούμην, παρῄνεσα.[5] καὶ σοὶ[6] δέ, ὦ Καλῆνε, τοῖς τε ἄλλοις τοῖς ταὐτά σοι φρονοῦσι συμβουλεύω καθ' ἡσυχίαν ἐπιτρέψαι τῇ[7] γερουσίᾳ τὰ προσήκοντα ψηφίσασθαι, καὶ μὴ τῆς ἰδίας ὑμῶν πρὸς Ἀντώνιον χάριτος ἕνεκα τὰ κοινῇ πᾶσιν ἡμῖν
2 συμφέροντα καταπροδοῦναι. ὡς ἔγωγε οὕτω γνώμης, ὦ πατέρες, ἔχω ὥστ', ἂν μὲν πεισθῆτέ μοι, καὶ πάνυ[8] ἂν ἡδέως καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας μεθ' ὑμῶν ἀπολαῦσαι, ἂν δ' ἄλλο τι ψηφίσησθε, τεθνάναι μᾶλλον ἢ ζῆν ἑλέσθαι.
3 οὔτε γὰρ ἄλλως τὸν θάνατόν ποτε τὸν ἐκ τῆς

[1] ἀνάγκην R. Steph., ἀναγκῆι LM.
[2] ἔτι M, ὅτι L.
[3] κατορθοῦται Reim., κατορθοῦνται LM.
[4] εἰρήνη ἦν Bk., εἰρήνην LM.
[5] παρῄνεσα Dind., παραινέσαι LM.
[6] σοὶ R. Steph., σὺ LM.
[7] τῇ Rk., τῇ τε LM.
[8] πάνυ Reim., πάντα LM.

Decimus, will take Mutina by storm, and will capture all Gaul, with the result that we shall no longer be able to find means of dealing with him, but shall be under the necessity of trembling before him, paying court to him, and worshipping him. Just this one point further about the embassy and I am done: Antony did not on his part give you any account of what he intended to do, that you should do so yourselves. B.C. 43

"I, therefore, for these and all the other reasons advise you not to delay or to lose time, but to make war upon him as quickly as possible, reflecting that the majority of enterprises owe their success rather to opportune occasions than to their strength; and you should by all means feel perfectly sure for this very reason that I would never have given up peace, in the midst of which I have most influence and have acquired wealth and reputation, if it really were peace, nor would have urged you to make war, did I not think it to your advantage. And I advise you, Calenus, and the rest who are of the same mind as you, to be quiet and allow the senate to vote the requisite measures, and not for the sake of your private good-will toward Antony to betray the common interests of us all. For this is my feeling, Conscript Fathers, that if you heed my counsel, I shall very gladly enjoy freedom and safety with you, but that if you vote anything different, I shall choose to die rather than to live. For I have never at any time been afraid of death

παρρησίας ἐφοβήθην (καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ κατώρ-
θωσα πλεῖστον· τεκμήριον δὲ ὅτι καὶ θῦσαι καὶ
ἑορτάσαι ἐφ' οἷς ὑπατεύων ἐποίησα ἐψηφίσασθε,
ὅπερ οὐδενὶ πώποτε ἄλλῳ μὴ οὐκ ἐν πολέμῳ γέ
τι καταπράξαντι ἐγένετο), νῦν δὲ καὶ ἥκιστα.
4 καὶ γὰρ ὁ μὲν[1] θάνατος οὐκ ἂν ἄωρος ἄλλως τε
καὶ πρὸ τοσούτων ἐτῶν ὑπατευκότι μοι γένοιτο
(καίτοι μνημονεύετε ὅτι τοῦτο καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ
ὑπατείᾳ ὑμῖν εἶπον, ἵνα μοι πρὸς πάντα ὡς
καταφρονοῦντι αὐτοῦ προσέχητε)· τὸ δὲ δὴ
φοβηθῆναί τινα καθ' ὑμῶν καὶ τὸ δουλεῦσαί τινι
μεθ' ὑμῶν καὶ πάνυ ἄν μοι ἀωρότατον[2] συμβαίη.
5 ὅθενπερ τοῦτο μὲν καὶ συμφορὰν καὶ ὄλεθρον, οὐ
τοῦ σώματος μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς τῆς τε
δόξης, ὑφ' ἧς που καὶ μόνης ἀίδιοι τρόπον τινὰ
γιγνόμεθα, εἶναι νομίζω· τὸ δὲ δὴ λέγοντά τε καὶ
πράττοντα ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἀποθανεῖν ἰσοστάσιον
ἀθανασίᾳ[3] ἄγω.
47 "Καὶ εἴγε καὶ Ἀντώνιος ταῦτ' ἐγίγνωσκεν, οὐκ
ἄν ποτε ἐς τοιαῦτα πράγματα προυχώρησεν,
ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀποθανεῖν ἄν, ὥσπερ ὁ πάππος αὐτοῦ,
μᾶλλον ἤ τι τῶν ὁμοίων τῷ Κίννᾳ τῷ ἐκεῖνον
2 ἀποκτείναντι ποιῆσαι προείλετο. πρὸς γὰρ αὖ
τοῖς ἄλλοις ὁ μὲν Κίννας οὐ πολλῷ ὕστερον
ἀντεσφάγη διά τε τοῦτο καὶ διὰ τἆλλα ἃ κακῶς
ἔπραττε (διόπερ καὶ τοῦτο τοῦ Ἀντωνίου
τεθαύμακα, ὅτι τὰ ἔργα αὐτοῦ μιμούμενος οὐ
φοβεῖται μήποτε ὁμοίᾳ καταστροφῇ περιπέσῃ),
ἐκεῖνος δὲ καὶ αὐτῷ τούτῳ τὸ δοκεῖν τινι εἶναι

[1] καὶ γὰρ ὁ μὲν Bk., καὶ ὁ μὲν γὰρ LM.
[2] ἀωρότατον Dind., δωρότατον LM.
[3] ἀθανασίᾳ Rk., ἀθανασίαν LM.

as a consequence of my outspokenness (this accounts, indeed, for my overwhelming success, the proof of which lies in the fact that you decreed a sacrifice and festival in memory of the deeds done in my consulship, an honour which had never before been granted to anybody except one who had achieved some great success in war) and now I fear it least of all. For death, if it befell me, would not be at all unseasonable, especially when you consider that my consulship was so many years ago (yet remember that in that very consulship I expressed the same sentiment, in order that you might pay heed to me in everything, knowing that I despised death), but to dread any one for what he may do against you, and to be a slave to any one in common with you would prove most unseasonable to me. Therefore I deem this last to be the ruin and destruction not only of the body but also of the soul and reputation, by which, and by which alone, we become in a certain sense immortal; but to die speaking and acting in your behalf I regard as equivalent to immortality. B.C. 43

"Now if Antony, also, realized this, he would never have entered upon such a career, but would have even preferred to die as his grandfather died rather than to behave like Cinna, who killed him. For, to mention nothing else, Cinna was in turn slain not long afterward for this and the other crimes he had committed; so that I am surprised also at this feature in Antony's conduct, that, imitating his deeds as he does, he shows no fear of some day falling a victim to a similar fate. The murdered man, on the other hand, left behind to this very descendant

3 κατέλιπεν. ἀλλ' οὔτι γε καὶ σώζεσθαι διὰ τοὺς συγγενεῖς ἔτι δίκαιός ἐστι, μήτε τὸν πάππον ζηλώσας μήτε τὸν πατέρα τῆς οὐσίας κληρονομήσας. τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδε τοῦθ',[1] ὅτι πολλοὺς φεύγοντας καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἐκ τῶν γραμμάτων δὴ τῶν ἐκείνου καταγαγὼν[2]
4 οὐκ ἐπεκούρησε τῷ θείῳ, ἀλλὰ τὸν μὲν συγκυβευτὴν τὸν Λεντίκουλον τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ βίου ῥᾳδιουργίᾳ φυγόντα ἐπανήγαγε, καὶ τὸν Βαμβαλίωνα τὸν καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ἐπωνυμίας ἐπιβόητον ἀγαπᾷ, τοῖς δὲ δὴ συγγενεστάτοις οὕτως ὥσπερ εἶπον[3] κέχρηται, καθάπερ τινὰ ὀργὴν αὐτοῖς
5 ἔχων ὅτι τοιοῦτος ἐγεννήθη. τοιγαροῦν τῶν μὲν ἐκείνου[4] χρημάτων οὐκ ἐκληρονόμησεν, ἄλλων δὲ δὴ καὶ πάνυ πολλούς, τοὺς μὲν μήτ' ἰδὼν μήτ' ἀκούσας πώποτε, τοὺς δὲ καὶ νῦν ἔτι ζῶντας· οὕτω γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἀποδέδυκε καὶ σεσύληκεν ὥστε μηδέν σφας νεκρῶν διαφέρειν."

[1] τοῦθ' Bk., ταῦθ' LM. [2] καταγαγὼν Bk., ἀγαγὼν LM.
[3] ὥσπερ εἶπον Bk., ὡς προεῖπον LM.
[4] ἐκείνου V, ἐκείνων LM.

the reputation of greatness. But Antony has no longer any claim to be saved on account of his relatives, since he has neither emulated his grandfather nor inherited his father's property. Who, indeed, is unaware of the fact that in restoring many who were exiled in Caesar's time and later, in accordance, forsooth, with the directions of Caesar's papers, he did not aid his uncle, but brought back his fellow-gambler Lenticulus, who had been exiled for his unprincipled life, and cherishes Bambalio,[1] who is notorious for his very cognomen, while he has treated his nearest relatives as I have described, as if he were half angry at them because he was born to so noble a name? Consequently he never inherited his father's goods, but has been the heir of very many others, some of whom he never saw or heard of, and others who are still living; for he has so stripped and despoiled them that they differ in no way from dead men." B.C. 43

[1] M. Fulvius Bambalio, Antony's father-in-law. The name Bambalio signifies "stutterer."

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